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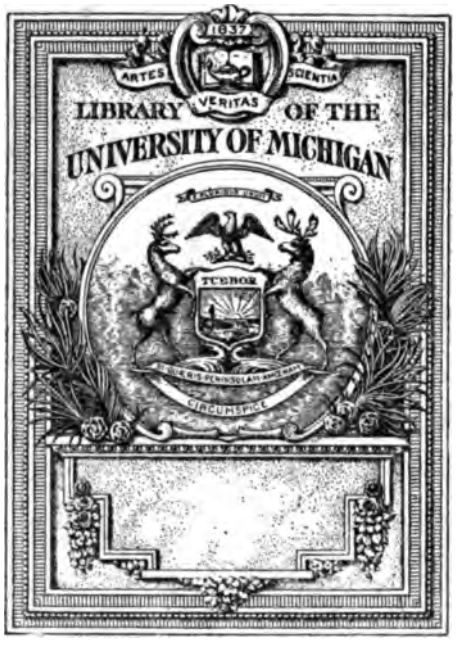
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No. I.

THE PRESERVATION OF SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL MONUMENTS.

BY

THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.,
President of the Society.

[*An Address delivered at the Annual General Meeting held on 17th November*, 1898.]

IN the year 1392 Bishop Bar, who had presided over the See of Moray for thirty years, wrote to King Robert III. that he was broken down with the infirmities of age, and so far reduced in circumstances as to be scarcely able to maintain a slender household. In the most touching and solemn words he complained that on the feast of St. Botolph, 1390, the king's own brother, the Earl of Buchan, known as the Wolf of Badenoch, had descended from the Hills with a band of wild Scots, and had given the magnificent Cathedral of Elgin to the flames. He besought the Royal help to compel the incendiaries and malefactors to restore his church, "that was the special ornament of the land, the glory of the realm, the delight of strangers and foreigners who came to see it, the praise and boast among foreign nations, lofty in its towers without, splendid in its appointments within, and famous for its pious worship of God."

In like manner may we plead, not indeed for the restoration, but for the preservation of the old Ecclesiastical monuments remaining in Scotland. This Society has been established for the encouragement of research into

the monuments of the past, and of vigilant care for their preservation. To promote this an annual excursion is made each autumn to some spot of archæological interest, *e.g.* last year to Torphichen, Linlithgow, Abercorn, and Dalmeny, and the year previous to Rothesay and the old church of St. Blane, Bute. Papers were read during the Session 1896-7, on 12th February, on "Torphichen and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem," and on 15th April on "The Vaulting of the Lower Church, Glasgow Cathedral," and papers on similar subjects have been read from time to time.

Accordingly it will not be out of place if, in inaugurating the Session of 1898-9, we turn our attention to Scottish Ecclesiastical remains. Members of this and of kindred Societies are interested in the preservation of such remains, and should look on themselves as the natural guardians of these treasures. In travelling through the length and breadth of this country we cannot fail to meet with much to study and admire in her old Ecclesiastical buildings; and not to admire only, but we look on them as precious relics of the past, and as the "special ornament of the land and the glory of the realm."

There need be no hesitation in confining our remarks to the larger churches and ruins still remaining, because they form the only sources to which we can look in this country for the improvement of the art of architecture and for models to copy of Pointed or Gothic work. We have good but simple examples of early work (transition from Romanesque to First-Pointed) at Jedburgh, Kelso, and Dunfermline abbey churches. We owe to the *First-Pointed style* altogether, or in part, the enlargement of Kirkwall, the Cathedrals of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Whithorn, Elgin, Brechin, Dunblane, and Dornoch. We owe to this style chiefly the conventual churches of Holyrood, Arbroath, Dryburgh, Paisley, Dundrennan, Kilwinning, Restennet, Crossraguel, Coldingham, Lindores, Ferne, Pluscardine, Cambuskenneth, Deir, Saddell, Ardchattan, and Oronsay.

The *Middle-Pointed* occupied the period between 1286, between the death of Alexander III. in the middle of the 13th century, till the change of religion in the middle of the 16th. We need only mention one specimen of this style, the Cathedral at Rosmarky or Fortrose, which is of the purest and most elaborate architecture.

Your attention will be called to the Scottish Ecclesiastical monuments that remain during the years 1060—1560, a period of 500 years, but confining ourselves to the Cathedrals, Abbeys, and Priories. Time would fail if we attempted to add to these a list of parish churches, and of collegiate churches and chapels, of hospitals, or of the churches of the Friars, Grey, White, or Black.

The Cathedrals of Scotland were 13 in number. Glasgow and Kirkwall are the only two remaining in a more or less complete condition. Of the other eleven, five are now in use, in a modified condition, as Brechin, Dornoch, Dunblane, Dunkeld, and Lismore. Six are but ruins, though Whithorn was used as a parish church till 1822. They were ruthlessly dealt with in the past. It is our place and our privilege to protect them from further injury: for they call for our care on account of their archæological interest, and the relation they bear to the art of architecture in the 19th century. We will speak of them in alphabetical order, though giving precedence to Glasgow.[1]

I. Of *Glasgow* we need say nothing, because so much has already been said in the many works in folio, 4to., 8vo., and 12mo., from J. Collie's *Glasgow Cathedral*, *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, *Visit to Glasgow Cathedral*, by J. Honeyman, and *A Scots Mediæval Architect*, by P. Macgregor Chalmers, to the various pamphlets that have been issued from time to time.

II. *St. Andrews.* When entire it consisted of a nave 200 feet by 62, with an extreme length of 358 feet. In architecture it was of pure First-Pointed, intermixed with a few semi-Norman features. It was a Cathedral Priory of the Augustinian Canons. All that now remains is the East gable, part of the West front, the wall on South side of nave, and that of the West side of South transept.

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[1] See *Report of British Archæological Association*, held at Glasgow in 1888; *Visit to Glasgow Cathedral*, by J. Honeyman, p. 10; *The Arrangements of Glasgow Cathedral*, by Marquis of Bute, p. 63; *Visit to Paisley Abbey*, by E. Loftus Brock, p. 59; *Peculiarities of Ancient Scottish Architecture*, by E. Loftus Brock, p. 84; *Dunblane Cathedral*, p. 74; *Dunfermline*, by G. Robertson, p. 89.

The gift to the Cathedral of an annual sum of 100 marks attested the gratitude of Bruce for the great victory of the Scots at Bannockburn, brought about, as was supposed, by St. Andrew, the guardian of the realm.

III. *Aberdeen.* Old Aberdeen, where the remains of the Cathedral are, is one mile from New Aberdeen. Having been destroyed during the English wars, its reconstruction was begun in 1375. There remains a nave of 5 bays, 126 feet by 67·6, traces of the choir, and a fragment of South side of transept, and two West towers surmounted by octagonal stone spires, all Middle-Pointed.[1]

IV. *Argyll.* Lismore (the Cathedral of St, Moluac) was a diocese separated from Dunkeld in the beginning of the 13th century. The island lies in the very centre of Loch Linnhe. The Cathedral of Argyll was less than 60 feet in length by 30 in breadth, without aisles or transept. Now it is modernized and used as a parish church.

V. *Brechin.* This was one of the smaller cathedrals. The church originally consisted of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a short transept. In 1806 the transept was removed, new aisles were built, and one roof made to cover the whole. The side walls of the chancel remain, lighted by very simple pointed windows. Detached on the South-West side is the round tower, 110 feet high, of eight stages covered with spiral roof 23 feet high, and lighted by dormer windows.

VI. *Caithness.* The Cathedral of the See of Caithness was Dornoch, built about 1250. It had a high roof, and a low tower with a stunted spire. Though much damaged in 1570, and afterwards neglected, a great portion was standing till 1847. The whole was then renewed by the Duke of Sutherland, but unfortunately was not trusted to competent hands.

VII. *Dunblane.* This Cathedral is 216 feet long and 58 high. It consists of a nave of 8 bays, with aisles. The windows of nave and aisles are of First-Pointed work. The most beautiful portion is the West porch. The nave, 130 feet long, remained roofless until a few years ago, when it was re-roofed.

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[1] A good engraving of this Cathedral can be seen in Robertson's *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, 1891.

VIII. *Dunkeld.* The Cathedral consists of a nave of 7 bays 120 feet by 60 and 40 feet high. The choir, of 4 bays without aisles, is 104 by 27 feet. The windows of the aisles are very beautiful.

IX. *Galloway.* Whithorn Cathedral now consists of a roofless and ruined nave. On this promontory near the Solway St. Ninian erected a church called *Candida Casa* or the "White House," because, as the Venerable Bede tells us, it was built of stone, in a manner unusual among the Britons. This became the foundation of the See of Galloway. On the South-West is a richly-sculptured Norman door, as also a good South-East door. It was used as the parish church till 1822, when the new one was built close by.

X. *Iona.* The Cathedral of "The Isles," in its present form, was erected in the 13th century, of red Mull granite. It comprises a nave 64 by 23 feet, of the same dimensions as the choir, and, like it, without aisles: a transept 70 by 18 feet, and a central tower 75 feet high and 26 by 22 feet. On the left was the cloister, one arch of which remains whole. North of the cloister is the refectory, and East of it is the chapter house, of which the roof is entire.

XI. *Moray.* The Cathedral at Elgin is the most splendid ecclesiastical ruin in Scotland. It was founded in 1224, and was burnt by the "Wolf of Badenoch" in 1390. In 1407-20 it was rebuilt by Bishop Innes. In February, 1568, by the order of Regent Moray, the lead was stripped from the roof in order to furnish money to pay his soldiers. In consequence the building soon began to decay. On 4th December, 1637, a high wind blew down the rafters of the choir. The great tower fell in 1770. The further progress of decay has now been arrested. It is in length 282 feet. The ruins consist of a magnificent west front, flanked on each side by a square tower 84 feet high—of a nave with double aisles—a transept—a choir with aisles—and a chapter house, very perfect, of octagonal form with a central pillar supporting the roof. It was known as the "Lantern of the North."

XII. *Ross.* Fortrose Cathedral, called also Chanonry, dedicated to S.S. Peter and Boniface, was an architectural gem of the purest and most elaborate Middle-Pointed. The material was red sandstone. It was erected

in the beginning of the 14th century. It is 120 feet long, and consisted of a nave with four bays with aisles 14 feet wide, a choir with aisles, a quasi transept, a lady chapel, a rood turret and a vaulted chapter house on North-East side. The whole of the centre and North side are gone, and there remains only the aisle to the nave and choir, with an octagonal turret at the junction, and part of the chapter house.

XIII. *Orkney*. The Cathedral of Kirkwall is entire with the exception of the spire. It was commenced in 1138, and has stood 700 years. The extreme length is 226 feet by 45·6 broad: with a nave of 8 bays, a choir of 4, and the lady chapel of 2 bays. It is cruciform, with aisles to the nave 113·8 feet by 21·6—to the roof it is 71 feet—and the transept is 89·5 feet. It was saved from Reformation violence by the affectionate zeal of the townsmen.

If then the affection of the townsmen for their noble cathedral, as also the attachment and pride of the people of Glasgow for their church, was enough to preserve these buildings from the ruin that befell the other eleven cathedrals, it surely behoves us to protect and preserve what remain to us. We may pray with Sir Walter Scott, that in the future no hands will destroy the remains of our ancient buildings. May

> "No moody fanatic deface
> The works of wondrous Art that grace
> Antiquity's remains.
> O be his tomb as lead to lead
> Upon its dull destroyers' head:
> A minstrel's malison is said."

Without entering into the causes of the wholesale ruins with which our favourite land is studded, we may mention in passing three or four causes that were at work. Firstly, after the battle of Bannockburn England became the hereditary enemy of Scotland, and destroyed her churches when occasion served. Secondly, the king usurped the right of nominating to the vacant abbeys, *e.g.* Paisley, Dunfermline, etc.; and five illegitimate sons of kings were made heads of five of the richest abbeys in Scotland. Thirdly, the bestowing the post of Abbot or Superior on laymen *in commendam* or trust: and fourthly, the usurpation by noblemen who took the temporalities, or intruded their sons into their place.

When King James was informed that Henry VIII. suggested to him to "increase the Royal revenues by taking some of the religious houses into his hands," the king replied, "In good faith I cannot do so: for methinks it is against reason and God's law to put down these abbeys and religious houses, which have stood these many years, and God's service has been maintained and kept in the same."

We may next consider the Abbeys and Priories that equally claim our care and preservation. The Benedictines and the Canons of St. Augustine usually chose towns for their houses: the Cistertian and the Premonstratensian Canons preferred the country.

Benedictines, or Black Monks. There was one Abbey and three Priories of this Order. We prefer to speak of them in alphabetical order than in the order of dignity, of foundation, or of importance.

I. *Dunfermline.* In the West part of the present church remains the Romanesque nave, which was consecrated in 1150. Originally the church was 275 feet long. In 1818-20 the site of the choir, which was in the First-Pointed style, was cleared to make room for the new church. It is so well known that no further allusion is necessary.

1. *Coldingham*, in Berwickshire, was a Benedictine Priory, founded by King Edgar in 1098 in honour of St. Cuthbert. It was seized and nearly destroyed by Cromwell. The tower, 90 feet high, fell in 1775. The church has been partially renewed, and fitted up as a parish church. A part of the old church is Romanesque.
2. *Tyningham Priory*, in Haddingtonshire. The remains of a Norman Priory, built in the 12th century, are close to Tyningham House, the seat of the Earl of Haddington.
3. *Urquhart*, in the neighbourhood of Elgin. The only way of even ascertaining the site, is the Abbey Well.

The great order of St. Benedict branched out into several distinct congregations, with certain peculiar additional constitutions or reforms. In Scotland we had the Tyronensians, who had five Abbeys and one Priory.

I. *Arbroath*, or Aberbrothoc (the Mouth of the Brothoc). The Abbey was founded in 1178, and dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket. The Abbey

Church was 270 feet long; and consisted of a nave with aisles, a transept with aisles, a chancel, two West towers, and a chapter house. The two West towers were blown down in the latter part of last century. It now exists only in fragments. For many years the municipal authorities were in the habit of selling the materials, which is the cause of the disappearance of so much of the building. This practice was stopped by order of the Barons of the Exchequer in 1815. Among the Abbots of Arbroath were Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop James Beaton. The Abbots in their philanthropy kept a beacon on the dangerous reef of rocks in the German Ocean—a fact immortalized by Southey.

> "The Abbot of Aberbrothoc
> Had placed that bell on the Inchcape rock:
> On a buoy in the storm it floated and swung,
> And over the waves its warning rung.
> When the rock was hid by the surge's swell,
> The mariners heard the warning bell;
> And then they knew the perilous rock,
> And bless'd the Abbot of Aberbrothoc."

II. *Kelso.* This Church of St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist was one of the four great abbeys on the border, *i.e.* Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Melrose, and Kelso, that were erected by David I. on ground which was most exposed to foray and raid: thus ensuring the cultivation of the lands by placing them under the protection of the church. It was a noble example of the more advanced Romanesque. It had a nave, a chancel 60 feet long with aisles, a transept of 71 feet by 23, and a central tower 90 feet high and 23 broad. In June, 1523, Lord Dacre stripped the church of its lead, and burnt the Lady Chapel with its beautiful stall work.

III. *Kilwinning*, in the County of Ayr, and three miles from Irvine, has remains, First-Pointed, of extreme beauty. The base of the South wall of the nave, 95 feet in length, the West front and the South end of the transept pierced with three tall lancets, show what it once was. A fine West bell-tower, 103 feet high and 32 feet square, fell down in 1814.

IV. *Lesmahagow*, in Clydesdale. The Reformers in 1560 completely destroyed the buildings. A square tower is all that remains of the church.

V. *Lindores*, dedicated to Blessed Virgin and St. Andrew, is situated

on a gentle rise above the Firth of Tay, and twelve miles from St. Andrews. It was cruciform in shape, 230 feet long, with a North aisle to the nave —an aisleless choir 60 by 25 feet, and a North-West tower. Of the Abbey nothing is left but a few scattered walls much broken.

1. *Fyvie.* The Priory of St. Mary in Buchan is represented by a few remains of the church. So late as 1815 the foundations of the church, 60 by 20 feet, were still to be seen not far from the modern building.

The Cistertians were another independent congregation of Benedictines. Their abbeys were eleven in number, and the priories were three. The Cistertians sought quiet woody glens for their houses.

I. *Balmerino Abbey* is on the South side of the Firth of Tay. This church was built in the very unusual form of being divided in the centre of the nave by pillars. There are only some very small remains of the Abbey.

II. *Culross*, in Perthshire, founded in 1217 by Malcolm, Earl of Fife. An aisleless First-Pointed choir, and an early Middle-Pointed tower are all that remain.

III. *Coupar-Angus.* In Coupar, the Forfarshire town, there are a few scanty traces of the Abbey at the North angle of the churchyard. It was destroyed by Arran and his following.

IV. *Deir*, in Buchan of Aberdeen. Some small remains, in red stone, mark the site. James VI. gave it to the Earl Marischal (Keith). His wife besought him to have nothing to do with this gift, but he declined her advice. Deir has this special interest, that of the Columban church the *Book of Deir* is alone left to us, "the oldest book of Scotland, as well as the sole relic of its early literature."

V. *Dundrennan*, in Kirkcudbrightshire. The abbey stands at the head of a valley on the right bank of the Abbey Burn. The church was cruciform, comprising a nave 130 by 30 feet, with side aisles, a choir 45 by 26 feet and a transept 107 by 23 feet. The whole of the nave and arches have disappeared together with the tower, the cloister, and almost all the chapter house. The present remains consist of the North and South transepts. The materials have been removed to build the village and

manse. This abbey has a special interest for us as the place where Queen Mary spent her last night after the battle of Langside, on May 15, 1568.

VI. *Glenluce*, in Wigtownshire. This abbey, when entire, must have been on a very extensive scale. The foundations of the nave, transept, and choir remain; also the cloister square and chapter house, and the gable of the South transept are standing. A vast mass of prostrate masonry is still upon the ground. The Hay family, in 1590, built from the abbey spoils the Castle of Park.

VII. *Kinloss*, in Moray. The abbey was one of the most magnificent foundations of David I. Scanty remains of the choir, South transept, chapter house, and cloister are in the First-Pointed and Second-Pointed style. Brodie, of Lethan, destroyed the chapter house in 1652, to furnish stones for the citadel of Inverness. The house contained eighty monks. Boece says the abbey was famous for the splendour of its buildings and the exemplary lives of its inmates. At the Reformation it was sold, and afterwards served as a quarry for all the houses and walls in the vicinity.

VIII. *Melrose*, in Roxburghshire. This abbey is too well known to need any description. The famous Chronicle of Mailros was written in these cloisters.

IX. *Newbattle*, in Midlothian. This abbey is seven miles from Edinburgh. Some beautiful First-Pointed vaulting is all that remains of this abbey.

X. *Sweetheart*, or New Abbey, in Kirkcudbright. The church consists of nave, transept, aisles, choir, and central tower. The last Abbot became president of the Scotch College in Paris, and died there. In the year 1275 the Lady Devorgoil, daughter of Alan, the Lord of Galloway, wife of John Baliol and mother of the celebrated John Baliol, erected this abbey on her husband's grave in Galloway.

XI. *Saddell*, in Kintyre. There are some slight remains of the abbey, founded in 1163 by Reginald the son of Somerled, Lord of Kintyre. It was a cruciform abbey, 136 feet by 24, of which the nave occupied 60 feet. The transept measured 78 by 24 feet.

1. *Friars Carse*, in Dumfriesshire, has no remains.

2. *Hassendean*, in Teviotdale. This was a beautiful Norman church, which was demolished in 1690. No trace of the church is left. The Sheriff of the county, who took part in this work, was a Douglas, and was cursed by an old woman for his pains:

> "The Douglas race, foredoom'd without a male
> To fade unbless'd, since in the churchyard green,
> Its lord o'erthrew the spires of Hassendean."

3. *Mauchline*, in Ayrshire. It was nine miles from Kilmarnock. Of this priory there are no traces left, but the new parish church is built on its site.

The Cluniacs had three abbeys and one priory.

I. *Paisley Abbey*. This is a very interesting example of First-Pointed with Middle-Pointed portions. The nave is almost as perfect as when it was built. The Chapel of St. Mirin is entire. Of the rest of the church the chancel is still marked out by walls, which are very long, and the transept would appear to have been about the centre of the church.[1] A meeting was held some little time ago for the purpose of raising subscriptions for the restoration of the choir.

II. *Crossraguel*, about two miles from Maybole. It was colonized by monks from Paisley. A large portion of the ruins still stand.

Abbot William died in 1547, and was succeeded by his kinsman, Quintin Kennedy, fourth son of Gilbert, second Earl of Cassilis. In 1570 the fourth Earl of Cassilis, who from his great power in Ayrshire, was called the king of Carrick, kidnapped and tortured Alan Stewart, the commendator of Crossraguel. He was determined to compel him to execute in his favour certain deeds over the property of the abbey. Having kidnapped him, and unable to succeed by imprisonment, he one day discussed the matter with him in a room where a large fire was blazing. The poor man seeing at once the horrors awaiting him, prayed hard for release, but his persecutor and his brother were merciless. He was, as the annalist describes it, skinned by the removal of his clothes, and well basted with

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[1] A very full history of the Abbey has been published by Dr. C. Lees.

grease, and stretched on bars of iron to which he was secured. He only yielded when his hand was so severely scorched that he scarcely had power to sign the documents.[1]

This inhuman Earl dealt for the conventual estates of Glenluce with the abbot, who died before the writs could be signed. He persuaded some one to forge the subscription of the dead man, and then, for fear of discovery, caused a person to wound him mortally. As a final act of villainy, the murderer was accused of theft and hanged.

III. *Iona.*

1. *Dalmulin*, on the north bank of the River Ayr.

The Valliscaulians had three Priories.

1. *Ardchattan*, in Argyllshire. The house, near Connell Ferry, on north side of Loch Etive, was cruciform. It is of First-Pointed style, consisting of a simple nave. The ruins of an aisleless choir, 66 by 28 feet, and central tower remain. It was founded in the 13th century by the M'Dougalls.
2. *Pluscardine*, in Morayshire. This house is six miles from Elgin. It consists of an aisleless choir, 56 by 27 feet, no triforium, a chapter house, 28 feet square, with central pillar, and a cloister 100 feet square.
3. *Beauly Priory*. This priory is ten miles from Inverness. The church was of early part of 14th century, 150 feet long, and without aisles. Cromwell used it as a quarry for the fort of Inverness.

The Canons Regular of St. Augustine or Black Canons were very popular in Scotland, and had six Abbeys and twenty-two Priories. They were introduced into Scotland by Alexander I. and his Queen Sibylla.

I. *Cambuskenneth Abbey*, in Stirlingshire. All that remains of it are a very noble tower, a gateway, and a few fragments of walls. It was given at the Reformation to the Earl of Mar, who pulled down the greater part of the building to erect his house in Stirling.

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[1] *See two volumes of charters relating to Crossraguel, edited for the Ayrshire and Galloway Archæological Association by Mr. F. C. Hunter-Blair.*

II. *Holyrood.* It originally consisted of a nave, choir, transept, and central tower. The nave is the only part that remains. The choir and south transept were pulled down to make room for the palace begun by James IV.

III. *Inchaffray*, Perthshire. This Abbey is six miles from Crieff. It stands on rising ground which once, apparently, formed an island. Shapeless heaps of masonry, including gables, walls, etc., are the only remains of a fine building. Maurice, the Abbot of the time, attended Bruce to Bannockburn, with the arm of St. Fillan in a silver case.

IV. *Inchcolm*, St. Columba's Isle, near Inverkeithing, at the entrance of the Firth of Forth. Boece says Inchcolm was "as the carbuncle among precious stones." The remains of the Priory are an octagonal chapter house, the refectory, and the cloister, 34 feet square.[1]

V. *Jedburgh*, in Roxburgh.

VI. *Scone* was one of the larger Abbeys of Scotland. This magnificent Abbey was set on fire in 1559 and reduced to a heap of ruins. It now consists of a piece of an aisle, in the pleasure grounds of Scone Palace, the seat of Lord Mansfield.

1. *Abernethy Priory*, in Perthshire. No remains, except close to the "Bishop's Yard," there is a round tower, 75 feet high and 48 in circumference at the bottom and 32 at top.
2. *Blantyre Priory*, Lanarkshire. A few remains of red granite, two gables, and a portion of the outer wall are all that remain.
3. *Canonbie*, in Dumfriesshire. It was laid in ruins by the English in 1542. There are a few remains.
4. *Colonsay*, on an Inner Hebridean Isle of Argyllshire. Its roofless church, First-Pointed, is 77 by 18 feet. The cloister was destroyed in the last century.
5. *Crusay*.
6. *Oronsay*, separated from Colonsay by a sound of only 100 yards, and dry for three hours at low water. It contains some of the most interesting ruins, next to Iona, in West of Scotland. The remains are transitional, First-Pointed, 77·8 by 18 feet, with a side chapel.

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[1] See *Aberdour and Inchcolme*, by Wm. Ross, 1885.

7. *Inch-Kenneth.* In the Island of Mull, the remains of a church, 60 by 30 feet, are those of Inch-Kenneth Priory. The altar and bell were only removed in the present century.
8. *Inchmahome*, on St. Colman's Isle, in the Lake of Menteith. The Priory ruins are First-Pointed. The church, 115 by 36 feet, is entered by a fine west doorway. It has a nave of three bays, and the arch of a North-West tower. To this Priory, Mary, Queen of Scots, was sent at the age of five years, during the English Invasion of 1547.
9. *Isle of May*, in Fifeshire. This small rocky islet contains the ruins of a Priory. The isle is treeless, guarded by basaltic cliffs, but rich in pasture. Later it was abandoned for St. Mary's, Pittenweem, as less exposed to incursions by English sailors.
10. *Loch Leven.* The Priory was upon St. Serf's Isle. A few ruins of the church, 30 by 20 feet, remain.
11. *Loch Tay*, in Perthshire. Near Kenmore, and on an island in the Loch Tay are the ruins of the Priory built by Alexander I. over the grave of his wife Sibylla, daughter of Henry I. of England. The church was 140 feet long, of which the side wall and gables remain.
12. *Monymusk*, in Central Aberdeenshire. The foundations of the church, 48 by 20 feet, and of the choir, 16 by 14, were ploughed up in last century; but the Norman basement of the tower, 17 by 15, remains.
13. *Pittenweem*, Fifeshire. Traces of the refectory, the dormitory, and the chapter house still remain. On the East of the modern church is the gateway of the Priory.

16. *Roseneath*, in Dumbartonshire. This priory was called also Kilmodan. There are the remains of a choir 27 by 17 feet.
17. *Rothesay*, in Buteshire. Here are remains of a choir measuring 27 feet by 17.
18. *Rowadill*, is in the South-East of the island of Harris. "Within the South part of this isle," says Archdeacon Munro, writing in 1549, "lies a monastery with a steeple, called Roodil." The ruins of the church still stand, but there is no trace of monastic buildings.[1] The church was used as a parish church after the Reformation, was repaired in 1784, and continued in use till the beginning of the present century.
19. *St. Mary's Isle*, in Kirkcudbrightshire. About one and a half miles South of Kirkcudbright a priory was founded in the reign of David I., but is not now in existence. It was destroyed to build Lord Selkirk's house.
20. *St. Andrews Cathedral Priory.*
21. *Scar Inch*, in the isle of Lewis, county Ross.
22. *Strathfillan*, in Perthshire. At the village of St. Fillan's are remains of the priory, founded by Bruce, in commemoration of the battle of Bannockburn. The "Bell of St. Fillan," and also the "quigrach" or silver head of St. Fillan's crosier, are now in Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum.

The Premonstratensians, or White Canons, had five abbeys and one priory.

I. *Dryburgh*, in Roxburghshire. The abbey is situated on a peninsula of the Tweed, ten miles above Kelso and three miles below Melrose. The remains consist of 6 bays of nave, including West front and South wall; also portions of the First-Pointed choir with side chapels, a shallow transept and an Eastern aisle, forming St. Mary's Chapel in North aisle. This is the burial-place of Sir W. Scott.

II. *Ferne*, in Ross. This abbey was built by Farquhar, Earl of Ross. The church consisted of nave, and choir 99 by 25 feet. The doors are

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[1] See exhaustive description by Dr. Murray, 1898.

Norman, and on North and South sides is a small chapel. It w for service till 1742, when the roof fell on a Sunday and killed 44 In the North chapel is the inscription:

> "Mors tua, mors Christi, mundi fraus, gloria cœli
> et dolor inferni, sint meditanda tibi,"

which may be translated:

> "Thy death and Christ's, the world's deceit, heaven's glory,
> and pains of hell, are for thy meditation."

III. *Holywood*, in Dumfriesshire. Between Friar's Carse and Li this abbey, founded by Devorgilla Baliol, stood. Every trace of it gone. The last remains were taken down in 1778, and the parish built of the materials.

IV. *Soulseat, i.e.* Sedes Animæ, in Galloway. The abbey wa miles from Stranraer. On the banks of the South loch are slight of the building.

V. *Tongland*, in Galloway, Kirkcudbrightshire, eight miles from Douglas. At the confluence of the Dee and Tarf is the site of the of which little remains.

1. *Whithorn*, in Galloway.

The Carthusians had two houses in Scotland.

1. *Maxton*, in Roxburgh.
2. *Perth* (*Monasterium Vallis Virtutis*).[1] In 1559 the building Perth Charterhouse was destroyed. "The rascal multitu so busy and laborious that within two days these three great the Black and Grey Friars and the Charterhouse Monks, a l of wondrous cost and greatness, was so destroyed that only tl did remain."

The Knights Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusale five houses.

1. *Ancrum*, in Roxburgh, about four miles from St. Boswell's. small fragments remain.

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[1] King James I., in 1430, founded the Charterhouse in the suburb of Perth. known as *Domus Virtutum*. Speed calls it the fairest abbey of that realm.

2. *St. John's Hill*, near Edinburgh.
3. *Kinkell*, in Garioch district, Aberdeenshire.
4. *Ruthwell*, in Dumfriesshire, eight miles from Dumfries.
5. *Torphichen*, in Mid-Lothian, is two and a half miles from Bathgate. The nave, Middle-Pointed, was 112 feet long. A portion of choir 66 by 20 feet and a central tower remain. Such are the slight remains of the chief house of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

The Knights Templars had thirteen houses.

In the rule of the Templars the young man who wished to join them was warned that he must rise when he wished to sleep, he must endure fatigue when he needed rest, he must suffer hunger and thirst when he wished to eat and drink, and he must be prepared to go into a different country from the one where he might wish to remain.

1. *Aberdeen.*
2. *Aboyne*, in Aberdeenshire.
3. *Adamton*, Ayrshire. Of the Preceptory of St. Mary, or of Our Lady Kirk of Kyle, a small part remains.
4. *Inchinnan*, in Renfrewshire. The church was 50 by 18 feet, and was pulled down in 1828.
5. *Maryculter*, in Kincardineshire. Nothing but the foundations remain, which show that it was 82 by 28 feet long.
6. *Mount Holy*, in Edinburgh, on South slope of St. Leonard's Hill.
7. *Oggerstone*, in Stirlingshire.
8. *Red Abbey Stead*, Roxburghshire.
9. *St. Germans*, Mid-Lothian. Near Seton are the remains of a small old church consisting of chancel, transept, and spire. The tracery of the windows is very fine.
10. *Stenhouse*, in Stirlingshire.
11. *Temple*, on the South Esk, twelve miles from Edinburgh. King David introduced the Knights, and established them at Temple in Mid-Lothian. The church is of the late period of First-Pointed, and measures 54 by 17 feet.
12. *Tullich*, in Aberdeenshire.

13. *Turriff*, in North-West Aberdeenshire. A spot of ground is
"Temple Brae." The old church was 120 by 18 feet.

Few remains exist because their houses were in towns.

Time will not allow us to speak of the 1000 parishes in Scotlanc of the churches belonging to the friars—the Franciscans known as Friars, the Carmelites or White Friars, and the Dominicans or Friars. Also we must omit all mention of the collegiate churche chapels, and of the hospitals. Suffice it to say that the Franc had nineteen houses, the Carmelites had twelve, the Dominican eighteen.[1]

No wonder that members of this Society, and of similar ones in Sco love to visit the buildings which make the country so full of in "Be wisely conservative," as was lately advised at a meeting of a Sc on 18th October, 1898, "of all that is beautiful in the architecture c past." We who live so near to Douglasdale should remember that c the many years when Douglas Castle was deserted as a residence, the a the church of St. Bride was left open and unprotected, and the boys place made it an amusement to throw stones at the ornamental work course this is no longer possible to be said of any place, but the are not yet sufficiently interested to protect as they might the old ruin further destruction. We would venture to suggest that antiquaries spend their holidays in making the round, of the Benedictine houses, had 4 monasteries, of the Tyronensians, which had 6, of the Cistertians, had 14 houses, of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, which had 28 h of the Premonstratentians, which had 6 houses, of the Cluniacs, which houses, and of the Valliscaulians, which had 3 houses. Some antiq may prefer to visit them in the counties to which they belong: as for ex in the 10 central counties in the valleys of the Clyde and Forth, giving attention to the monasteries in

Ayrshire—Crossraguel, Kilwinning, and Mauchline.

In Renfrewshire—Paisley.

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[1] A leading architect in the time of James III. was Thomas Cochrane; in the James IV. lived John Murray.

In Fifeshire—St. Andrew's Priory, Balmerino, Dunfermline, Inchcolm, Lindores, and Isle of May.

In Kinross-shire—Loch Leven, Portmoak.

In Mid-Lothianshire—Holyrood, Newbattle.

Or (2nd) in the Southern counties on the Tweed and Solway—

In Roxburghshire—Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh, Canonbie.

In Kirkcudbrightshire—Dundrennan, Sweetheart, Tongland, and St. Mary's Isle.

In Wigtownshire—Glenluce, Soulseat, and Whithorn.

Or (3rd) in the Northern counties—

In Aberdeenshire—Monymusk, Fyvie, and Deir.

In Perthshire—Scone, Loch Tay, Inchmahome, Inchaffray, Strathfillan, Abernethy.

In Morayshire—Elgin, Urquhart, Kinloss, Pluscardine.

In Forfarshire—Arbroath, Restennet.

The result of such a tour will be to impress upon the archæologist a still higher sense of the architecture and of its allied arts of sculpture and painting displayed in these buildings, and a resolution to rescue them, as far as possible, from further injury or destruction.

We may mention, as illustrations of carving *in stone*, the chapel of St. Mirin and St. Columba in the South transept of Paisley, where three compartments measuring 4 feet at the North side, and seven compartments measuring 10 feet at the South side are filled with sculptures bearing reference to St. Mirin. In the one on the left we see St. Mirin's mother bringing him to St. Congal; in the next St. Mirin receiving the religious habit; in the next St. Mirin being made Superior of the monastery at Bangor, etc., etc. Two sculptures show a brother of the monastery seeing St. Mirin illuminated by a celestial light, and the Saint restoring to life the dead man in the valley of Colpdash;[1] and in the centre of the chapel stands the monument of Marjory, daughter of King Robert the Bruce. It is of beautiful workmanship. It is an altar tomb, with the recumbent figure of a woman resting on a pillow; over her head is an ornamental

[1] Lees' *Abbey of Paisley*, p. 212.

canopy, with a carving of the Crucifixion. Round the monument is a series of compartments filled with boldly sculptured figures of ecclesiastics, and shields with armorial bearings.[1] Other figures are seen in various parts of the church, and fortunately the name of the sculptor is known,—Thomas Hector, who in the year 1460 received from the abbot, Henry Crighton, the lands of Nether Crossflat on lease.

In Glasgow Cathedral it is much to be regretted, as Mr. Macgregor Chalmers remarks, that the eight statues and carved corbels which adorned the panels on each side of the doorway in the screen have disappeared. The parapet of the top of this screen is now its most attractive feature, and is of beautifully-designed tabernacle work and open tracery, resting on a moulded and sculptured cornice. The carvings on this cornice are meant to illustrate the seven ages of man. Old Age occupies the centre, over the doorway; Infancy, Youth, and Manhood are on the north side, with the Schoolboy, the Lover, and the Sage on the south.[2]

In Iona the capitals of the nave pillars are carved with figures well preserved. On the first from the tower is represented the fall of our first parents; another represents the Temptation of Adam and Eve; the third has a delineation of the Crucifixion, and St. Peter cutting off Malchus' ear; and the fourth has an angel weighing souls. St. Martin's Cross, Iona, 17 feet high, may be mentioned as another instance of sculpture, as it is adorned with a great profusion of sculptural work. A sculptured cross also exists at Ruthwell. The subjects of the sculpture are a hind with a branch, St. John the Baptist with the lamb, our Lord with the right hand raised in the act of benediction with a scroll in the left hand and treading on two swine, referring to the miracle of the possessed swine, and emblematical of His triumph over unclean things, with the legend, in Runic verse, from Cædmon's lay of "The Holy Rood." "Jesus Christ the just judge; The beasts of the Desert and the Dragons recognized the Saviour of the World." "*Jesus Christus, Judex æquitatis, bestiæ et dracones cognoverunt in deserto Salvatorem mundi.*" There all also figures of St. Paul

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[1] *Abbey of Paisley*, p. 221. [2] *A Scots Medieval Architect*, p. 18.

and St. Antony breaking bread in the desert; the Annunciation; the Visitation; Mary Magdalen washing our Lord's feet; the healing of the man born blind; and the Crucifixion.

Canopied recesses containing recumbent effigies on high tombs exist at Douglas, Seton, Borthwick, Corstorphine, Aberdeen and Elgin.

Of carving in wood we have the stalls in Dunblane Cathedral, and in the chapel of King's College, Aberdeen. A fine fragment of the Rood Screen in Foulis Church, Forfarshire, still remains.

The painter's art is represented by forty-eight shields, in Aberdeen Cathedral, on which are pictured the arms of Popes, of St. Margaret, of the Kings and Princes of Christendom, and of the Bishops and Earls of Scotland, on a flat ceiling of oak panels. Bishop Dunbar ceiled the nave of Elgin with oak, adorning it with the arms of the chief benefactors, the Emperor, the Popes, the Kings, the Bishops and Nobles of Scotland, and foreign Princes. This last no longer exists, to our loss and the loss of art in general.

"That art was still Religion," we quote from the author of the *History of Scotland*, "is proved by the carving, as perfect, in the remote capital of the pillar, or in the hidden crypt, as in the workmanship that every eye could see, for the whole Cathedral was an offering of human industry to God. In the Cathedral of Aberdeen, on whose imperishable granite time has left its mark but not decay—in the shattered fragments of Elgin, the '*patriae decus, regni gloria*,' and '*laus et exaltatio laudis in regnis extraneis*,'—we are reminded of the tremendous power of the Church, when she brought these bleak regions of the North within the boundaries of the Faith and of her high culture. Ignorance and barbarism abounded there, nature was sterile and dreary, and the northern tempest roared without, but within her loving walls there was a shelter from every enemy: There Art received her baptism and her anointing in the service of God, and these brightly-lighted shrines were the centre of a system which could fully satisfy the intellect and heart. The Sons of St. Dominic had found a home in St. Clements of Dunblane's stately sanctuary and in fifteen other Scottish towns. St. Francis of Assisi, who had rekindled the dying embers of Faith among the sunny hills of Umbria, received a welcome from his brown-robed Friars

in mist-veiled Scotland. From Coldingham and Melrose to Ardchattan in Lorn, the Sons and Daughters of St. Benedict left the stamp of the "beauty of holiness," and the gaunt ruins which frown over St. Andrew's Bay, where once a copper roof like burnished gold flashed out to sea, may yet remind us of the Primatial Church which had been no unmeet symbol of the great Catholic Faith, overshadowing the land."[1]

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[1] Kinloch's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 10.

Partick Old Mill and Bridge.

No. II.

THE OLD LANDS OF PARTICK AND THE MILL THEREOF.

BY

JAMES WHITE, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th December*, 1898.]

THE Old Lands of Partick formed one of four wards, into which the Barony of Glasgow was at an early period divided. The other three wards were Govan, Badir-manok, and Cuikis ward.

From an old Rental, which, by the courtesy of Mr. Renwick, I have had the privilege of examining, and from other papers which I have seen, it would appear that, speaking generally, Glasgow of to-day is on the Old Lands of Partick ward, while Partick of to-day is on the Govan Lands. It is evident that there were lands, or, in more modern language, there was a ward of Partick distinct from the Lands or ward of Govan. The Lands of Govan included all the Barony to the south of the Clyde, and nearly all of it west of the Kelvin, while the Lands or ward of Partick extended from the Clyde to Cadder, and from the Kelvin to Shettleston.

The earliest mention of the Partick Lands is the endowment of the Cathedral, with the Lands of Perthec,[1] by David I., on 7th July, 1136,

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[1] Permit me to add another to the many conjectured derivations of the name "Partick." Trajan, one of the greatest of Roman Emperors, received from the Senate the title Parthicus to mark the victory over the Parthians. At the same time, as we learn from Dion Cassius, Parthic games were instituted. This was about A.D. 115. Early in the second century, and therefore, in Trajan's reign, Yorkhill was occupied by the Romans. (In 1867 a coin of Trajan was discovered.) Is it not likely that this place received as name the new title of the

and shortly after the same king gave to the Cathedral that other part of Partick which had not been already gifted. About 1147 another gift was the Govan Lands. These Lands of Govan and Partick were soon afterwards erected into a prebend of the Cathedral by Bishop Herbert.

On 13th July, 1577, King James VI. granted Govan to the University; no mention is made of Partick. It would seem that the Lands of Partick had by this time lost their old name, and only on one occasion after this can I find the name Partick applied to lands now in the Parish of Glasgow,[1] viz. in April, 1596, when the Molendinar encroached on the Lands of the Burgh at the Lwnyngis Hauch. The owners on the Glasgow side (Henry Gibson and others) complained against the owners on the Partick side appropriating lands to their yards. The matter was referred to the liners of the Burgh and sworn men of the Partick ward, because the complaint concerned tenants both of the barony and the burgh. The liners decided in favour of Gibson resuming possession of the lands claimed.

At the time of the Reformation, we find that Govan was one of the wards of the Barony of Glasgow, while Partick was another distinct ward. The farmers in these two wards, Partick and Govan,[2] were, as we shall see, astricted and bound to grind their grindable corn at the Mill of Partick. To identify the Mill of Partick with the Bishop's Baronial Mill, to which these two wards were astricted, is the chief object of this paper. At the same time we shall take notice of, and explain the grant claimed by the Bakers' Incorporation.

By way of preface to the argument, it will be of interest and of help in understanding what is to follow, to make mention of the law that in olden times governed the building of mills. The right to build mills was

great Emperor? Or did the name arise from the Parthic games in which the soldiers would engage? If it be suggested that these soldiers were in Yorkhill before A.D. 115, and therefore unacquainted with the new games, it has to be remembered that in A.D. 120 Hadrian, the nephew of Trajan, came from Rome, and his soldiers at least would be acquainted with the above-mentioned facts, and at the same time anxious to commemorate their former Emperor and general, who, it may be mentioned, was the first Emperor to lead his own soldiers in person to victory.

[1] *Glasgow Charters.*

[2] Mr. Renwick's *Protocols*, vol. vii., No. 2015.

at one time vested in barons only, or their nominees, and they, to protect themselves, astricted the lands of their barony to their Baronial Mill. We shall see that this law governed the erection of mills in our own district, and the astriction referred to took place in connection therewith.

In the working out of this law there were various customs that I also recall, by explaining certain terms that may be familiar to most, but the original significance of which has been lost. Thus, the district astricted or thirled was called "sucken," while the payment was named "multure."

As early as the tenth century we find in Wales the law and custom referred to. There a Manorial Lord,[1] owning the toll of his mill, had his vassals thirled to it. In the eleventh century we find that thirlage, or Soke-law, as it was also called, was in full force over the kingdom. It may be of interest to note that in this connection King William,[2] about 1165, fixed the Law of Mills as follows:

1. That all who have mills in their lands shall have one master miller and two servants, who must swear to be leal and true to the Lord of the Land and his men.

2. The farmer shall pay the thirteenth peck for multure of lands of service, and further, one firlot from every chalder for the mill servants.

3. If any man be found passing to another mill with his corn without license from the miller, the lord of the right mill shall have the horse, while the miller and his servants shall have the sack and corn.

And again, in 1283, Alexander III. passed a law at Berwick-on-Tweed, that no man was to be allowed to grind at hand mylnes, unless compelled by necessity; if he did not grind at the mill to which he was thirled, he had to pay the thirteenth peck as multure.

Coming to our own district, we discover that the Lands of the Barony of Glasgow, which were, as we have already said, divided into four wards, were thirled to three mills.[3] And we have, fortunately, some particulars of the old multures, or payments made, which give us great help in identifying these old mills.

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[1] *Corn Milling*, p. 212. [2] *Regiam Magestatem.*
[3] *Reg. Mag. Sigilli.*

There is the Charter of King James II. of 1450, giving the City and Barony to the Bishops of Glasgow, wherein mention is made of mills, multures, and sequels. And, while it is difficult from the charter to ascertain how many mills are included in it, we may yet, by examining the multures and sequels of the lands in the Barony of Glasgow of a slightly later date, arrive at a very probable, if not a certain estimate of the number of Baronial Mills in 1450. The conclusion we reach is that in 1450 there were three Baronial Mills. The proof of which lies in this: the Lands of Partick ward and Govan ward were astricted to the Mill of Partick, the Lands of Badir-manok ward (Cadder district) were astricted to the Mill of Bedlay, supposed to be the site of a mill since 1214.[1] Another portion of the Barony called Cuikis ward (west part of the Monklands) was astricted to the Clyde Mill; this mill existed in 1268. In addition to these three mills, there are other two I have to refer to: No. 1.—The town of Glasgow in 1446 received the sanction of the Bishop to erect the Town's Mill on the south of Garngadhill; No. 2.—The Lands of Provan had their own mill which still exists. There was no occasion or opening for any other mill or mills to share in the multures and sequels of the Glasgow lands.

The Mill of Bedlay and the Town's Mill were taken down some years ago, and as it is not our object to discuss the Provan Mill, or the Clyde Mill, we shall now confine our attention to the Partick Mills.

During the months of May and June, 1893, it will be in the remembrance of some, certain letters appeared in the *Glasgow Herald*, dealing with the claim of the Bakers to a grant of a mill from the Regent Moray in 1568. These letters were not able, from lack of reliable evidence, to remove the doubts that existed. To assist in solving the difficulty I submit with all deference the following facts. I have carefully examined all the documents that can be had, have collected information from all quarters open to me, and this, together with certain papers in my own hands, enables me to identify—I think with accuracy—the various

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sigilli.*

Partick Mills; to prove the Mill of Partick to be the Bishop's Baronial Mill, and also to explain the grant claimed by the Bakers.

I. What were the Partick Mills?

On 3rd November, 1587, Walter Stewart, of Blantyre, got a Charter from King James of Church Lands, for an annual payment of £500. This gift, in addition to other places, included the following four mills: (1) the Mill of Partick; (2) the Walk Mill of Partick; (3) Mill called Archy Lyon's Mill; (4) Mill called Wheat Mill.

The order of erection seems to have been the same as is given in this Charter of Walter Stewart. The Mill of Partick, built on the Kelvin at Partick was the first, date unknown; second, the Walk Mill of Partick, erected in 1507; third, the New Walk Mill, latterly Archy Lyon's Mill, erected in 1517; fourth, the Mill called Wheat Mill, that is the Bakers' Wheat Mill, erected in 1568. These four mills constituted the Partick Mills on the Kelvin in the sixteenth century.

(*a*) Notice in passing, that although four mills, there were only three weirs, and there were never more than three weirs, on the river at Partick. No. 1, the Mill of Partick, had a natural weir; No. 2, the Walk Mill, was supplied with water from a pond into which the overflow water was allowed to run from the Mill of Partick dam; No. 3, the New Walk Mill of Partick, latterly the mill called Archy Lyon's Mill, had also a natural weir; No. 4, the Bakers' Wheat Mill, had an artificial weir, and a lade 320 yards in length.

A strong proof of the identity of the Mill of Partick (No. 1) with the Bishop's Mill lies in this: that when the Bishop of Glasgow built his Baronial Mill—the first to be built—he would utilize one of his best natural falls, and not be at the expense of building a weir and cutting a long lead such as was done in the case of the Bakers' Mill (No. 4).

(II.) We now take the mills separately; and as the mills 2 and 3 were both Walk Mills originally, I shall take them first.

(*A*) THE WALK MILL OF PARTICK. (No. 2.)

On 27th January, 1507, Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, had caused to be constructed and repaired at his cost and charges a fulling mill on his lands and water of Kelvin.

In Mr. Renwick's *Protocols*, vol. iii., we find that William Craig was in the Walk Mill of Partick on 20th August, 1564, while, on 21st August, 1574, it is John Anderson in the Walk Mill of Partick, he having married Elizabeth Grahame, the widow of William Craig.

In vol. v., John Anderson, son and heir of the late John Anderson in the Walk Mill of Partick, disposes of certain lands to William Anderson of Stobcross, 26th September, 1594.

The Walk Mill of Partick is now known as Scotstoun Grain Mill, although the titles still refer to it as "the Walk Mill of Partick."

(*B*) THE WALK MILL, CALLED ARCHY LYON'S MILL. (No. 3.)

From the Rental Book of the Diocese we find that Donald Lyon, in 1517, was entered as rentaller in the New Walk Mill of Partick in the new towne, and from the *Glasgow Charters* we find that Donald Lyon died about 1537, and was succeeded by his son Archy Lyon. On 10th August, 1554, Archy Lyon obtained permission from the Archbishop to change the Walk Mill in the Newtown to a wheat mill.

Archy Lyon sold his mill to the City of Glasgow in 1577. This sale was confirmed by Walter Stewart and the King some years after. The City held it till 1771, when they sold it. It was then known as the Clayslap Mills, although the titles refer to it as Archy Lyon's Mill, No. 3, on Stewart's list. The City re-purchased them in 1874, and shortly after they were taken down. The water-power, value for about £4000, has since been running to waste.

(*b*) We have still two mills to determine, Nos. 1 and 4: the Mill of Partick and the mill called Wheat Mill. Both of them are in existence to-day, the one called Bishop Mills and the other Regent Mills.

We have now to decide which of these two is the Baronial Mill, the mill to which the neighbourhood is astricted or thirled, and then by what right the other mill was allowed to be built. For, as we stated at the outset of this paper, the right to build mills was vested in Barons only or their nominees. If a mill were built without authority Thirlage gave the proprietor of the "Sucken" mill liberty to "ding it down.'

There is a slight similarity in the law governing the erection of district mills to that governing the erection of Parish Churches. As a Parish Church cannot be planted in a parish where a church already is without permission, and then without interfering with the existing rights of the old church, so no grain mill could be built in the neighbourhood of another without first acquiring the right to build. In support of this I mention the following instance, which goes to show that the right to change from a lint mill to a corn mill was necessary so late as 1810. The miller of the lint mill on the Molendinar changed it to a corn mill, without having sanction, greatly to the injury of the Provan Mill. The City objected and went to court, and after seven years' litigation the lint mill, which had been changed, had to be taken down. Or, again, to take another instance which has already been referred to: Archy Lyon, who held the Walk Mill in the Newtown, received from James, Archbishop of Glasgow, authority to change his Walk Mill into a wheat mill on condition that he ground all the wheat required for the Bishop's house and paid four merks yearly.[1]

In 1575 three grain mills are given in the Kirk Lands Rent Roll as at Partick: one, Archy Lyon's Mill, with which we have already dealt; another, the Bakers' Wheat Mill; the other, the Mill of Partick. Although these three mills appear in the Rent Roll of the Archbishop his interest in two of them was only that of the Superior, the other was his Baronial Mill, with multures and sequels.

I shall now try to show that Mill No. 4 on Stewart's list—the Bakers' Wheat Mill—was built by the Bakers after the battle of Langside in 1568.

In the *Charters of Glasgow*[2] there is an interesting extract from a document of date 16th November, 1569. This extract narrates the complaint of Archy Lyon, owner of the mill next higher up the stream, in which he sets forth that the Bakers, "By biggin' up ane dam to their mill newly biggit by them upon the water of Kelvin, beneath the said Archibald's mill, has caused the said Archibald's mill to be in back water, stopping the passage of the water from the said Archibald's mill."

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[1] *Charters*, vol. i., p. 18*a*. [2] Vol. i., p. 550.

On referring to the Maitland Club volumes, I find this chalder of meal was paid by the Archbishop from his Mill of Partick, after he got it back from Crawford, to the bursars whose names are given in these volumes. On 28th June, 1630, in a list of grants payable to the University, there is a note of this—"16 Bolls Oatmeal payable from the Archbishop of Glasgow from his Molendinum de Partick vocat Partik Mill."[1] This bursary is still known as the Crawford or Bishop Bursary. It was redeemed on 27th August, 1890, the University receiving from the Crown the sum of £390 8s. 1d., plus interest of £3 16s. 1d., this being thirty years' purchase, namely, 480 bolls oatmeal converted to money on seven years' averages of fiars' prices previous to 1st April, 1890. This of itself shows that Crawford's Mill was the Archbishop's.

The following extract from a letter of Crawford's in the Lennox papers dated 1594, may be of some interest in that it shows how Captain Crawford was rewarded for his services:

"*The Mylne of Partik, and how I com to it, and for quhat caus.*

"My Lord, my meister the Erle of Lawenox, quha wes slaine in Striueling gaiff it to me eftir Dumbarten wes wind, and for that caus as my infeftment beiris and commandit Mr. Jhone Portarfeild, quha wes bischop for the tyme, be his gift past the grit seil, and sitt in Parlament as bischop, to giff me ane infeftment of the said mylne, quhilk he did, as it will beir of the selff, and also commandit the Lard of Minto for the tyme to put me pecebill possessioune of the said mylne, togidder with the Bischop medow, quhilk he did, and also geff me ane pensioune of twa hundreth lib furtht of the Priorie of Sanct-androis as my gift there of past the priwie seill will schaw in the self, and now my master was deid, the Pryor, his brother, wald newer giff me ony thing thereof, and also the Bischop James Boyd tuik the medow fra me, swa of that thing, my maister geff me for my service done at Dumbartin thair remanit na mair with me bot the mylne only. And I am kyndly tennent be ressoune their wes newir no man tennent of the said mylne bot I, and com in possessioune as said is, and hes bein this 27 yeir."

[1] *Magni Sigilli* and *Maitland.*

This mill, including multures, was of great value in Crawford's time. He paid annually 240 bolls meal and malt for it, and even then it seems to have been a gift.

Captain Crawford was Provost of Glasgow in 1601, and he is credited with having built a great part of the Bridge[1] of Partick, which crossed the Kelvin at his mill.[1] This old bridge was taken down on 30th September, 1895, and there were then disclosed two sculptured slabs—one with Captain Crawford's coat of arms and the date 1601, the other with the initials L.S.D.L. (Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Lennox)—and the Lennox coat of arms, with the same date as Crawford's, 1601. At the request of Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers, these slabs are now lodged in Kelvingrove Museum.

On 25th April, 1599, for sums of money and other causes, Captain Crawford, with consent of his son Daniel,[2] who had taken the name of Ker of Kersland, granted a procuratory of resignation of that date, giving power to procurators to resign the Mill of Partick into the hands of the King or Duke of Lennox. Crawford died on 3rd January, 1603, and the Archbishop got his mill back.

Early in 1608 the City of Glasgow[3] found themselves in debt, and after several meetings regarding the raising of funds, it was at last decided to have a monopoly of mills and let them together, so application was made to the Archbishop for his Mill of Partick. On 9th May, 1608, the Archbishop and the Duke of Lennox let the Mill of Partick for nine or ten years to the Town of Glasgow for an annual payment of fifty bolls ground malt. On 22nd September, 1608, the Dean of Guild and the whole merchants of the Burgh and City of Glasgow agreed to the inhabitants being thirled to the town's mills, in order that the burgh might be relieved of debt. In 1660 the City considered the matter of giving up the old Mill of Partick, owing to the great duty the town paid yearly. At that time, however, they found that the old mill was very steadable to the town in "tyme of ane drouth and frost," and so they retained it.

On 4th February, 1737, the City presented a petition to the Crown, stating "that for centuries[4] backwards they had been kindly tenants in

[1] See Frontispiece. [2] *The Lennox.* [3] *Burgh Records.* [4] Note—This should read from 1608.

the Mill of Partick, and that they had no profitable bargain, the rent being very high, and having tendered the keys of the mill when Baron Smith presided in the Exchequer, and which the Court refused to accept, they now desire a charter of the mill in order to lay out money in the improvement thereof." The desire was complied with, and the City received a charter[1] on 3rd July, 1738, from King George the Second, who refers to this mill as the mill belonging to the Archbishop, *Molendinum de Partik vulga vocat Partik Mill.* The annual payment was fixed as before[2] at 50 bolls ground malt. This same charge has now been paid for two hundred and ninety years, at first to the Archbishop, now to the Woods and Forests for the Archbishopric of Glasgow.[3]

When the City leased this mill in 1608 from the Archbishop, they were not to be allowed the multures from the astricted tenants grinding at the mill. These were to be paid to the Lord of Glasgow. It is worth noting what these multures were. Some of them are referred to in titles up to 1607. I would like to draw attention to this—if the Archbishop had lost his mill in 1568 to the Bakers, he would also have lost his multures, which were of considerably more value than the mill. The *Glasgow Records* show that the Archbishop was in possession of his mill and multures as late as 1638.

The list of farms thirled to the Mill of Partick is very interesting. As it contains dry multures, I may say that those are fixed payments for abstracted grain. When farmers wished to be free from the obligation to grind at the mill to which they were thirled, they paid dry multures. The City received these dry multures, which amounted to 24 bolls victual, and on 8th September, 1649, gave them to the ministers of Blackfriars and the Tron as part of their stipends.[4]

The list is as follows:

Geo. Elphinston,	for Gorbals and Brigend,	8 bolls Meal	to the Mill of Partick.	
,,	,, Woodside,	Multures	,,	,,
,,	,, Mekil Cowcaldanis,	3 firlots Meal	,,	,,
,,	,, Nather Newton,	3 ,, ,,	,,	,,
John Wallace,	,, Bromehill,	6 ,, Malt	,,	,,
		10 ,, Meal	,,	,,

[1] *Charter.* [2] *Burgh Records.* [3] Account, 1898. [4] *Glasgow Burgh Records.*

John Hutcheson, Jr.,	for Kenmure,	2 bolls Oatmeal Dry Multures	to the Mill of Partick	
James Foulis,	,, Rammishorne and Medowflatt,	2 bolls 1 firlot Meal	,,	,,
,,	,, Garderoch,	5 bolls 1 firlot Meal in name of Dry Multures	,,	,,
Thos. Hill,	,, Ibrox,	3 firlots 2 pks. Malt, Multures.	,,	,,
Rob. Wilkie, (Minister of Kilmarnock)	,, Borrowfield,	1 boll 3 firlots 2 pks. Meal for Dry Multures	,,	,,
John Hutcheson,	,, Gairbraid,	With Multures and Sequels	,,	,,
Wm. Duncan,	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
Michael Barde,	,, Ruchill,	,,	,,	,,
Rob. Mitchell,	,, Little Govan,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,, Keppok,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,, Over-Newton,	,,	,,	,,
John Rolland,	,, West Mekil Govan,	,,	,,	,,
	,, (Tucherhill quarter),	,,	,,	,,
And. Paterson,	,, West Shield,	,,	,,	,,
James Shields,	,, Lands of Shields,	,,	,,	,,
Wm. Forret,	,, Borrowfield,	,,	,,	,,
Rob. Ottirburne,	,, Cowtstoun,	,,	,,	,,
Rob. Crawford,	,, Mekil Govan,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,, Ballahawstene,	,,	,,	,,
David Cunningham,	,, Balschagray,	,,	,,	,,
David Wylie and Rob. Rawson,	,, Garroch,	,,	,,	,,
Nin. Stewart,	,, Nether Newton,	,,	,,	,,
Ninian Anderson,	,, Woodside,	,,	,,	,,

On 10th May, 1608, John Algeo got 300 merks, and James King got 200 merks from the City to give up nine years of their lease of Partick Mill, and James King agreed to remain as miller of the Partick Mill.[1]

The following extracts from the Archbishop's Mill Court completes the identity of the Mill of Partick:

On 23rd April, 1611, there were various complaints by the farmers against James King,[2] the miller of the Partick Mill, now in the town's

[1] *Glasgow Burgh Records*, p. 559. [2] *Glasgow Burgh Records.*

hands. One of the complaints was that James King had made ane stable in the mill and held his horse therein, and for the better preservation of the neighbours' sacks and stuff, it was decided he should have ane other stable without the mill.

On the 21st June, 1625, at the Mill Court of the Auld Mill of Partick, within the Barony and Regality of Glasgow, held in the Castle and Palace of Glasgow, by the Right Reverend Father James, Archbishop of Glasgow, Lord of the Lordship and Regality thereof, and Sir Walter Stewart, of Mynto, Knight Bailie and Justice Depute of the said Regality Court:

1. It is concluded and ordained that there shall be two Mill Court days yearly anent the said mill, to try all faults and wrongs betwixt the Sucken of said mill and the miller thereof.

2. It is ordained that, so long as James King, present miller of the said mill, remains in service as master miller, he shall be answerable for the good conduct of the two mill servants.[1]

3. James King undertakes to make good and thankful service, both to Burgh and Baronie, and agrees to grind malt on Tuesdays and Thursdays for the Burgh and Baronie, the Suckines meal to be ground at all other times of the week.

On 26th April, 1638, being present the Right Reverend Father in God, Patrick, Archbishop of Glasgow, anent ane complaint by the Provost and Bailies, and most part of the Council, against James King, present miller of the Mill of Partick, being also present himself in the said Castle. The complaint in this case was — the miller and his two servants were taking ane lock of meal upon the back of their bonnet called a pickle. The said James King, with consent of the Archbishop, binds and obliges him for himself and his under millers in the said mill, not to take any pickle nor quantity, less or mair, upon any pretence whatever, but only the multure measure. By this agreement the Sequels seem to have been lost by the Mill of Partick.

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[1] *Glasgow Burgh Records.*

The Archbishop, as can be seen from the Burgh Records, was holding his Mill Courts seventy years after the Battle of Langside regarding the Sucken of the Old Mill of Partick.

I think I have now shown conclusively (1st) that the Mill of Partick, now the Bishop Mills, was the Bishop's Baronial Mill; (2nd) that the New Walk Mill of Partick, in the Newton of 1517, was changed into Archy Lyon's Mill, and latterly named Clayslap Mills; (3rd) that the Ancient Wheat Mill was built by the Bakers after they got the right and ground on which to build, and is now known as Regent Mills.

For the Frontispiece to this paper—a very fine sketch of the Mill of Partick and Partick Bridge—I am indebted to Miss Louisa S. MacLehose and to the Regality Club, in whose publication the sketch first appeared.

No. III.

NOTICE OF ARMOUR AND ARMS AT EGLINTON CASTLE, THREE SCOTTISH SWORDS, ETC.

BY

ROBERT BRYDALL, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th December*, 1898.]

IN the houses of some of our old Scottish families there are examples or small collections of armour which have been preserved from the time when they were in use, and it occurred to me long ago that if drawings of these could be made and brought together, an interesting series would be thus formed; to do, in fact, for armour in Scotland what the late Mr. Drummond has so well done for its arms. It was with some such remote end in view that as opportunity offered I made the few drawings which I now place before you. Like many other objects connected with the history of our country, our art possessions are liable to drop out of sight. Many years ago, while looking over what is perhaps the most valuable private art collection of a Scottish nature, I was disappointed to find that the arms and armour were absent at a loan exhibition; the proprietor told me that some of the pictures and drawings had even then been sold, and, since that time, I have learned that at least one fine piece of the armour has been disposed of in London.

The two suits of armour with the saddle, glaives, and halberd, of which drawings are given, form part of a small collection in Eglinton Castle; they possess an additional interest from the fact of having been used at the celebrated Eglinton tournament in 1839, when the inclemency

Fig. 1. Suit of Gilt Armour worn by the Earl of Eglinton at the Eglinton Tournament.

Fig. 2. Suit of Steel Armour, Eglinton Castle. Used at the Eglinton Tournament.

of the weather almost completely destroyed the effect of that attempted revival of mediæval pageantry and splendour.

The beautiful suit which is represented by the drawing (Figure 1), is engraved on the surface and gilt, and was worn at the tournament by the father of the present Earl of Eglinton. The helmet is of the kind known as an *armet*, which was considered the most perfect form of armour for the head. This form of helmet dates from about the middle of the fifteenth century, and with certain modifications retained the same shape till the middle of the seventeenth. The entire front of the helmet is called the *mezail*; the vizor, nose-piece, and *ventail* or fan, are movable, and can be raised towards the crest by means of a pivot at each cheek. At the side of the helmet there is a kind of rod, the other extremity of which is screwed on to the back of the right shoulder, for the purpose of keeping the helmet more firmly in its place. This is an arrangement which I have not observed, or seen any notice taken of, except in the very heavy jousting panoply of an earlier date, of which Demmin gives an example from the Dresden Museum, where the appliance is called a *rennhutschraube*, which I take to mean a running hat screw. A small pipe on the lower part of the crest at the back of the helmet is for the insertion of a long flowing plume which streamed behind the wearer, frequently reaching to the waist or lower, instead of rising from the apex of the helmet as in the previous fashion. At the date of this suit, that is, the second half of the sixteenth century, the cuirass was already lengthening, the tassets on that account becoming proportionately smaller, with the exception of the demi-suits, where the tasset protected nearly the whole of the upper part of the leg. On this suit the waist-piece—sometimes called *taces* and sometimes the great *brayette*—is formed of two plates to which the tassets are attached by straps and buckles. A lance rest is screwed upon the breast-plate; the knee-pieces are double-flanged or hinged, which does not occur on armour made prior to the end of the fifteenth century; and the breast-plate is ridged in front, or, as it should be described, with a *tapul*, a feature which disappeared at the close of the fifteenth century, when the breast-plate became more globular, the tapul being revived about 1525.

The surface is decorated with delicately engraved ornamentation, now slightly effaced, of scroll work, with a small robed figure on the upper part of the breastplate, an anchor at her right side and a small human face at her left; below these there is a wyvern at each side. As the form of armour generally was based upon the civil costume of the time and country, the form of the breastplate gives the readiest and most prominent clue to the period and the locality in which it was made, the place in this case being South Germany, probably Munich or Augsburg.

There are, of course, numerous suits of armour existing of that locality and time, slightly differing in the form of some of the parts, of which I may mention one in the Ambras collection at Vienna which was made in Bavaria; it is richly embossed with ornament and figures, has longer tassets, and is considered to have belonged to the Emperor Rudolf II. (1572-1612). In the Meyrick collection there is a demi-lancer's suit with helmet, cuirass, and waist-piece similar to this, which is also embossed with raised scroll work; it has a complete Italian shape although it is of German make.

The plain suit (Figure 2) is of about the same period as Figure 1. It retains the broad-toe'd solerets for the feet, known as the sabot soleret or *pied d'ours*, a very marked feature in Maximilian armour, and which was in vogue from 1490 till 1560. The lance rest is shown hinged upwards so as to be more out of the way when not in use, and the visor has a small screw for keeping it in its place, either when fully closed or open; the visor is perforated at both sides, and an opening is left on the nose-piece to permit of better vision. It has broader shoulder-pieces; otherwise, except in being of a plainer make and less elegant in form, does not differ materially from the other. It is also German.

While dealing with the subject of armour, more especially in relation to that which was worn in Scotland, it is a curious fact that while tassets, plain and tuile-shaped, are frequent upon brasses and effigies in England and on the Continent, I have, so far, looked in vain for them on our Scottish effigies. Another detail of armour, the palettes or rondelles—circular discs for the protection of the armpits in front—I have only

FIG. 3. Saddle. FIGS. 4 and 5. Glaives. Fig. 6. Halbert, Eglinton Castle.

found on one of our effigies, that of Gordon of Ruthven at Ruthven Kirk, of the fifteenth century.

Figure 3 is a beautiful example of a German war saddle of the end of the fifteenth century. It is covered all over with bone or ivory, tastefully engraved, with the letters n m repeated alternately. There are saddles of this form and material in the Ambras and Niewerkerke collections, and in the museums of Monbijou at Berlin, and Brunswick. Examples are given by Demmin and Meyrick—that of the latter is described as being covered almost entirely with bone carved in relief, with figures, and a love sonnet in German. There is another in the Tower of London with the inscription—

> "*Ich hoff des pesten,*
> *Hilf Got wal auf Sand Jorger Nam.*"

—I hope for the best, if God help me in the name of St. George.

In Chaucer's "Tale of Sir Thopas," which one naturally turns to regarding mediæval harness and equipments, the knight is described as having a saddle of *rewel bone*; a footnote to this says, "No satisfactory explanation has been furnished of this word, used to describe some material from which rich saddles were made."[1] Turning to the ancient ballad of "Thomas of Ercildoune," a similar line to that of Chaucer's occurs—

> "Her saddle it was of royal bone,"

with the explanation of the term given as "pure ivory."[2]

Figure 4 is from a glaive of the fifteenth century of a Burgundian type. It is a cutting blade, fixed to the end of a pole, and differs from the war scythe and the bill in having the cutting edge on the outside or convex curve. The origin of this kind of weapon dates from the age of bronze among the Celtic and Germanic nations, at which time many of the tribes were in the habit of fixing blades or scramasax swords to long shafts, the longest arm and weapon having then the same relative value

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[1] *Canterbury Tales*, Edinburgh, 1870.

[2] *Ballad Minstrelsy of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1871. The earliest MS. of this ballad is before the middle of the fifteenth century.

as the longest range modern rifle. In Chaucer's *Court of Love* it is mentioned as a "gleve":

> "And whet their tongue as sharpe as sword or gleve";

in the *Romaunt of Guy, Earl of Warwick*, by Walter of Exeter, time of Edward II., is,

> "Grand coupes de gleves trenchant
> Les escus ne lur vailut un gans."

> "Great strokes of cutting gleves,
> The shields for them not worth a glove";

in one of the Coventry Mysteries is the line:

> "With axes, glevyis, and swordes bright";

and in the time of Queen Elizabeth by Arden of Feversham:

> "O mistris, the mayor, and all the watch,
> Are coming towards our house with glaves and bills."

Figure 5 shows a form of glaive which is known as the gisarme. The French name *guisarme* is said to be derived from the Guisards, or followers of the House of Guise, who were armed with these weapons. This example of the gisarme glaive is of the same shape as those which were carried by the guards of the Doges of Venice, and were very often richly engraved. As a fighting weapon it was sometimes formed into a combination with the scythe, a long cutting prong being added, in which form it became a very formidable instrument, more particularly in the hands of footmen against men on horseback. The Scottish glaive differed in shape from these, approaching more to the form of the Lochaber axe.

Figure 6 is a halberd of the sixteenth century. It was made in this form by the Swiss, who are said to have introduced it into France about the year 1420. The President Fouchet, writing about the end of the sixteenth century, attributes its introduction there to Louis XI. (1461-1483), when "this prince ordered at Angiers, and other good cities, some new war blades called halberds." The use of the halberd is thus described by an English Dugald Dalgetty, who died in 1587: "The halberde likewise doth only serve in the sacke of a towne, in a breach, in a sallie,

FIG. 7. Two-handed Sword of the Bruce (?).

FIG. 8. Two-handed Sword (the Laird of Lundie's).

or camisado, to enter a house in the throng of a stroken battaille to execute slaughter.[1]

In England halberds are mentioned as early as the time of Edward IV.; their use became pretty general in that reign, and they were always carried by the Yeomen of the Guard during the reign of Henry VIII. They finally ceased to be carried by troops soon after the accession of George III., when they were only used on State occasions, for which purpose they were frequently ornamented. This example corresponds with a Swiss one given by Demmin.

Figure 7 is a two-handed sword of special interest; it belongs to the Earl of Elgin, and was exhibited in the Bishop's Castle collection in the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888. The blade measures about forty-four inches, and the handle about seventeen. The tang forming the handle is covered with wood, bound over with black or very dark coloured leather, the lower part of which is replaced by cord. It is popularly, but erroneously, known as the Bruce's sword, and is the same weapon which is thus referred to by Dr. Adair: "A visit to Mrs. Bruce of Clackmannan, a lady above ninety, the lineal descendant of that race which gave the Scottish throne its brightest ornament, interested his (Burns the poet's) feelings more powerfully. . . . . She was in possession of the hero's helmet and two-handed sword, with which she conferred on Burns and myself the honour of knighthood, remarking that she had a better right to confer that title than *some people*." Clackmannan Tower having belonged to King Robert the Bruce, David II. granted it in 1359 to his kinsman Robert de Bruys, ancestor of the Bruces of Clackmannan, which line became extinct on the death of Henry Bruce in 1772. Henry Bruce's relict was Catherine, the lady above alluded to, who died in November, 1791, when she bequeathed the sword and helmet to the Earl of Elgin, as chief of the family.

I have not seen the helmet, but have read that it is of a much later

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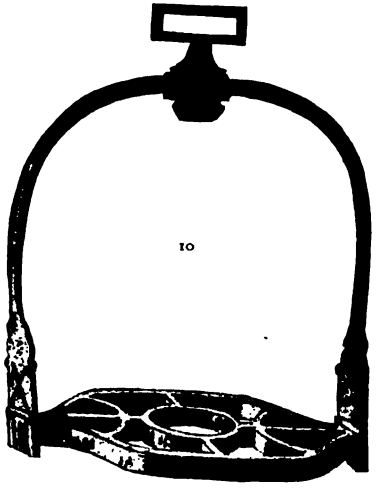
[1] "*The Arte of Warre*, by William Garrard, Gentleman, who served the King of Spayne in his warres" (Meyrick).

date than that of the Bruce, and, unfortunately, the same has to be said of the sword. The two-handed sword does not date earlier than the fifteenth century; it was the ordinary weapon of Swiss footmen; and in Germany was mainly used for repelling attacks on fortified towns or places of strength. Writing of the two-handed sword, Giacomo de Grassi, in his *True Art of Defence*, says, "Because one may with it, as with a galleon among many gallies, resist many swords or other weapons: therefore, in the warres it is used to be placed neere unto the Enseigne or Auncient for the defence thereof, because, being of itselfe hable to contend with manie, it may the better safeguard the same. And, because its waight and bignes requires great strength, therefore those onlie are allotted to the handling thereof which are mightie and bigge to behould, great and stronge in bodie, and of stout and valiant courage." The same writer tells that, in using the two-handed sword, the swordsman delivered "great edge blows downright and reversed, fetching a full circle or compasse therein with exceeding great swiftness, staying themselves upon one fote, sometimes on the other, utterly neglecting the thrust, and perswading themselves that the thrust serveth to amaze one man onlie, but those edge blowes are of force to encounter many. The hand towards the enemie must take hold fast of the handle neere the crosse, and underneath the other hand above and neere the pomell." Meyrick states that these swords were so well poised as to excite astonishment at the ease with which they may be wielded, and the mode of handling the huge weapon is picturesquely described by Scott, in the combat between Rudolf Donnerhugel and Arthur Philipson. Silver, in his *Paradox*, gives the proportionate size—"The perfect length of your two-handed sword is, the blade to be the length and hilt of your single sword." The power of the weapon is noted in the romance of *Sir Degrevant*, where a warrior is spoken of, who,

> "With his two-hande sword
> He made such playe,
> That sixty lay on the field."

Figure 8 is a beautiful example of a characteristic Scottish two-handed sword, which was exhibited with Figure 7, the property of the Baroness

FIG. 9. Silver Hilted "Andrew Ferara" (Viscount Dundee's).



10

11

FIG. 10. Iron Stirrup from Bannockburn.
FIG. 11. Silver Spur from Bannockburn.

Willoughby d'Eresby. The blade is longer and the handle is shorter than the one just described, measuring respectively about four feet and fourteen inches, the length of the quillon, from the handle to the tip, being about seven inches;[1] a much larger specimen is possessed by the Duke of Northumberland. The sword here given is said to have been used by the Laird of Lundie at the battle of Bannockburn, but this must be discarded as a misleading tradition. The stamped leather scabbard shows the two hooks by which it was suspended at the back, over the left shoulder, and the depressed quillons are characteristic of the true Scottish claymore. In the short ballad of *The Laird of Muirhead*, that hero is described standing before the king, presumably at Flodden, where the Laird was slain,

> "Wi' that same twa-hand muckle sword,
> That Bartram fell'd stark dead";

but it could only have been the ordinary claymore that is referred to in *Dick o' the Cow*,

> "He has taen the laird's jack on his back,
> And a twa-handed sword to hang by his thie."

Figure 9 is a drawing of the silver hilt of a beautiful Andrea Ferara broadsword, which belonged to Viscount Dundee, and was exhibited with Figures 7 and 8. The pommel is formed by a savage's head; the intervals of the ribs are filled in with trophies of arms, banners, trumpets, gauntlets, etc.; and the front is occupied by the figure of a Roman soldier standing on two crossed cannons, with a spear in his right hand. This form of sword was in common use in the seventeenth century, and is often erroneously named a claymore, which had plain inverted quillons of the shape of Figure 8, and such as are carved on the West Highland stones. It is believed to have originated among the Venetians, where it bore the name of *schiavona*, from it being carried by the schiavoni, or guards of the Doge, in addition to a glaive. Of these Venetian swords there are examples in various museums on the Continent.

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[1] I give these measures approximately, as the conditions under which I drew them did not permit exact measurement.

The blade of this example is straight, of the true Scottish type, and is stamped with the name of the Italian sword-smith of whom so little authentic is known. Dr. Joseph Anderson states "that he is said to have been an Italian armourer of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and to have established an armoury in Spain. . . . The date usually attributed to the original Andrea is too early for the majority of the sword-blades bearing the designation, and the probability is that the "Ferara" blade was manufactured by various armourers in different places to supply the demand created, in the first instance, by their superior excellence. It is quite in accordance with what is known in other cases, that the original name Andrea should have been continued through several generations of armourers after it had once become famous." There was a tradition long current in Scotland that he was a Spaniard by birth, and it was claimed for him that he tempered his blades by the same method as that employed by the smiths of Damascus; further, that he came into Scotland after having fled into France from Spain, to avoid the consequences of having put to death an apprentice who had discovered his secret. From an interesting article in the twelfth volume of the *Cornhill Magazine* (1865), it seems to be established that he was born about 1555, and was one of a family of armourers who wrought in Italy for at least two generations earlier. About 1585 he was established as an armourer or cutler in the town of Belluno in Friuli, an ancient Duchy of Illyria, which was under the dominion of the Doges of Venice from 1420 till the general of the French army declared the State of Venice at an end. Andrea had a brother named Giovan Donato in business with him; Piero Ferara was his contemporary; and Cosmo Ferara belonged to a period about two generations anterior. The incessant intercourse between Scotland and the Continent led naturally to the bringing of blades into this country, so highly prized, and these would probably give the name and fashion to the swords of other makers. Further, as an additional reason for the estimation in which the blades continued to be held, it may be remembered that the broadsword remained the national weapon in Scotland for a hundred years after it had disappeared before the rapier and small sword in other nations; and that the private men in the

Highland regiments, whether raised for Jacobite or Hanoverian, were armed with it.

Ferara blades are, of course, often found fitted with modern handles of different dates, and one played its part in the Indian mutiny. The manner of stamping the name varies; thus, in some specimens we find "Andrea Ferara" on both sides, sometimes repeated twice; on others is "Andrea" on one side, and "Ferara" on the other; and on one which I have seen is "Andreia Farara," with a legend "*Soli Deo Gloria*," very rarely found on these blades. In addition to the name there is sometimes a mark, probably that of the maker—in the specimen under consideration it is a man's head crowned; others have a crown, etc., and the most esteemed have a gilt cross and ball.

Figure 10 is one of a pair of iron stirrups in the possession of Mr. Campbell of Dunstaffnage, which, according to tradition, were left in that castle by the Bruce when he handed it over to the Campbells. The probably oldest existing specimens of stirrups are of the twelfth century, and in their general form are little more than looped or triangular shaped.

Along with the stirrups there is preserved an iron spur, consisting of a simple spike fastened on to the heel of the shank, and, like the stirrup, is quite as old as the time of the Bruce; it is similar to a spur used on the Continent as early as the eleventh century, after which for a very long period it pointed upward, the rowel being introduced in the thirteenth century.

Figure 11 is one of a pair of spurs of silver, said to have been found in the "tomb" of the Bruce, when the body was discovered in Dunfermline Abbey in 1818. Of the tomb itself, I find no notice at that time except of a few fragments of marble believed to have been a portion of the tomb, the body of the king having been found in a kind of stone coffin, covered with slabs of stone. They were lent to the Bishop's Castle collection by Mrs. Kay Brown of Auchingramont, but, although found in the grave of the great hero, can hardly be assigned to so early a period. Of all the accoutrements, the spur is the most difficult to classify in exact chronological order; but this can be done in a broad general way. In this beautiful specimen the shank and neck are of the same type as one

of iron of the sixteenth century given by Demmin; another of a similar general form, attributed to the time of Queen Elizabeth, is given by Fairholt; and Meyrick gives another, but with a flat circular disk at right angles with the shank where it joins the neck, and with a rowel of six points, which he describes as a Mauro-Spanish spur of the time of Philip and Mary. The rowel of this spur, which would, of course, be held in the cleft of the neck, is absent.

No. IV.

THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE DISTANCE-SLABS OF THE VALLUM OR WALL OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

BY

JAMES MACDONALD, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 16th March, 1899.*]

Of the inscribed stones that have been found along the line of the Vallum or Wall of Antoninus Pius, there are eighteen which record the fact that a measured portion of it (left blank in two instances) was executed by a particular body of soldiers. With two exceptions the inscriptions commence with the names and titles of the emperor, some of them being, as is usual, more or less contracted. The stones have been spoken of as distance-slabs—an appellation that seems appropriate enough. Five are claimed by the Second Legion, the same number by a vexillation or detachment of the Sixth, one by the Twentieth and six by a detachment of it—seventeen in all. The remaining stone registers the presence in North Britain of a corps of auxiliaries, the First Cohort of Tungrians, who were probably associated with the legionaries in the construction of the Vallum, although there is a doubt as to the share they had in the work. It may be mentioned that sixteen of the eighteen slabs are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.

The Emperor Pius is commonly designated on his monuments in all countries where they are found, IMP·CAES·T·AELIVS·HADRIANVS·ANTONINVS·AVG·PIVS; the uncontracted words being put into

the case proper to the form of inscription deemed most suitable to the purpose for which the monument was specially raised. Omissions and additional contractions are, however, not uncommon. Twelve of the distance-slabs have all those names and titles, either contracted or given in full, two omit PIVS, one omits HADRIANVS, and one T·AELIVS·HADRIANVS; C stands seven times for CAESAR; AE three times, and AEL once for AELIVS; HADRI twice for HADRIANVS; ANT, ANTON and ANTONIN once each for ANTONINVS; while TITVS is written at length three times. Within a year, it would seem, after his accession Pius accepted from the Senate the title of *Pater Patriae*, represented on the slabs before us by the initial letters of these two words. The distinctive epithets of the legions are also abbreviated, but not always in the same way; and in order to denote the extent of work performed by them on the Vallum, we have PER·MIL·P, PER·M·P, M·P·P, M·P, P·P, or simply P, followed by numerals. In the matter of contractions, as in other respects, considerable latitude was evidently allowed to the scribes who drafted, or the workmen who cut the inscriptions.

It must not be supposed that eighteen is the entire number of distance-slabs that stood along the Vallum when it was first constructed.[1] Horsley, basing his calculation on the figures to be read on those known in his day, made the mistake of assuming that, as the results he brought out happened to agree very nearly with what was reckoned by actual measurement to be its whole length, no more such stones had ever existed. New discoveries soon proved this assumption to be groundless; and not a few slabs, it is more than likely, have been broken up, or are still lying under the soil. Besides, some with no numerals on them may have been intended, as Dr. Hübner appears to suppose, to mark off unmeasured portions of the work executed by a legion or detachment. The original number is thus uncertain. Equally so is their first position relative to the Vallum. Seven or eight have been dug up within or near the site of a station, some at a considerable distance from any known station, while of some the exact position when discovered

[1] Notices of two, both imperfect, that have long ago disappeared will be found in *C. I. L.*, Vol. VII. (Nos. 1109 and 1110 *a*).

has not been properly noted. Clearly the Vallum has been swept, perhaps oftener than once, with the besom of destruction.

No fewer than fourteen of the slabs were set up, if we may judge from what is known of their recent history, between Chapel Hill or Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde, the first station on the west half of the Vallum, and Kirkintilloch, the fifth, a distance which includes only about 13½ of the 36½ statute miles which are supposed to have been its entire length. Two are recorded as having been found 'near Kirkintilloch'; the Tungrian slab, the right of which to be regarded as one of them is somewhat doubtful, belongs to Castlecary, 8½ miles further east than Kirkintilloch; and one, the finest of all, which is now in the National Museum, Edinburgh, was dug up in 1868 at Carriden, on the Firth of Forth. No reason can at present be assigned for this unequal distribution of the slabs. Curiously enough, it is balanced by a similar inequality in the distribution of the altars, of which only two have as yet been discovered between Chapel Hill and Kirkintilloch, while seventeen[1] were turned up to the east of the last-mentioned place.

One other peculiarity deserves to be remembered: there are no corresponding slabs among the numerous examples of Roman epigraphy to be found in almost every country of the Roman world. The builders of the wall between the Solway and the Tyne have left behind them no such memorials of their toil, nor have any as yet been met with along the line of the German *Limes* that runs from the Rhine to the Danube. As regards their most characteristic feature, the distance-slabs of the Pius Vallum are unique.

Except two already referred to, one belonging to the Second, the other to the Twentieth Legion, the inscriptions are all drawn up after the same model. Following the names and titles of the Emperor come the official designation of some body of troops and the extent of work presumably performed by it on a section of the Vallum. F, FEC or FECIT, is expressed nine times, and OPVS · VALLI twice. While the inscriptions agree so far, there are, even as between the stones set up

[1] One of these was found only a few months ago.

by the same legion or detachment, differences, which, however, are for the most part without any important significance. For example, two, if not four, look as if they had been at first intended to bear merely the name of the legion, other additions being an after-thought. But the points of agreement or distinction will be best seen by examining and comparing the slabs themselves. As this is impossible for all who may wish to study the subject, the inscriptions are here set down with references to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. VII., and the *Tituli Hunteriani*, in the latter of which most of the stones are figured and the inscriptions translated:

A. *SECOND LEGION.*

1. Locality uncertain. *C. I. L.*, VII., No. 1138; *T. H.*, No. 7, Pl. XIII., Fig. 1.

LEG
II
AVG · F ·
P IIII CXL

2. Most probably from Duntocher. *C. I. L.*, No. 1136; *T. H.*, No. 4, Pl. II., Fig. 3.

IMP A NTON
AVG PIO
P P
LEG
II
AVG
F P IIICCLXXI

3. Castlehill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1130; *T. H.*, No. 10, Pl. III., Fig. 2.

IMP CAES TITO AELIO
HADRIANO ANTONIN°
AVG PIO P P LEG II
AVG PEP · M P · III DC
LXVIS

4. Cadder; probably from Balmuildy. *C. I. L.*, No. 1126; *T. H.*, No. 15, Pl. VII., Fig. 2.

IMP · CAES · TITO · AELIO
HADRIANO · ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P · LEG · II · AVG
PER · M · P · III · DCLXVIS

5. Bridgeness, Carriden. *C. I. L.*, No. 1088; *Proc. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, Vol. VIII., Pl. VII.

IMP · CAES · TITO · AELIO
HADRI · ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P · LEG · II
AVG · PER · M · P IIII DCL · II
FEC

REMARKS. These five slabs are separable into two sets, the first comprising A1 and A2, the second the remaining three. Between A1 and A2 there is a marked resemblance, the chief difference being that the name of the emperor is not on A1. Both are ornamented with the emblems of the legion and other objects. The line of numerals may have been put on these stones at a later date than the name of the legion. It is hardly an objection to this that the latter is so placed as if room had to be left for the former (cf. *T. H.*, Pl. X., Fig. 1); and it is more than likely that the crowding of as many as possible of the emperor's designations among the ornamentation at the top of A2, is due to a similar cause.

A3, A4, and A5 are larger stones, and there is nothing about the inscriptions to indicate that any part of them is an addition to the first draft. The words of each are almost identical. But while those on A4 fill nearly the whole surface of a weather-worn slab, a broad space at each end of A3 and A5 bears ornamentation of a pictorial character. This, on the latter, consists of a conventional representation of the triumph of Rome over a barbarian foe and of preparations for a sacrifice. On none of them are contractions used in the personal names of the emperor, except that A5 has HADRI instead of HADRIANO. These three also agree in prefixing PER·M·P to the measurement of work.

B. *VEXILLATION OF SIXTH LEGION.*

1. Locality uncertain; probably Erskine, opposite Chapel Hill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1140; *T. H.*, No. 2., Pl. I., Fig. 2.

IMP · C · T · AELIO ·
HADRIANO · ANTO
NINO · AVG · P · P ·
VEX · LEG · VI · VIC ·
P · F · OPVS · VALLI
P · ∞∞∞∞ C · XLI ·

2. Broadfield, near Duntocher. *C. I. L.*, No. 1135; *T. H.*, No. 5, Pl. III., Fig. 1.

IMP · C · T · AELIO · HADR
IANO · ANTONINO · AVG
P · P · VEX · LEG · VI
VICTRICS · P · F ·
OPVS · VALLI · P ·
⋈ ⋈ ⋈ CCXL · F

3. Low Millochan, near Summerston. *C. I. L.*, No. 1131; Stuart, *Cal. Rom.*, 2nd ed., Pl. XVI., Fig. 3.

IMP · CAES · T
AELIO HADRI
ANTONIN · AVG
PIO · P · P · VEXILLA
LEG · VI · VIC P F
PER · M · P · IIIDCLXV

4. Locality uncertain; probably Summerston, near Balmuildy. *C. I. L.* No. 1132; *T. H.*, No. 14, Pl. V., Fig. 2.

IMP · CAESAR · T · AELIO
HADRIANO ANTONINO
AVG PIO · P · P · VEXILLATIO
LEG · VI · VICTR · P · P
PER · M · P · III · DCLXVIS

5. Near Kirkintilloch. *C. I. L.*, No. 1121; *T. H.*, No. 18, Pl. VII., Fig. 3.

IMP · CAESARI · T ·
AELIO · HADRIANO
ANTONINO AVG ·
PIO · P · P · VEXILLA
LEG · VI · VIC · P · F
PER · M · P ·

REMARKS. The slabs of this legion are also divisible into two sets, one formed by B1 and B2, the other by B3, B4, and B5. The first set is distinguished from the second by having the nature of the work defined as OPVS·VALLI, by introducing the extent of this by a single P and by the use of graphic forms of M, to represent a thousand. But while on B1 the inscription, which fills nearly the entire surface, is enclosed in a simple border, on B2 it is cut on a panel that covers only about a fourth part of the stone. This panel is supported by two figures, both representing the goddess Victory, the rest of the space being occupied by other figures and devices. B3, B4, and B5 are larger slabs closely resembling each other in the style of ornament and in the inscriptions, the latter being almost the same on them all. PER·M·P precedes the numerals that indicate the extent of work, although on one (B5) the numerals have not been filled in.

C. *TWENTIETH LEGION.*

Three quarters of a mile east of Kirkintilloch. *C. I. L.*, No. 1122; Stuart, Pl. X., Fig. 4.

LEG · XX
V · V · FEC

M · P · III P
III CCCIV

REMARKS. There is but a single slab, so far as is known, belonging to

the Twentieth Legion. It is one of the two on which the emperor's name is awanting. The distance is recorded in two lines of small letters on the lower left corner; P · III being repeated, as Dr. Hübner conjectures, through a mistake on the part of the stone-cutter. To the right of these letters is the forepart of a boar, the emblem of the legion, running at a tree. The whole suggests the probability of the hinder part of the animal having been either removed or omitted from the stone, to make room for the record of work.[1]

D. *VEXILLATION OF TWENTIETH LEGION.*

1. Most probably from Chapel Hill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1141; *T. H.*, No. 1. Pl. 1, Fig. 1.

IMP · C
T · AE · HADRIA
NO · ANTONINO AVG · PIO P · P ·
VEX
LEG · XX
V · V · FEC
P · P · IIII CDXI ·

2. Imperfect. Locality uncertain; probably same as B1. *C. I. L.*, No. 1142; *T. H.*, No. 3, Pl. II., Fig. 2.

· MP · C · T · AE ·
· A D R I A N O
· N T O N I N O
· · G · PIO · P · P ·
· · · EG · XX · V · V ·
· · · · DXI

[1] At the time the *Tituli Hunteriani* was being prepared this slab had got temporarily out of sight and so escaped notice there.

3. Locality uncertain; probably the neighbourhood of Duntocher. *C. I. L.*, No. 1137; *T. H.*, No. 6, Pl. XIII., Fig. 2.

IMP · C ·
T · AE · HADRIANO
ANTONINO · AVG
PIO · P · P · VEX · LEG
XX · V V · FEC ·
P ·

4. Castlehill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1133; *T. H.*, No. 12, Pl. XIV., Fig. 1.

IMP C
T AELIO
HADRIANO
ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P ·
VEX · LEG · XX · V
P P III

5. Hutchison Hill, near Castlehill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1133*a*; *T. H.*, No. 13, Pl. VI., Fig. 1.

IMP · C · T
AEL · HADR
IANO AN
TONINO · AVG
PIO · P · P · VEX
LEG · XX · V · V
FEC
P P III

6. Locality unknown. *C. I. L.*, No. 1143; *T. H.*, No. 16, Pl. IV., Fig. 1.

IMP · CAESARI
T · AELIO HADRI
ANO ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P ·
VEXILLATIO
LEG · XX · VAL · VIC · F
PER · MIL · P III

REMARKS. Between the first of these vexillation slabs (C1) and the others there are several points of dissimilarity which not only give it a character of its own but supply some grounds for supposing that on it too the distance numerals are not a part of the original design. In the centre is the goddess of Victory in a reclining posture, holding in her right hand a wreath, within which is the name and title of the legion, together with FEC. Above is what looks like the pediment of a temple, supported by two channelled pilasters. The pediment is filled up with the name and titles of the legion. In the centre of the base is the figure of a boar running to the left, the spaces vacant on each side of it being filled by P·P (the first P probably = PER) and numerals.

The inscriptions on the remaining five slabs closely resemble one another. One of them is incomplete, but the missing letters can easily be supplied.

E. *THE TUNGRIAN COHORT.*

Near Castlecary. *C. I. L.*, No. 1099; *T. H.*, No. 29, Pl. XI., Fig. 3.

IMP · CÆS · T · ÆL · ANT
· AVG · PIO · P · P ·
COH · T · TVNGRO
RVM · FECIT · –

On this slab we have, after FECIT, $\overline{\text{oo}}$ = M = 1000, which may indicate the strength of the Cohort, or, as Dr. Hübner thinks more probable, the extent of work it performed. The true significance of the symbol in this instance will probably remain uncertain.

These data seem to show that if, as is generally assumed, PER · MIL · P (once), PER · M · P (three times), M · P · P (once), M · P (three times), P · P (three times), and P (five times) are all equivalent, P (when not = PER) denoting some definite measure of length, the extent of work recorded on existing slabs stands thus:—

A. *SECOND LEGION.*

1.		P 4140	
2.		P 3271	
3.	M	P 3666½	
4.	M ·	P 3666½	
5.	M ·	P 4652	
			- - 19396

B. *VEX. OF SIXTH LEGION.*

1.		P 4141	
2.		P 3240	
3.	PER · M ·	P 3665	
4.	PER · M ·	P · 3666½	
5.	PER · M ·	P [3000]?	
			- - 17712½

C. *TWENTIETH LEGION.*

	M · P ·	P 3304?	
			- - 3304

D. *VEX. OF TWENTIETH LEGION.*

1.	P ·	P 4411	
2.		? 4411?	
3.		P [3000]?	
4.	P ·	P 3[000]	
5.	P ·	P 3[000]	
6.	PER · MIL ·	P 3[000]	
			- - 20822

E. *TUNGRIANS.*

		1000?	
			- - 1000
			62234½

These inscriptions supply two of what may be called the problems of the Vallum. For a long time they were regarded as honorary in form, the

names and titles of the emperor being read as in the dative case; and the P that always stands before the numerals was held to represent *passus* (paces). Our older writers without exception are of this opinion. It so happens that in only three of the names and titles—IMPERATOR, CAESAR, and PATER—is the ending of the ablative different from that of the dative; and as the first and the last are always shortened into IMP and P respectively, they cannot be appealed to. CAESAR is also without a case ending on all our slabs except two, which have CAESARI. This to many seems decisive as regards the rest. But Dr. Hübner, in the seventh volume of the *C. I. L.*, takes a different view on both points. In all the six inscriptions which he writes out at length, he puts the names in the ablative as denoting time, and expands P into *pedes* (feet). This is the more noteworthy inasmuch as in his preliminary account of the Vallum he accepts in regard to the first point the current opinion. *Ex illis titulis*, he tells us, *plus minus quinquagentis repertis ad valli stationes singulas, de quibus postea seorsum dicetur, undeviginti dedicationes sunt positae* IMPERATORI CAESARI T. AELIO HADRIANO ANTONINO AUGUSTO PIO PATRI PATRIAE. Why he afterwards substituted the ablative when dealing with the stones separately, he does not inform us. Some of his reasons, however, are not difficult to discover.

Statues of distinguished men were the proper objects on which to place honorary inscriptions. These in their primitive form consisted of the name (in the nominative case) of the person honoured, and some particulars regarding him, such as his official titles. In the days of the later republic and the empire more details were given and the inscriptions often took a dedicatory form. The name was then put in the dative case, followed by that of the person or community which set up the object and the reason that gave origin to it. But the Vallum was not a statue; it was a public work of a totally different kind, and the inscriptions on the slabs must be classed with those common on buildings, bridges, roads, etc. On such works the early form of inscription was the same as that on statues, with the addition of FEC or FECIT. That on the Pantheon is a well-known example:—

M · AGRIPPA · L · F · COS · TERTIVM FECIT

But like inscriptions on statues, inscriptions on public works were afterwards greatly elaborated, and not seldom so expressed as to convey the idea of honorary dedication. Milestones, which may be called the distance-slabs of the great Roman *viae publicae*, furnish us with examples of both the nominative and the dative. On them, however, we meet with a third variety, which "shows the name of the emperor in the ablative case, serving thus to indicate the date. Such inscriptions are common in Africa, but rare elsewhere. The name in the ablative case may be followed simply by the numeral, with or without M·P, or again by the name, in the nominative case, of the official making the road or supervising the same,"[1] and a verb or verbal phrase. For examples of this ablative, cf. *C. I. L.*, VIII., 10135, 10138, 10139, 10146, etc. Nor was this practice confined to milestones proper. Cut in the natural rock on a road in the south of the ancient kingdom of Numidia, is the following (*C. I. L.*, VIII., 10230):—

IMP · CAES · T · AELIO
HADRIANO · ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P · IIII · ET · M
AVRELIO · CAESARE II
COS · PER PRASTINA
MESSALINVM · LEG
AVG · PR · PR · VEXIL ·
LEG · VI · FERR · VIA
FECIT

Expanding we have—*Imp(eratore) Caes(are) T(ito) Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug(usto) Pio P(atre) P(atriae) quartum et M. Aurelio Caesare iterum Co(n)s(ule) per Prastina(m) Messalinum leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) vexil(latio) leg(ionis) VI. Ferr(atae)* [*hanc*] *via(m) fecit*; *i.e.* In the reign of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his country, consul for the fourth time with M. Aurelius Caesar,

[1] Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, p. 253; London, 1896. Cf. Mommsen, *C. I. L.*, VIII., p. 859.

consul for the second time, as his colleague, a vexillation of the sixth legion, the Cuirassiers, made this road under the instructions of Prastina Messalinus, legate of the Emperor and proprætor.

It will be admitted that there is a resemblance, both in purpose and form, between this inscription and the simpler ones on the distance-slabs, the chief difference being that in addition the exact year is recorded by the names of the consuls, and that as the reference is to the whole and not a part of the work performed, numerals were not of necessity required.

It thus appears that, at least in some of the provinces of the empire —for if in Africa, why not in Britain?—there was no definite rule as between the dative and the ablative in inscriptions of the kind now under review. Both forms became, in fact, conventional, and were accepted as such. When, as frequently happened, the reader was obliged to expand without having an inflected word to guide him, he was at liberty to select whichever of the two cases seemed most suitable to the circumstances. Now the primary purpose of the distance-slabs must have been, as already remarked, to testify that a measured portion of the Vallum was made by a particular body of troops. If so, the name of the emperor, when introduced on them, would, one is inclined to think, be put in a case which expresses that this took place in his reign rather than in one which indicates that it was done in his honour. This is certainly in accordance with modern usage, which, however, cannot always be taken as a safe rule in matters ancient.

It should not be overlooked that on two of the slabs (B5 and D6), and those the only two on which the word appears in full, we have CAESARI. At first sight this favours the belief that the dative is the proper case in all. But since the practice varied elsewhere this cannot be held to follow necessarily. Besides, the dative on those two may be due to the carelessness or ignorance of the original scribe or the stone-cutter. Instances of mistakes arising from one or other of these two causes are common enough. Still it may be safest to take B5 and D6 as they are on the stones. And this we can do without prejudice to our freedom of choice in regard to the others.

The scale of measurement indicated by P is a more complicated

question. Mr. George Neilson,[1] in consequence of the sum of the numbers recorded on the slabs being so much in excess of the actual length of the Vallum, if P = *passus*, gets over the difficulty by making some of them duplicates set up at either end or face of the same section of the Vallum; Dr. Hübner does so by expanding P into *pedes*, and thus reducing the length of the sections to one-fifth of the former estimate.

Passus, as is shown by the inscriptions on milestones, was the measurement used by the Romans for roads that were in use; but the extent of buildings of every kind, especially walls—and inscriptions on town walls have been preserved—was denoted by *pedes*. As the Vallum must be regarded as a wall rather than a road, we should expect to find its length, if taken in portions, reckoned by *pedes* and not by *passus*. No doubt there was a road in connection with it. But if this road could claim the slabs, and even if stages on it were marked off as the work of different legions, it is hard to conceive of a satisfactory reason why distances were not specified by milestones suitably inscribed. Caesar, as every schoolboy knows, gives in *millia passuum* the length of the famous wall which he made from the point where the Rhone issues from the Lake of Geneva to the pass between Mount Jura and that river—a distance of nineteen miles. That, however, was its whole length. Without begging the question as to the value of P we cannot now determine whether the slabs originally stood apart on the Vallum at distances that would lead the surveyors of the ground to measure the space by *pedes* or by *passus*. There is this to be said, that while P may represent either *pedes* or *passus*, M·P, so far as is known, always stands for *millia passuum*. But then we have here P·P, or the simple P as often as M·P.

The fact just mentioned has suggested to Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates another solution of the difficulty. He divides the slabs into two groups, in the one of which the measurement is by *passus*, in the other by *pedes*. "When," he writes, "we meet with M·P on the distance-slabs, we are bound to read the figures following as Roman miles and paces; it is

[1] *The Antonine Wall Report, being an account of excavations made under the direction of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, pp. 9, 10. Glasgow: MacLehose. 1899.

only when there is a P or P·P before the figures that we are entitled to treat these as feet."[1] This is, he thinks, confirmed by M·P III P III CCCIV (slab C), which he reads "miles 3, feet 3304," a somewhat awkward mode of enumeration, as he admits. To account for the occurrence of several slabs relating apparently to the same section of the Vallum, he supposes that the three legions were employed "concomitantly" in pushing on the three distinct parts of which, as a *limes*, it consists—the trench, the turf wall or Vallum proper, and the military road. OPUS·VALLI on B1 and B2 will then apply solely to the turf wall as distinguished from the other two parts of the work. Since the first slabs met with in the west are marked only with P, this he takes to indicate that the work was begun from that quarter and its progress recorded by the legions in so many feet, as they had been accustomed to do in camps, etc. As they advanced they would find it advisable, owing to the greatness of the undertaking, to adopt a larger scale and to use paces.

The theory—and Mr. Bates advances it only as such—is an ingenious one. But the uncertainty as to the localities in which some of the slabs were found as well as to whether the number for certain distances is complete, somewhat impairs the force of the arguments brought forward to support it. In future discussions of the subject, however, it deserves to receive consideration.

In a word: if the P on the stones is of uniform value, it is *a priori* probable that it stands for *passus*, though this is incapable of proof. The slabs would then have been attached to the Vallum as suggested by Mr. Neilson. On the other hand, if they stood in one long line we are driven to accept *pedes*. A *via media* is to have recourse to some such explanation as Mr. Bates proposes. The problem must, it is to be feared,

2⅜ in. × 1⅜ in.

1

2⅜ in. × 1⅝ in.

2

2¾ in. × 1⅞ in.

3

4⅜ in. × 3 in.

4

3⅞ in. × 2¼ in.

5

Actual Size.

6

No. V.

THE SEALS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

BY

GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 20th April*, 1899.]

THE earlier seals of the University are known by description only, for neither the matrices nor any impressions of them are now to be found. The following excerpt from the records shows that on 6th November, 1453, the second year after the foundation of the University, it was resolved to make two seals, the one for the University and the other for the Rector:

"Congregacione universitatis tenta in domo capitulari ecclesie Glasguensis in festo Sancti Leonardi super duobus articulis · primus fuit ad habendum sigillum universitatis et signetum rectoris qui pro tempore fuerit. . . . Quantum ad primum articulum placuit universitati quod fierat sigillum et quod in eodem esset sculptum ymago Sancti Kentigerni patroni nostri et quod a dexteris ejus una manus se extenderet cum libro et a sinistris piscis cum annulo et quod scribatur in circumferentia Sigillum communne unibersitatis Glasguensis. Preterea ordinavit signetum rectoris ad causas in quo sculperetur piscis cum annulo et in circumferentia scribatur Signetum rectoris unibersitatis Glasguensis."[1]

In 1482 it was resolved to have a seal *ad causas*, because it was thought hardly becoming to use the great seal *in singulis causis*. The two following excerpts contain the proposal and resolution:

[1] *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (*Maitland Club*), 1854, vol. ii., p. 63.

"Congregacione generali universitatis tenta in inferiori capitulo ecclesie Glasguensis ix Januarii anno etc. lxxxij per venerabilem virum Magistrum Johannem Broun rectorem universitatis et supposita ejusdem prefatus dominus rector motivo congregacionis in genere exposito infrascriptos in medium proponendo articulos commodum ac honorem universitatis concerventes mature consuluit matrem universitatem super eisdem ac desuper deliberacionem instanter petiit · Articuli sequuntur. . . . Tertius articulus penes sigillum universitatis habendum ad causas quia vix decuit uti magno sigillo in singulis causis."[1]

"Congregacione generali tenta in inferiorj capitulo ecclesie Glasguensis circa finem mensis Januarii anno Domini etc. lxxxij per dominum rectorem supradictum et supposita ejusdem dominus rector in facie universitatis exposuit motivum presentis congregacionis fore ut deliberacio dominorum deputatorum super octo articulis immediate suprascriptis matrj universitatj publicaretur et maxime ut iuxta mentem et ordinacionem deputatorum articulus penes privilegia universitatis quo ad jurisdictionem exequeretur. Sequitur ergo deliberacio deputatorum super articulis supradictis et hujusmodj deliberacionis publicacio. . . . Super tercio articulo deliberantes ordinaverunt sigillum fieri expensis burse universitatis per bursarium ejusdem solvendis in quo sculperetur una virga et quod sculperetur in circumferencia ejusdem **Sigillum universitatis Glasguensis ad causas.**"[2]

This resolution, however, does not seem to have been carried into effect, for twenty-six years later it was repeated as under:

"Congregacione generali universitatis tenta in domo capitulari Glasguensi xix die mensis Junii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo ix per venerabilem egregiumque virum Magistrum Martinum Reid cancellarium Glasguensem rectorem universitatis pro tempore . . . idem dominus rector motivo congregacionis in generali exposito quosdam articulos commodum honorem et privilegia dicte universitatis concerventes in medium proposuit super quibus mature consuluit determinacionemque erundem petiit obnixe · Articuli sequuntur. . . . Secundus articulus est penes sigillum dicte universitatis habendum ad causas quia minime decuit utj magno sigillo in singulis

[1] *Munimenta*, vol. ii., p. 93. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95.

causis. . . . Quibus quidem articulis in medium propositis supposita dicte universitatis . . . elegerunt de qualibet nacione deputatos ad avisandum super articulis prenotatis. . . . Ad secundum articulum videlicet penes sigillum etc. determinatum est sigillum ad causas debere fabricari impensis burse universitatis et quod in circumferencia scribatur **Sigillum universitatis Glasguensis ad causas.**"[1]

It will be observed that this second resolution, unlike the former one in regard to the same seal, contains no mention of the device.

The Faculty of Arts, which at a later time virtually superseded the University, rose into importance at an early period. The ancient book of its statutes, promulgated immediately after the foundation of the University, contains the following:

"Item, Statuit et ordinat mater nostra Facultas quod decanus Facultatis habeat sigillum sui officii."[2]

And at a meeting of the Faculty held in 1455 it was resolved to cause a seal to be made, the resolution being in these terms:

"Congregacione facultatis arcium tenta in domo capitulari ecclesie Glasguensis anno quo supra (1455) in crastino beati Johannis Baptiste . . . continuatus fuit in decanum eiusdem venerabilis vir Magister Willelmus Sympill canonicus Glasguensis. . . . Insuper in eadem congregacione decanus posuit in deliberacione magistrorum de sigillo facultatis fiendo et de eius sculptura et unanimi consensu magistrorum fuit ordinatum quod fieret sigillum expensis burse communis in cuius medio sculperetur una manus retinens in se librum et in dextra parte libri piscis videlicet salmo in sinistra vero avicula et in eius circumferentia sculperetur **Sigillum facultatis arcium universitatis Glasguensis.**"[3]

Of the seals above described that which was called the *common* or *great* seal was certainly made and used. The care taken for its custody is attested in the following excerpt from the records, of date 1490:

"Congregacione universitatis Glasguensis tenta in capitulo inferiori ecclesie Glasguensis tercio Decembris anno Domini etc. lxxxx . . . Magister Johannes Goldsmyth rector dicte universitatis proposuit in deliber-

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[1] *Munimenta*, vol. ii., pp. 121, 122. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 37. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

atione super articulis infrascriptis cum deputatis prius avisatis et tunc perlectis quequidem universitas super eisdem articulis deliberavit prout cavetur in fine cujuslibet articuli. . . . Item ut sigillum commune universitatis hactenus tentum et habitum apud rectorem ponatur in communi sista universitatis et quod non concedatur ad instanciam alicuius sine deliberacione rectoris et universitatis seu deputatorum deliberavit universitas ut cavetur in articulo."[1]

And it appears from a copy of the deeds preserved among the archives that the same seal was appended to a Charter of Alienation of a tenement in the Rotten Row granted by David Gibson, chaplain of St. Michael's chantry in the Cathedral, with consent of the Rector of the University as patron, in favour of William Chalmers and Agnes Gray, spouses, dated 28th November, 1553;[2] and to two Charters of Alienation of either half of a tenement and garden lying on the east side of Stockwellgate granted in 1559 by John Davidson, Principal Regent of the Pedagogy or University and chaplain of said chantry, with consent of the Rector of the University and the Dean of Faculty as patrons, in favour of William Wilson and Thomas Hogg respectively.[3] We have it on record also that the seal of the Faculty of Arts was appended to a writing produced at the reception of George Crichton as Principal Regent on 19th October, 1485.[4] But the appearance of the Rector's *seal of arms* along with the Chapter's seal *ad causas* on a Tack of the Vicarage of Colmonell, dated 24th July, 1552,[5] seems to show that at that time the *signetum Rectoris ad causas* ordered to be made in 1453 did not exist. Nor have I found any record of the use of the other seals above mentioned.

With regard to the bearings of these early seals, the *ymago Sancti Kentigerni* on the common or great seal would probably resemble one of the figures of the saint on the Bishop's seals given in the paper contributed by the Most Reverend President of this Society to the second volume of its transactions. The *piscis cum annulo* is also to be found on several of these episcopal seals. The *virga* ordered to be cut on the

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[1] *Munimenta*, vol. ii., pp. 104, 105.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 58.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 244.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 56.

University seal *ad causas* in 1482 would no doubt be meant to represent the rector's staff.[1] The *manus retinens in se librum*, a favourite academic symbol, on the seal of the Faculty of Arts, is borrowed from the common seal of the University. The *avicula* on the left page of the book on the Faculty seal would be suggested by the bird which appears on several of the seals of the bishops of Glasgow, and which, like the *piscis videlicet salmo* on the right page, refers to a well-known incident in the legendary life of S. Kentigern.

The disappearance of the matrices of these seals, particularly the common seal of which so much care was taken, has given rise to some speculation, and it has been conjectured that Archbishop Beaton may have carried them with him to France in 1560, when he took the much prized Rector's staff and "all the silver warke and hail juels of the Hie Kirk."[2] But it should be observed that the matrices of the later disused seals also are no longer to be found, and the disappearance of the whole series may be accounted for by the not uncommon destruction of an old seal when a new one was brought into use.[3]

Of existing impressions of University seals, the earliest is appended to Charter of Alienation by the Masters, with consent of the Rector and Dean of Faculty to Michael Littlejohn, of the three lower yards of the Vicar's Alley formerly belonging to the vicars of the choir, dated 8th March, 1581;[4] but it is much defaced, and a better impression is appended to Tack of the Vicarage of Colmonell, granted by the Principal and Regents to Thomas Kennedy, dated 6th July, 1588.[5] It bears in pale the Rector's Staff or University Mace surmounted in base by a fish lying on its back, turned to the sinister, and holding a ring in its mouth: in chief issuant downwards a

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[1] For the history and description of this staff, now called the University Mace, see "An Account of the Maces of the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, the College of Justice, and the City of Edinburgh," by Alex. J. S. Brook, F.S.A. Scot., in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxvi., p. 440.

[2] *Munimenta*, vol. iii., p. 523.

[3] *The Great Seals of England* by Alfred Benjamin Wyon and Allan Wyon, 1887, p. xv.; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, vol. x., p. 229.

[4] *Munimenta*, vol. i., No. 77 of Table. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 84 of Table.

left hand holding an open book: on the dexter a bird perched on two branches *in saltire*, and on the sinister a handbell with looped handle. It bears the legend S · CONMVNE VNIVERSITATIS GLASGVE, and the motto VIA VERITAS VITA. Figure 1 is a drawing of it from a lithograph prefixed to Professor Blackburn's *Notes on the Seal of the University of Glasgow*, written about the year 1870. It is incorrectly described by Laing, forming No. 1144 of his Supplementary Volume, and also by Woodward in his *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, p. 447. All the bearings except the bell, and the branches on which the bird is perched, are to be found on one or other of the seals already described; the mace being taken from the University seal *ad causas* ordered to be made in 1482, the hand holding a book from the common seal of 1453, the fish with ring from the same source or from the Rector's Signet *ad causas* ordered to be made at the same time, and the bird from the seal of the Faculty of Arts of 1455. The branches on which the bird is perched were probably derived from the seal of Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow (No. 948 of Laing's *Catalogue*) or some similar seal; and the bell from the seal of the Chapter of Glasgow (No. 1026 of Laing's *Catalogue*). But what is most to be remarked is the disappearance of the figure of S. Kentigern. His place is occupied by the Mace or Rector's Staff which the University continued to regard as one of its most precious possessions, describing it in the "Inventar of the evidents, lettres, gudis and geir pertaining to the College" in 1582, as "the pedellis staff of sylver quhilk was the fairest that was in any university of Scotland."[1] The downward position of the hand holding the book is the same as that of the hand on the seal of King's College, Aberdeen (No. 975 of Laing's *Catalogue*).[2] The motto *via veritas vita*, of which this is the first appearance, occurs in the gospel for the feast of S. Philip and S. James, which used to be the end of the session, and the day on which the prizes were

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[1] *Munimenta*, vol. iii., p. 517.

[2] An engraving of this seal is given in *The Universities of Aberdeen: a History* by Robert Sangster Rait; Aberdeen, 1895; frontispiece. See also an article on "Scottish University Arms and Seals," by Mr. P. J. Anderson, in *Notes and Queries*, sixth series, xi., 250.

distributed.[1] I believe, however, that the usage cannot be traced further back than the early part of last century, so the suggested origin of the motto is probably only a coincidence.

To the seal last described there succeeded another much resembling it, but having the fish's head, more correctly, turned to the dexter, the bell on the dexter, and the bird and branches on the sinister side. It is also a little smaller, the motto is absent, and the legend, which, unlike the preceding one, begins at the top, is S · VNIVERSITATIS GLASGVEN. A fragment of this seal is appended to a Tack of the teinds of Colmonell granted by the Principal and Regents to Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill, on 19th June, 1607,[2] and more perfect impressions are appended to Charter by the Principal and Preceptors to Robert Love of Corsflatt, dated 25th January, 1611,[3] and Confirmation by the Principal and Preceptors, of a Charter granted by John Crawford of Crawfordland to David Hay, which Confirmation is dated 12th November, 1612.[4]

Professor Blackburn gives another seal, which he says was appended to a Charter of 1631. I have not been able to find that Charter, but in Figure 2 I reproduce his drawing, and I have found the seal appended to a Precept of clare constat by the College in favour of Anna Stirling as heir to her father in a ruinous tenement of land on the north side of the Drygate, dated 6th September, 1656, and forming No. 2712 of the Laing Collection of Charters belonging to the University of Edinburgh. In this seal, as in the arms of the city, the twigs of the legendary history of S. Kentigern have grown into a tree; the hand has disappeared, but the book remains; the academic mace has been converted into a municipal one, and the motto again appears.

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[1] This day is thus alluded to by Captain Thomas Hamilton, brother of Sir William, whose father, grandfather, and granduncle had been professors in the University: "The first of May is the day fixed by immemorial usage in the University for the distribution of the prizes." *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton*; Edin., 1827; vol. i., p. 215.

[2] *Munimenta*, vol. i., No. 108 of Table. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 111 of Table.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 113 of Table.

The following excerpts contain mention of certain other seals:

"Discharge of the yeir 1656 and utheris.

. . . . . .

Item to Umphra Colquhoune for causing cutt a seall for the College use, 24*l.*

. . . . . .

Item for the cutting and mounting of a new large Seall to the Colledge, 3*l.* 10*s.* (sterling); quhilk is . . . . . 42*l.*

Item for ane uther seall in Steill for waferis, 3*l.* 5*s.* (sterling), is . 39*l.*

Item for ane box of great wafer, 6*s.* 6*d.* (sterling), is . . . 3*l.* 18*s.*"[1]

"October 26th, 1658.

A note of the plenishing belonging to the Colledge besides the Silver Staffe which layeth in the Iron Chest in the Library.

. . . . . .

Item ane arge new seale mounted with ane ivory hand used for chartours.

Item a litle steele seale used with wafers.

Item tuo smaller seales used for tackes and testimoniales.

Item tuo stampes for marking the bookes of the Publict Library, one greater, another less.

Thir four seales and tuo stampes are put up in the Inventare of the Colledge writes, and lie in the Chartour Kist.

AN. BURNET. PATRIK GILLESPIE.
GEO. SINCLAR. R. BAILLY.
RO. ERSKINE. JOA. YOUNG."[2]

There can be little doubt that Figure 3 represents one of the seals referred to in these excerpts, probably one of the "tuo smaller seales used for tackes and testimoniales." The drawing is made from an impression appended to a Master's diploma in favour of John Johnson, dated 20th April, 1698, now belonging to Mr. Robert Guy, writer in this city; and I have seen impressions of the same seal appended to Diplomas of 1700, 1743, 1756, and 1762. A stamp much resembling this, but showing a more realistic treament of the tree, was used thirty years ago to make the impressions on paper, which were then affixed to diplomas.

Figure 4 is drawn from a detached impression on paper, preserved at the University. The same seal, or one so nearly resembling it as to be easily mistaken for it, has been used to make the impression appended to

[1] *Munimenta*, vol. iii., p. 579.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 544, 545.

the decree of Senate, of 21st January, 1742, appointing William, second Duke of Montrose, Chancellor of the University, and a broken impression in wax is at the University. The bearings on this seal, exclusive of the ornamental border, closely resemble those on Figure 3. In both, the bell is a church-bell, instead of a hand-bell as formerly. The chief difference between them is that on the larger seal the tree is treated in a realistic manner instead of the better conventional treatment of Figure 3. This alone makes me hesitate to say that Figure 4 represents the "new large seall" made in 1656.[1] Certain minute differences between the impression on paper and those on wax lead me to think that in this case also a stamp of the same design as the original seal was afterwards made, to impress paper.

It will be observed that the bearings of all these seals of which impressions remain are virtually the same. They form the armorial bearings of the University, and are referred to as such in the following excerpts from the accounts:

"From 6th Aprill to 10th May, 1658.

. . . . . .

Item given for tuo wryteing tabellis in black marbell with the Colledge airmes, thrie pounds sterling, inde . . . . . 36*l.*"[2]

"From Accompt Charge and Discharge the fourt day of Februare, one thousand six hundreth and three scor two years.

Item to J. Clark's man for cutting the flour with the Colledge armes, 2*l.* 18*s.*"[3]

The second of these excerpts obviously refers to the sculptured stone which was over the archway leading from the first to the second court of the old College and is now built into the lodge at Gilmorehill. The University arms, being thus older than the statutes from which the Lyon King derives his authority, have a sanction of antiquity which has been held to be equivalent to a grant.[4] They do not appear in the Lyon Register, but

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[1] The Act of Senatus appointing James, First Duke of Montrose, to be Chancellor on 1st October, 1714, bears in the testing clause: "In quorum testimonium Literas hasce *majore Academiae sigillo* munitas chirographis nostris obsignamus" (*Munimenta*, vol. iii., p. 311).

[2] *Munimenta*, vol iii., p. 502. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

[4] *The Procurator-Fiscal of the Lyon Court v. Murray of Touchadam*, 5 Brown's Supt., 490.

rank among the honourable exceptions referred to by Mr. Balfour Paul, the present Lyon, as implying a title without registration.[1] With regard to the absence of tincture, that objection was raised in the *Touchadam* case (referred to below), but without success.

In 1870, at the suggestion of Professor Blackburn, the University resolved to procure a new seal resembling as nearly as possible the first common seal described in the records, and ordered to be made in 1453. Such a seal was accordingly made after a design by Mr. Powell, of the firm of Messrs Hardman & Co., Birmingham, and is still in use. Figure 5 was drawn from an imperfect impression of it on paper. The use by the University of this non-heraldic seal, while having a coat of arms, is not without parallel. The seals of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are non-heraldric,[2] and the impressions of them appended to the loyal addresses to the Queen in 1897, were enclosed in cases engraved with the arms of the universities.

By the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, it was enacted that the University Court should have a common seal, and to fulfil that requirement, the seal represented in Figure 6 was obtained from Messrs. Hardman & Powell, and is now used by the Court, recalling the use by the old Faculty of Arts of a different seal from that of the University. The head of S. Kentigern, which appears on this seal of the Court, is to be found on the seal of the City of Glasgow which was in use from the beginning of the fourteenth century till 1647, and the position of the fish, bird, and bell, is the same as on the Chapter's seal *ad causas* used from 1488 tó 1540.[3]

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[1] "No persons of Scottish descent whose arms are not registered in the 'Public Register of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland' have a right to armorial bearings unless they can prove that they represent families whose arms are known to have been in existence previous to 1672." *An Ordinary of Scottish Arms* by James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, Edinburgh, 1893, p. ix.

[2] These seals are described in Mr. W. de G. Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii., pp. 30 and 148.

[3] Engravings of these two old seals are given in Mr. Andrew Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow*, pp. 21 and 102.

No. VI.

NOTE ON THE CHURCH OF SAINT KENTIGERNA, INCHCAILLEACH, LOCH LOMOND.

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM H. MACLEOD, B.A., B.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 16th February, 1899.*]

I HAVE been asked to furnish a Note in regard to the excavations which I have recently had carried out on the site of the ancient Parish Church, dedicated to St. Kentigerna, on the Island of Inchcailleach. The excavations are by no means complete, enough has been done, however, to prove that it is worth while continuing them. And I hope that, by bringing under the notice of the Members of this Society the existence of this hitherto little known church, something may be done to elucidate its early history.

I was led to examine the site owing to my having to write a paper for the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society in connection with the opening of a chapel at Inversnaid. In that paper reference was made to the different ecclesiastical centres in the parish, but I was then unable to give any indication of the style or size of the buildings which had existed on the island. And it was this lack of definite information which urged me to see what could be done to supply the deficiency.

Tradition said that the island had at one time possessed a nunnery, and that the ruins, to which reference is now to be made, formed part of it. And also that the name of Inchcailleach, or the "Island of the

Nun" (which, by the way, is a more correct rendering than the "Old Woman's" or "Coward's" Island), was given because of the life and labours of a nun who chose it as her abode about the end of the seventh, or the beginning of the eighth, century. The nun was St. Kentigerna, Matron, who is commemorated on the 7th of January. She was the sister of St. Congan, and the mother of St. Fillan of Strathfillan. And from her the island was sometimes called "Inchcalyeth S. Kentigerne." It also bore the traditional name of "Kildarie." That is about all the information that tradition has supplied us with.

The Parish Church remained there until the year 1621, when the boundaries of the Parish of Inchcailleach were enlarged by the addition of the forty-pound land of Buchanan; and as the island-church had then become ruinous, the Chapel of S. Mary, commonly called the Chapel of Buchanan, situated on this newly acquired land, became the centre for worship. This change led also to a change in the name of the parish, which shortly afterwards was designated by the name which it now bears —the Parish of Buchanan.

From 1621 until the other day the church on the island has been allowed to sink into oblivion, and the kindly earth has been busy covering up the stones and hiding them away from the eye of man as if desirous of inflicting as little pain as possible upon him by a comparison between his ideas of church architecture and those of his ancestors!

Bishop Forbes, in his *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, has given us all that is known of St. Kentigerna. Among other things he tells us that she was known as "the recluse of Inch Cailleach," and he also records that "in the end, being deprived of the society of her son and brother, Kentigerna went for the sake of contemplation to Inch Cailzeoch in Louchlomont in Levenax, where, after living as an anchorite, her soul ascended to Christ. The Parochial Church of the island is dedicated to her."

Now, the ruins which have been partly excavated are those of the church. There is no indication whatever of nunnery buildings. If a nunnery ever existed on the island, then it must be looked for elsewhere. But knowing, as we do, that the whole district of the Lennox was studded

with ecclesiastical settlements, and that Loch Lomond was a veritable Holy Loch, every island almost affording shelter to some recluse or community, it is hardly probable that an island of such size as Inchcailleach would have been left in the sole possession of St. Kentigerna, and therefore the tradition of a nunnery is possibly a true one. There is a story which says that the waters of the loch now cover the nunnery, and this may be the case, for we know of the church ruins which lie beneath the water at Auchenheglish. However this may be, if a nunnery ever existed upon the island, it would be at some little distance from St. Kentigerna's cell. And as the church was dedicated to her, the probability is that it was built in close proximity to her cell.

Now, the church is situated on a commanding height about a quarter of a mile above the landing place which is directly opposite Balmaha Pier. An ancient graveyard surrounds it, and the whole is enclosed by a dry-stone dyke. The church itself stands on a knoll within the enclosure. All the gravestones now to be seen lie to the west of the church. On the south the ground falls rapidly away; on the north there is an open space free from gravestones, which may disclose traces of other buildings, although there are no indications. It is, however, of limited extent. On the east the dyke runs on the line, as was believed, of the east wall of the church.

The church walls, from the filling up of the interior of the church and from the debris of their fall on the exterior, appeared to be only about 18 in. high. The only indication of a doorway was at the south corner of the west wall—a slight depression of the wall-mound suggested the presence of a doorway at that spot. All the rest of the outline seemed to be of the same average height. But as this position was not the usual one for the principal door in churches of the date at which this church was believed to have been built, and as I was desirous of disturbing the ground as little as possible until it was ascertained that the ruins would repay the trouble of excavation, I thought it better to ignore this supposed indication of a doorway and seek for one in the more usual position, viz., at the west end of the south wall. The remains of the doorway were found exactly at this spot.

Before giving an account of this doorway I shall speak of the discovery of the correct measurements of the church.

Assuming that the proportions of this church would be similar to those of churches of a like size and date in other parts of Scotland, we then uncovered a portion of the north wall and obtained the internal width, and uncovering a small portion of the west wall we measured off from it three-and-a-half times the width. This we found carried us beyond the dyke, which was supposed to stand on the line of the east wall, and on to the edge of some uneven and shelving ground over which it seemed unlikely that the building would have extended. There was no wall-mound here, but on digging we soon laid bare the foundations of the east wall. The dyke was then seen not to be running at right angles to the side walls of the church.

The inside measurements of the church were thus found to be: length, 64 ft. 6 in.; width, 19 ft. 4 in. The foundations of what I take to be the chancel wall were found 23 ft. 6 in. from the inside of the east wall. The walls are slightly off the perpendicular, but these measurements may be taken as correct. The church seems to have fallen from the north, the direction of the strongest gales. The walls are 3 ft. 3 in. thick.

A Priest's Door was also found, the edge of its east jamb being 17 ft. 10 in. from the east wall. It will be noticed that the proportions are not as were assumed; the nature of the ground may, however, account for this.

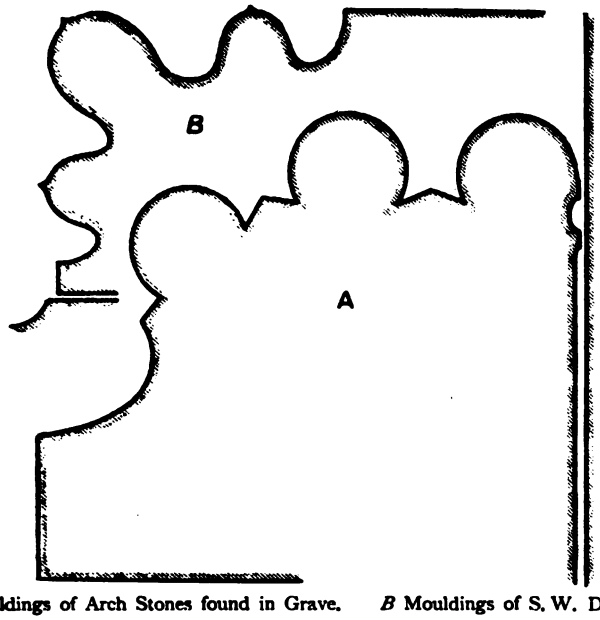
Now, I am in no position to give a technical description of these two doorways, but I shall describe them as well as I can. They are both on the south wall, and there appear to be no other doorways.

SOUTH-WEST DOOR.—When this doorway was uncovered the greater part of its stones were found lying among the *débris* of the walls. It had been a deeply-arched door, with, on either side, two columns, one behind the other. Their bases were *in situ*, and one capital and portions of the columns were lying in the earth. Two other capitals and almost sufficient pieces to complete all the columns have since been recovered from the dyke. The bases of the columns are carved out of and form half of the lowest stones of the wall at the ground level. The capitals are also

similarly treated. The columns are formed from one block of stone each, and are 5 in. in diameter. The capitals are very simply treated, and are much weather-worn. I shall refer to the mouldings of the arch directly.

This south-west doorway is 2 ft. 10 in. in width. It is difficult to ascertain its exact height.

SOUTH-EAST OR PRIEST'S DOOR.—This has also been an arched door, but without columns. The arch is ornamented with a series of projec-



A Mouldings of Arch Stones found in Grave. *B* Mouldings of S. W. Doorway

tions, pointed, and square at their base, somewhat like the facets of a diamond. These are continued up both the inside and outside of the arch. This doorway is only 2 ft. 6 in. wide.

All the moulded and squared stones found are of white sandstone. No sandstone has, however, been discovered on the island.

And now I refer to the arch mouldings. When uncovering the north wall, in order to obtain the width of the church, we came across a large

gravestone on its side and with one end deeply buried in the earth and on removing it we had the signal good fortune to lay bare a serie of heavily moulded stones, almost sufficient to form a complete arcl They had evidently been placed there to guard a grave. At first the were thought to belong to the arch of the south-west door, and M Honeyman has kindly prepared a sectional drawing of these moulding together with the mouldings of the arch stones found at the south-we door, in order to show the probable arrangement of the arch, supposin that the two sets of mouldings formed part of the same arch. He i however, of the opinion that they belong to different arches. And th opinion is strengthened by the fact that the mouldings found in the grav are in an almost perfect state of preservation, there being no signs (weathering upon them, while the arch stones found at the south-west doc are very much worn. It therefore is probable that the moulded stone found in the grave belong to the chancel arch. This arch must hav been a narrow one, about 3 ft. 6 in. wide.

I do not describe the mouldings, but leave it to Mr. Dalrymple Duncar who has seen the stones, to add any explanation that is necessary.[1] I ma however, say that the mouldings are almost exactly similar in character t those of the western doorway of Cambuskenneth Abbey and therefore the probable date is the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th centur Now, St. Kentigerna is said to have died on the 7th January, 733, and a the church was dedicated to her, there must have been an earlier buildin And there are traces of what I believe to be another building immediatel to the south-east. It is small, and appears to be circular. This may b the original site of the saint's cell, and at her death a small oratory ma have there been erected. It stands on the edge of the rock, and at th foot there is a spring.

There are a few other points of interest to which I briefly refer.

The grave-stone under which the arch stones were found is carve with the interlacing pattern common to so many stones in the west (

[1] NOTE.—As far as I am able to judge, the mouldings clearly point to the church havin been erected about the period mentioned by Mr. Macleod. J. D. D.

Scotland, and has a two-handed sword upon it. Near it was found a perhaps more interestingly carved stone. It has a cross carved on it, with very beautiful floriation at the end of the arms, and I.H.S. at the intersection, and at one side there is a pair of shears. There is a stone of a similar kind lying in the churchyard, and which has been wrongly described by the late Mr. Guthrie Smith, in his volume upon Strathendrick. He describes the cross as a sword with I.H.S. on the hilt. It is, however, manifestly a cross, with *fleur-de-lys* at the end of the arms and I.H.S. at the intersection.

In the very centre of the east wall, and about 5 ft. from it, just in front of the spot on which the altar must have stood, there is a large slab of white sandstone, 8 in. deep, and though broken, must have been more than 6 ft. long, and beneath it there is a collection of bones. I hazard the conjecture that the bones are those of St. Kentigerna, in whose honour the church was raised. And lying between this slab and the south wall there is a coped stone, 6 ft. 4 in. in length, which may possibly be the memorial tomb of the saint.

There is no trace of a baptismal font. A very beautiful octagonal font, which has just been placed in the present Parish Church, after lying for more than a hundred years on the site of the Chapel of Buchanan, to which the congregation moved in 1621, may possibly have belonged to the island church. Its measurements are as follows:

Extreme breadth, 2 ft. 6 in.
East side of octagon, 12 in.
Diameter of basin, 1 ft. 10 in.
Depth of basin, 9½ in.

It has had a two-lined inscription running round the rim, only one word of which I can decipher—"PACE"—which stands at the conclusion of the inscription, and is followed by the cross of consecration, which is quite clear.

The holy-water stoup I have lately found in Drymen village. The shaft is octagonal, and one side appears to have been fastened to the wall. I hope to have it placed for safety in the porch of the present Parish Church.

There is little more to add at present. As there are no houses on the

island, the church has escaped the usual depredations, and I have no dou that all the stones of consequence can be found either in the *débris* or the dyke. The dyke, from a cursory examination I have made of it, is fu of squared stones and portions of the windows. If it were desirable, would not be difficult to rebuild the whole church.

What strikes me as most peculiar is that nothing whatever seems to ha been known in regard to the appearance of the building.

I trust that this meagre description of the Church of St. Kentigerna m awaken interest, and may lead to a more careful survey of the buildin I may add that I hope to be able to have the walls completely cleared rubbish, and the interior cleared out down to the level of the doorways.

I should be very glad to show the ruins to any members of the Socie who might care to see them. Perhaps an excursion might be arrange during the coming summer.

Seal of the Abbey of Inchaffrey.

No. VII.

THE SEAL OF INCHAFFRAY.

BY THE

MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D., PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 16th February*, 1899.]

THE origin of the name Inchaffray is from Inis Aifrion, "The Island of the Masses."

In the *Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, by Henry Laing, there are two plates of the seals of Inchaffray Abbey, with the description given of them. The first, Plate XXVII., fig. 1, is described as "a round seal, of excellent work and preservation. The eagle of St. John standing on a scroll, on which is inscribed 'in principio erat verba.' A nimbus surrounds the head of the bird, and in the back ground are five small crosses and six cinque foils. A border of semi-circles surrounds the design. The legend is 'S. Comune ecce Ste Johis Evangeliste De insula missarum,' p. 87." The second, Plate XXVII., fig. 2, is the counter seal of the Abbey. It represents "the front of a Church, within the door a full length figure of a saint, perhaps St. John, holding a palm branch in his right hand, and a book in his left. The inscription is precisely the same as in the last, p. 88." A print of these two seals is given in the Bannatyne Club volume on Inchaffray.

It is of this counter seal that we have to speak this evening. It was in the possession of Mr. Riley, now of Birmingham, but formerly connected with Glasgow. He wrote me, on 12th December last, as follows: "In the autumn of 1893 I attended a sale of coins in Birmingham. In the

catalogue there was described an old seal, but no particulars could b given of it; however, on examination, I saw it was an old church on with a Latin legend, and purchased same. I submitted same to an expe whose firm are contractors to H.M. Government, but he could furnish n particulars of it, only on cleaning it he found it had been corroded b long exposure to some unsuitable atmosphere. He took three impressio on soft metal, retaining one for his trouble and presenting me with tw The seal has four brackets by which it was attached probably to an oak handle. The metal is a brass composition well calculated to resist th ravages of time."

Two points require elucidating—first, why the Abbey was call "Insula," an island; second, why it is called "Insula Missarum," th island of masses. Inchaffray is six miles east of Crieff, thirteen miles fro Perth, three miles from the Station of Balgowan, and only one hundre yards from the Station of Maderty. In its palmy days the building of th Abbey stood on an island formed by a swamp. The whole district indee except the point on which the Monastery had been erected, was for considerable extent under water. The "Moss of Methven" exhibits trac of it. Through the swamp there ran the stream called the "Peffer." Hen we have Innerpeffray, *i.e.* the point at which the Peffer falls into the Ear "inner" being the prefix meaning "at the mouth of." Practically this the stream on which the Abbey stands, as the bed of the Peffer was utilise as the channel for the present "Pow of Inchaffray," constructed under th Pow of Inchaffray Drainage Act of 1846. What is now called the Pow just the old "Peffer" deepened and widened. The Act of 1846 is th second Act passed with reference to the drainage of the particular localit The only thing the Scotch Parliament really did was to pass an Act orderin the construction of a running drain with the Peffer as the basis of operation The 1846 Act was simply an extension of the former Act.

Why was the Abbey called "De Insula Missarum"? The minister Maderty writes to a friend: "It was called so because of the frequency the celebration of Mass there." Such is an obvious and the ordina explanation of the term. Mr. M. Walcott, in his *History of the Ancie Church of Scotland*, gives the same explanation, saying it was "so calle

from the perpetual celebration of the divine service," p. 309. And in a note, by the translator of Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, the same explanation is repeated, "The Island of Masses," so called from the perpetual celebration of the liturgy there," i., 333.

This, however, cannot be the explanation of the word. The perpetual celebration of the Divine service went on in every abbey and priory. This difficulty occurred to the writer of Murray's *Handbook for Scotland*, who says, "The Abbey was called 'Insula Musarum, or the Island of the Muses,'" p. 263.

Probably the reason why it was known as the "Island of the Masses" is as follows: The Church and Monastery of St. John the Evangelist and Mary was founded by Gilbert, the Earl of Stratherne, and the Countess Matilda, out of love to the memory of their first-born son, who was buried here; just as Bolton Priory was built to commemorate a broken-hearted mother's sorrow for her boy. As it was founded for prayers for their son, and these prayers were to be perpetual masses, it would be called the "Monastery on the Island of the Masses," that were meant to be in all times offered for their intention. Another explanation may be that as "Aifreoun" survives in the names of the rivers Peffer and Peffery, and means a sacrifice or a mass, that may have given origin to the words "insula missarum." But this will depend upon the question whether the name was given to the monastery and from it to the river, or *vice versa*. Earl Gilbert, who founded the Monastery in 1198, and brought the Canons from Scone, made further grants to it in the year 1200, endowing it with seven churches. These seven churches were (1) Maderty; (2) Aberuthven; (3) Strogreth; (4) Auchterarder; (5) Kinkell; (6) Foulis; and (7) Holy Trinity, Gask.

All that remains of the Abbey is the gable of the Refectory—a stone archway with a semi-circular roof—a few lengths of wall on the west and south side of the Refectory, and a very little of the interior. It may be of interest, writes my correspondent, to note that the land in the immediate vicinity of the Abbey, and at one time reclaimed (in 1218 the monks had reclaimed a portion of the vast marsh in which the Isle of Masses stood), tilled and worked by the monks, evidences the value of their labours even to this day, and is let at nearly double per acre of that which is obtainable

for the rest of the land. Representations of the obverse and reverse of tl Abbey seals have been perpetuated on the Memorial Window of Mader Church.

There is also a third seal, which is "the Abbot of Inchaffray's seal." is described by Laing thus: "A fine seal, but not in very good preservatio: In the upper part, under a Gothic niche, a figure of the Virgin sitting with tl infant Jesus: in the centre are two figures, the one appears to be a monk, tl other a bishop; in the lower niche is a figure of an abbot with a crosie kneeling in prayer." The legend is "A'abbatis de insula missarum." A plat however, is not given of this seal.

While it is abundantly clear why it is called "Insula," the island, it is n equally clear why the term "missarum" is applied to the Abbey. We ha ventured on the surmise that it may be from the purpose for which it w founded, or from the locality on which it was erected. We incline to tl former, and are led to this conclusion by the fact that if it was from tl locality, the word "missa" would have been used in the singular and not tl plural. Whereas the word "missarum" seems to point out that the found wished the masses should be perpetually offered up for the repose of the so of his son.

It only remains for us to add we wrote to Mr. Riley, asking if he w willing to part with this seal, and return it to this country. To this applic tion an answer was returned on 18th December last, saying, "Early in the ye he would forward to me the Inchaffray seal with pleasure." This he has no done, and the seal is the property of the Glasgow Archæological Society.

No. VIII.

PAINTED WALL CLOTHS IN SWEDEN.

BY

MRS. FRANCES MURRAY.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 21st April*, 1898.]

THE price of woven tapestry being very great, painted tapestry on canvas was used as far back as the fifteenth century. In the Hôtel-Dieu of Reims there are a number of examples of that date. They are large sheets of painted canvas containing scenes from the Mysteries of the Passion and other biblical subjects. Two of these are reproduced by Lacroix,[1] and the whole have been described by M. Louis Paris.[2] In the South Kensington Museum there is an *Annunciation* painted in distemper on lawn dated 1472, the work of a German or Flemish artist. The so-called "cartoons" of Raphael at Hampton Court are paintings of this kind intended for wall-hangings. Oil painting was applied to tissues and often combined with the effects of woven material in the times of Henry II., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV., and afterwards fell into desuetude. Its revival has been recently advocated by Julien Godon[3] for ordinary wall decoration. For this purpose a special kind of canvas is used and "liquid colours," and there is produced a flexible fabric with many of the pleasing effects of actual tapestry.

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[1] Lacroix, *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, T. ii., at the end. (Paris, 1849.) See also Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement*, iv. col. 211 (Paris, 1890, fol.); and an article by Gaston le Breton, "Les anciennes toiles peintes et imprimées a l'Exposition de l'Union Centrale," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2de S., xxvii. (1883), p. 170.

[2] *Toiles peintes et Tapisseries de la Ville de Reims.* 4to. 2 vols. (Reims, 1843.)

[3] *Painted Tapestry, . . . Translated by B. Bucknall, architect.* 8vo. (London, 1879.)

In old English inventories there is frequent mention of "stayned cloths for hangings," "paynted cloths with stories and batailes," and the like. This was cloth or canvas painted in oil representing various subjects and with devices, mottoes, and proverbial sayings interspersed. In the Inventory of the effects of Sir John Fastolfe, one of the heroes of Agincourt, made up in 1459, there are entered:

Item ij clothis portrayed full of popelers.
Item j clothe hangyng of Schovelers.
Item j Hangyng clothe of popelers.
Item ij Tapettis with clowyds.[1]

"Mayster Thomas More in hys youth deuysed in hys father's house in London a goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe, with nyne pageauntes, and verses ouer euery of those pageauntes; which verses expressed and declared what the ymages in those pageauntes represented, and also in those pageauntes were paynted the thynges that the verses ouer them dyd (in effect) declare." In the first pageant "was painted a boy playing at top and squyrge," representing Childhood; in the second, "a goodly freshe yonge man ryding vppon a goodly horse, hauynge an hawke on his fyste," representing Manhood. Then followed Venus and Cupid, Age, Death, Fame, and Time. In the eighth "was pictured the ymage of lady Eternitie sittyng under a sumptious clothe of estate, crowned with an imperiall crown. And vnder her fete lay the picture of Time that was in the seuenth pageant." In the ninth "was painted a Poet sitting in a chayre."[2]

One of the grievances of English artificers in the time of Henry VIII. was that these decorations were brought from Holland. "The Dutchmen," says Holinshed, "bring over iron, timber, leather, and weinscot readie wrought; also nailes, locks, baskets, cupboards, stooles, tables, desks, girdles, with points, saddles, and *painted clothes*."[3] In various inventories painted cloths "of beyond sea work," or "of Flanders work" occur.

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[1] *Archaeologia*, xxi., pp. 258, 263, 264.

[2] *The Workes of Sir Thomas More, Knyght.* (London, 1557, fol.) Preliminary matter, amongst which are "iiii short things written by Syr Thomas in his youthe, for hys pastyme." Cayley, *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More*, i., p. 11. (London, 1808, 4to.)

[3] *Chronicles*, iii., p. 840. (London, 1587, fol.)

There are numerous allusions in Shakespeare to these cloths. Thus Falstaff says:[1]

"And now my whole charge consists of ancients, corporals, lieutenants, gentlemen of companies, slaves, *as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth*, where the glutton's dogs lick his sores."

"Who fears a sentence or an old man's saw,
Shall by a *painted cloth* be kept in awe."[2]

Malone gives many references to other writers:[3]

"I have seen in Mother Redcap's hall
In painted cloth the story of the prodigal."[4]

The kind of maxims with which they were adorned is thus given in a curious poem by Nicholas Breton.

"Reade what is written on the *painted cloth*:
Doe no man wrong, be good vnto the poore;
Beware the Mouse, the Maggot, and the Moth,
And euer haue an eye vnto the doore."[5]

In one of the rooms of the old Schloss of Quedlinburg there are five pieces of painted huckaback of the date 1539, which are said to have been formerly in the Abbey Church. In the Museum of Saxon Antiquities in the Lust-Schloss at Dresden there is a piece of painted linen of the sixteenth century from the Gottesacker-Kirche of Dippoldeswalde, with figures of St. Ann and St. Mary, St. John the Evangelist and St. Lawrence.

Until comparatively recently the peasants in Skåne and other parts of Sweden used a similar style of wall covering. The cloths were known as *tapette* or tapestries, and were long strips of painted canvas which hung upon the walls and sometimes on the roofs when these were campceiled.

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[1] *King Henry IV.* Pt. i. Act iv. sc. 2.

[2] *Tarquin and Lucrece*, *Works*, ed. Dyce, viii., 294.

It is thought that in his famous description of the Seven Ages of Man, Shakespeare had a wall-hanging of this kind in his mind.

[3] Shakespeare, *Works*, vi., pp. 434-436, xvii., p. 54. See also Dyce, *Works of Shakespeare*, ix., p. 303.

[4] Thomas Randolph, *The Muse's Looking-glass.* (Oxford, 1638, 4to.)

[5] *No Whippinge nor Trippinge, but a kinde friendly Snippinge.* (London, 1601, 8vo.) Edited in the Isham Reprints by Charles Edmonds. (London, 1895, 4to.) Breton, *Works*, ed. Grosart, i., p. xxxiii., 1879, 4to (Chertsey Worthies' Library).

The figures are stiff and formal and the colourings glaring, but there is a certain conventional type which the pictures follow. To some extent they resemble the sacred pictures of the Russians, but these latter are executed by professional artists, while the Swedish are done by the peasants themselves.

The *tapette* represent incidents in Old or New Testament history, or a parable or miracle, as for example:

Noah and the Ark.
The history of Absalom.
Jesus feeding the multitudes.
The parable of the unjust steward.
The parable of the wedding feast.
The betrayal of Jesus and the Crucifixion.

Great numbers of these pictures have been collected and placed in the various Museums illustrative of Swedish life and history. They are often dated, and the dates are from the middle of the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were no doubt in use at a much earlier period, but I have not seen any of these, and I do not know whether any have been preserved.

As an example of how the subjects are treated, take this of the Three Wise Men, of date 1813. It has three compartments:

(1) The Three Wise Men bringing gifts. Their names are given:

Balthasar. Melchor. Kaspar.

(2) The visit to Herod.

(3) The presentation of the gifts.

The present each one makes is different from that of his neighbours. The Three Wise Men are in military uniforms like two of Napoleon's soldiers, with sashes round their waists and—to use an Americanism—stove-pipe hats. The dress of the one is blue, of the other buff, and of the third red. The Virgin is a pretty woman in a green and red dress in the style of the early nineteenth century; the babe is on her knee; Joseph stands behind her in top boots with his tall hat in his hand.

Above the picture is the inscription:

"Uf sava Konungar Kommo tre
Kommo tre
Guld, Rökelse mirbam offrade de
Halle halleluia
Solo Deo gloria."[1]

The holy Kings came three,
Came three,
Gold, myrrh, frankincense offered thye,
Halle, Halleluia,
Solo Deo gloria.

As a rule, the reference is given to place in the Bible where the incident occurs. In some cases the picture, instead of being on canvas, was painted directly on the wall itself.

The hanging, which is here represented, is a fair example of this style of decoration. It is painted upon coarse home-spun linen, striped with a blue pattern. This linen undecorated was, in many cases, used as a wall hanging below the painted frieze, which was run round one side or more of the apartment.

Like the painting of 1813 already referred to, the costume of the characters points to the end of last century or the beginning of the present. Unfortunately, its preservation being imperfect some of the detail is lost.

The subjects treated are of a religious kind, and the first three compartments represent the parable of the servant sent to bid the wedding guests.

Above the little personage representing the servant, is the legend: "Jag är sant af min Herrn" (I am sent by my Lord). The servant is small to denote his inferior social standing to the big man in the full wig; and he doffs his hat in the elaborately polite style, still prevalent in Sweden, although out of date here. The invited guest holds a spade in his hand, for he has bought a piece of land and must go to see it; the spade symbolizing the ground which he has acquired.

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[1] Another illustration of the Three Wise Men is reproduced in *Das nordische Museum in Stockholm. Stimmen aus der Fremde*, p. 21 (Stockholm, 1888, 8vo).

The same dapper little messenger reappears in the second panel:

"Og fing at redo" (and began to speak).

What the big man actually says is, as we know, an excuse: "I have bought a yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them." The oxen are coloured bright vermilion, and the second man only differs from the first in the colour of his clothes. Neither man nor beast is treated with any light and shade. The third division represents the invitation to the newly wedded pair. "I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come." This is explained by the words

"Kommer til Brölopp" (come to the wedding).

So much for the parable.

The last compartment in the upper row represents the crown of life, upborne by two angels, who stand between a design of lilies. The words "lyset crona" (crown of life) can be made out above.

The other short sentences which are still to be deciphered in the upper line of the frieze are: "Guds nöd og callere" (God's grace and calling), and "Jorden Freda" (peace on earth).

The subject to the left of the second row is the Annunciation. The Virgin alone is represented, but the angel would be shown, no doubt, in the linen which joined the painting on the left.

The next panel is broader; it contains seven figures, of which the centre one is Christ with the aureole round His head. Here, again, we have a little man, but this time he represents one really short of stature, and one who was up a tree, for this is Zaccheus in the mulberry, or, as the English version has it, in the sycamore tree. The remaining figures are disciples.

It was about the same time, in the beginning of this century, that little Puritan children in America were instructed in this story through the medium of the *New England Primer*, which was as rude a vehicle of learning in print, as the quaint tapestry painting of the Lutheran peasants who learned their Bible through a wall decoration. The *Primer* tells that

"Zaccheus, he,
Climbed the tree,
Our Lord to see."

But the Swedish peasant of the present day has preserved a religious temperament, and you still may see many a Bible and hymn-book in the poorly furnished houses of the country people.

The words "at see Jesus, steg derför up in mulbart traed" (to see Jesus, climbed therefore up into the mulberry tree) can still be made out in the line above the painting.

Last but one, comes a representation of Jesus, drawing out the beam out of the eye of the centre figure, that the latter might in his turn see clearly to pull the mote out of his brother's eye on the left.

"Som grandet og balken, Luc vi." (The mote and beam, Luke vi.).

Lastly, we have Elias, discouraged and asleep, under the juniper tree. "And behold, an angel touched him, and said, Arise and eat." Above the words can be read:

"Elias, 1st King."

The rest is illegible. The colour of this painting is as rude as the design. Those who wear wigs have them painted blue, and the natural hair is, like that of most Swedes, represented sandy and fair. Blue, red, and black are the principal pigments, but the dress of the Virgin is dove colour.

While there is a certain conventional type in all these Swedish pictures, each man seems to have felt himself at liberty to treat the subject pretty much after his own idea. Here, for example, is another representation of Zaccheus on a canvas, date 1808, now preserved in Dala Fornsal, a pretty little museum of Dalarne antiquities in Falun, the capital of that interesting province. It is painted in bright colours on a canvas about a yard long, and is dated 1808. Beginning at the spectator's right, we have Christ dressed in red with aureole round His head, riding on a long-legged horse with short body and a neck like a giraffe. Before Him is a stout man in knee breeches and blue stockings, red waistcoat and white shirt sleeves, and no coat. Zaccheus stands on the lower branch of an umbrageous tree, about three feet from the ground; behind the tree a long row of houses fills the rest of the canvas. Three persons stand in the porch towards the tree, while below the tree a man kneels and looks up to Zaccheus.

The same kind of decoration was in use in Norway, and a number of examples were shown in the Scandinavian Exhibition of Antiquities and other objects collected by Alfred Heneage Cocks. In the catalogue they are styled "tapestry counterpanes," and the manufacture, it is said, was confined to Thelemarken and the parishes of Valders, Vaage, and Lom in Gudbrandsdalen, and in some places in the west of the country. The oldest known piece of the kind is from Thelemarken (now in the Christiania University Museum), dated 1575. The manufacture seems to have been mainly about 1720. The number of subjects does not seem to have exceeded half-a-dozen, the parable of the wise and foolish virgins being the commonest.[1] In some parts of Norway—particularly the province of Bergen—the peasants weave a kind of coverlet called *aakloeder*. These are often in very bright colours, and have scenes on biblical subjects woven into them. Some of them date back to 1600.[2]

It seems strange that such conventional and awkward work could be of much service in aiding people to realize Scripture history, but no doubt the paintings served their purpose, as did the still cruder illuminations of the early manuscripts. Chinese missionaries of the present time find that they succeed in interesting their converts best by illustrations in which the characters of Jewish history are given with pigtail and bound feet; and I have seen a series of drawings of the Prodigal Son in which the quaintness and matter-of-fact local colour, would more than rival the Swedish linen frieze.

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[1] *Catalogue of the Scandinavian Exhibition of Antiquities and other objects collected by Alfred Heneage Cocks, on view at the Royal Archaeological Institute*, p. 11. London, 1891.

[2] Du Chaillu, *The Land of the Midnight Sun*, ii., p. 284. London, 1881, 8vo.

Du Chaillu does not refer to the tapette, although he has much to say of Skåne; nor are they mentioned by Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden*, London, 1870, 8vo; W. H. Wheelwright, *Ten Years in Sweden, by an Old Bushman*, London, 1865, 8vo; Bremner, *Excursions in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden*, London, 1840, 8vo; or by Mary Wollstonecraft, *Letters written during a short residence in Sweden and Norway*, London, 1802, 8vo, second edition.

No. IX.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON HISTORIES OF INVENTIONS AND BOOKS OF SECRETS.

(*FOURTH SUPPLEMENT.*)*

BY

JOHN FERGUSON, LL.D., F.S.A.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 17th March, 1898.*)

1. Having in the three preceding supplements disposed of such foreign books on secrets as I have recently seen, I come finally to those in English. They stretch over some two hundred and fifty years, from the middle of the sixteenth down to the early years of the present century. They are fraught with more than one kind of interest, and present attractions, literary, antiquarian, practical and historical, as well as bibliographical, to which last, however, I must mainly confine myself.

2. The larger proportion consists of books which swarmed from the press in London from say 1650 to about 1730. Cheap hand-books of practical instruction were in great request, and the flying stationers (however contradictory that title may sound) carried them about and disposed of them all over the country. Some of the books were popular, and passed through endless editions; but, to judge from the examples I shall put before you, there was a steady market for every book of the kind that was printed. In particular, works on household economy were much demanded; they

* This supplement contains English books down to the middle of the seventeenth century.

embraced a wide range of topics, being intended for women in every rank and condition of life, from the "accomplish'd lady" and youthful maiden to the scullery maid and "widow, etc."

3. The volumes have a strong family resemblance. Chap-books they are, indifferently printed on coarse paper, usually in small 12mo, and bound rudely in brown sheep. The copies one meets with are soiled, worn, and not unfrequently imperfect. On rare occasions, however, one turns up as clean and fresh as if it had just come from Little-Britain, or Duck-Lane, or London-Bridge; and then it is found to be quite attractive, despite its plain exterior. Sometimes, after they have been in the hands of wealthy collectors, they are to be seen masquerading in morocco, but such decoration is incongruous, however complimentary it be to the rarity and curiosity of the volumes so adorned.

4. Of the publishers of these chap-books, it was George Conyers, who, towards the end of the seventeenth century, turned them out in greatest numbers and advertised them freely. By his books he may have been the "Weale" of his day; by their want of dates he is a woe of ours.

5. A considerable number of books and a great number of secrets in other books refer to the toilet, and copious directions were given to ladies for the preservation and enhancement of their personal beauty. It is notable how much attention seems to have been devoted to this topic by the authors of the old receipt books; whereas, so far as I am aware, nothing has been published on it, at least in this country, for a good many years. This makes the older literature all the more curious, even though it be out of date. Special methods and materials have alike fallen into desuetude, and the very phraseology employed is as obsolete as the patches and toupees themselves; still some of the receipts have retained their footing and there are general principles upon which writers, early and recent, seem to be in perfect accord with one another.

6. As in all my previous papers, what I have to say on the subject will be by the chronological arrangement of authors, so that even late reprints may be found in a comparatively early position in my remarks.

7. Albertus Magnus is the bibliographical embodiment of the inevitable:

one must expect to have to notice his books on every occasion. This time it is a translation of the *Liber Aggregationis.*

> The booke | of secretes of Alber- | tus Magnus of the ver- | tues of Herbes, stones | and certayne | Beastes. | ([Also a booke of the same | Author of the mar- uaylous | thinges of the world, and | of certayn effectes cau- | sed of certayne | Beastes. | (.·.)
>
> Small 8vo. A to K (?) in eights. Black letter, 22 lines excluding head-line and catchword. The title is surrounded by a border of four different pieces. As this copy is defective at the end—it wants Kviij at least—and there is no record of place, date, or printer, one can only infer these matters by comparison with other books.

In a MS. note on the cover the type is said to be similar to that of the *Boke of Knowledge*, printed by Robert Wyer; but as I have not been able to make the comparison, I do not know whether this is the case or not. If it issued from Wyer's press, the fact has not been noticed by Mr. Plomer.* I have compared it with two specimens of Wyer's printing which I happen to have, and with one of them it agrees so closely that I should be almost inclined to say that it was really Wyer's work. The book to which I refer is that entitled *The Judgemēt of all Urynes*, described by Herbert, p. 377.† The two books agree closely in type, in the coarse paper, through which the print shines from each side, and generally in their wretched typographical execution. On the other hand, they differ in the size of the printed page, the Albertus being both shorter and narrower, and in having a headline, which the other wants. I am not at all certain, therefore, that it came from Wyer's press. Judging from its appearance, I should suppose its date is about 1540-1550.

Herbert does not quote a copy of this book as printed by Wyer, but he mentions‡ *Albertus Magnus, the boke of Secretes*, printed by William Seres, which might possibly be the volume I have. Herbert gives no particulars about it, and I know of no copy at present.

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* "Robert Wyer, Printer and Bookseller." Printed for the Bibliographical Society, London, 1897.

† The copy I have belonged to Herbert; it has his initials and the above reference to his book.

‡ *Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1786, ii., p. 705.

8. [*March*, 1899.

As there will be no other opportunity of mentioning it, I may describe here a copy of a very rare edition of the *De Secretis Mulierum* which came into my possession since the above was written. It begins, f. 1 *recto*:

> Scribit ph's | ph'oz̄ prin- | ceps. iiij°. | Ethicorum |
> Hō eſt opti | mū eoz̄ que | ſunt in mū | do, *etc.*

It ends f. 41 *recto*, line 8:

> Finis h⁹ Tractatuli venerabil' Alberti magni. |

The *verso* is blank.

It is a small 4to, 41 leaves, 33-34 long lines to the page.

The print is $5^{9}/_{16}$–$5^{13}/_{16}$ inches by $3^{3}/_{16}$ inches. It is of a peculiar semi-Gothic shape, with unusual capitals, especially H, M, and R.

It has no date, place, or printer's name; no catchwords, signatures, or leaf numbers.

The initial S at the beginning of the introduction measures $2^{3}/_{8}$ by $2^{3}/_{8}$ inches, and is a rough woodcut, but vigorous, with a dash of humour. On the *verso* of leaf 1, at the beginning of the text, is a large and elaborate Gothic D; these are the only attempts at decoration in the volume.

Hain, who describes this book fully and accurately under No. *550 from an actual copy, says it is printed *Typis Reyserianis*. Reyser printed a large number of books at Eichstadt in Franconia. Kloss, however, to whom my copy belonged—it has his book-plate, and is No. 63 in his sale catalogue—has added a note in his characteristic handwriting to the effect that the edition was unknown to Panzer (which is correct), and that it was printed at Speier by the brothers Hist or Hijst between 1480 and 1485.

It has been said—I do not know with what accuracy—that the books printed by Reyser were all in folio, which, of course, would exclude the present work. It is to be observed, however, that Hain says only *Typis Reyserianis*, which may be quite compatible with Kloss's ascription to Hijst; that is, Reyser and Hijst may have used similar if not identical founts of type. But this is a matter on which, as I have no facts to go upon, I am unable to express an opinion.

So far as I have observed, there is no copy of this edition in the British Museum Catalogue.

This with the above makes now fifty editions of the two sets of *Secrets*

ascribed to Albertus, which I have brought before the Society; but the number of those which exist is not exhausted.]

9. Next to the work of Albertus, which is *hors concours*, so to speak, the earliest I have to show on this occasion is that by Edward Fenton, *The Secret Wonders of Nature*, London, 1569. The copy here was obtained in 1891 at the Hailstone sale, and makes the sixth or seventh I know of at present. The reason for this rarity will be understood by inspection of this copy. The book was a popular one. Not to speak of the amazing tales which fill it, and which would attract readers old and young at all times, it contains a number of woodcuts which would fascinate far more than even the text would do. The result of this popularity has been the almost complete annihilation of the edition through hard usage, and the only survivors I know of, beside the present copy, are: two in the British Museum; one in the Bodleian; one in the University Library at Cambridge; one at Abbotsford; one in Mr. Huth's library; and one or two others in private hands.

On a former occasion,* when I described the book from the Museum copy and gave some specimens of the anecdotes which make it so entertaining, I was in the belief that Fenton was the author. The title-page declares openly that it is by him; and it is only by a statement at the close of his dedication that one ascertains that it is a translation, though he specifies neither the author nor the language of the original. While, therefore, he just saves his own credit for honesty, he has done his best to get the credit—such as it may be—of being the author of the book.

The fact is, however, as I have already pointed out,† it is neither more nor less than a translation of the work of Boaistuau, *Histoires prodigieuses*, which first appeared in 1566. Of this author and certain of his works I gave a short account in my third supplement,‡ so that it is unnecessary to say more about them at present. I may repeat, however, that after having acquired a copy of the 1574 edition of Boaistuau's book, I found that the woodcuts in it, though on a much smaller scale, bore an

* Part IV., p. 306. (Reprint, p. 8.) † Supplement III., § 33.

‡ *Transactions, Archæol. Soc., Glasgow*, III., pp. 381-85.

unmistakable likeness to those in Fenton's. Comparison having thereafter revealed identity in the text, there could be no question as to the source whence Fenton had obtained his "secret wonders of Nature." But he ought to have made it quite clear on the title-page.

10. Reference has been already made* to the fortuitous concourse of paragraphs huddled together in Thomas Lupton's book, *A Thousand Notable Things of Sundrie Sorts.* Although devoid of systematic form, it contains such an array of old-fashioned stories and notions that it continues to be of some use and value to the folk-loreist, and is appealed to as a source of information even at the present day.

11. Among the editions in the British Museum formerly quoted (Part IV., p. 313) is one of 1627. I have a copy of it here:

> London, | Printed by E. All-de for N. Fosbrooke, | by the Aſſignes of Io: Wright, and | R. Bird. 1627. |

It is a small 4to, in black letter, and consists of sigs. A to Z, Aa to Gg in fours; or, pp. 6 not numbered, containing the title and author's preface; 174 numbered (but a misprint for 214), containing the text; 19 not numbered, containing the table of contents; and a blank page. This, therefore, is a page for page reprint of the undated edition of about 1596,† and of that of 1601, the earliest in the British Museum.‡ There is nothing to be specially observed in this edition.

12. In 1631 another reprint appeared, also formerly mentioned as being in the Museum.§ Of this, too, I can show a copy, and the interest of it lies in its being probably the first issue of the book in 8vo, and the first step in its degradation into the chap-book and falsified forms in which it was published last century.

This edition is still in black letter. The later ones were in roman type. It contains A to Z in eights, or pp. [6] 336 [26].

13. Another edition has just come to hand. It was printed by Edward Allde for Edward White, and was "to be ſolde at the little North doore of Pauls, at the ſigne of the Gunne," in 1612. It is in 4to, as usual,

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* Part IV., p. 313. (Reprint, p. 15.)

† Part V., p. 455. (Reprint, p. 39.)

‡ Part IV., p. 313. (Reprint, p. 15.)

§ *Ibid.*

and black letter. The signatures run from A to Z, Aa to Dd in fours and Ee2, or pp. [6] 214. There is no index; but I suppose that it has been taken out of this copy, not that it was never printed. It is a poorly got-up book.

14. One of my most recent acquisitions is the edition of 1815, of which I gave the title formerly from the copy in the British Museum.* It is a 12mo, uncut, in the original paper boards as it was issued, and it contains sigs.: A to K in twelves, L2; or pp. xxiv., 220.

This edition, it will be remembered, also includes a reprint of the Marquis of Worcester's *Century of Inventions*, to which reference will again be made under the year 1663.

15. Of the *Treasurie of Hidden Secrets*, two editions have been described, dated respectively 1596† and 1600.‡ There is a later one: "At London, Printed by I. W. for Edward White, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the little North doore of Paules, at the ſigne of the Gunne. 1608." It is printed, like the others, in black letter, and is a small 4to with no numbering of leaves or pages, but with signatures A to I in fours. Though it professes to be enlarged "with diuers neceſſary Phiſicke helpes," there is no appreciable difference between it and that of 1596.

16. Still another edition appeared long after, of which I know two copies: one is in the British Museum (1038, i. 35 (8)); the other is in my own collection. It is as follows:

The | Treasury | of | Hidden Secrets, | Commonly called, | The Good-huſwives Cloſet of proviſion, | for the *health of her Houſhold.* | Gathered out of ſundry experiments, lately | practiſed by men of great knowledge: And now newly | inlarged with divers neceſſary Phyſick helps, and knowledge | of the names and diſpoſition of diſeaſes, that moſt commonly | happen to Men and Women. | Not impertinent for every good Huſwife to uſe in her | Houſe, amongſt her own Family. | [Device.]

London. | Printed by *Jane Bell*, and are to be ſold at the Eaſt- | end of *Chriſt-Church*, 1653. |

Small 4to. A to I in fours; no leaf or page numbering. In the Museum copy I4 is wanting; it contains the contents of the chapters after Cap. 56. This too is printed in black letter.

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* Part IV., p. 314. (Reprint, p. 16.)

† Part V., p. 454. (Reprint, p. 38.)

‡ Part IV., p. 310. (Reprint, p. 12.)

Inserted in the Museum copy is a printed slip: "The powder for sore eyes," containing printed directions for the use of the powder enclosed in it.

The device on the title-page is the same as Plantin's, viz. a hand holding a pair of compasses, with the motto: Labore et Constantia.

17. There is a curious and rare tract by a certain Walter Gedde, or Gidde, on a method of drawing designs upon direct and collateral lines. Its title is as follows:

A Booke of Svndry Dravghtes, Principaly ſerving for Glaſiers; And not Impertinent for Plaſterers, and Gardiners: be ſides ſundry other profeſſions. Wherevnto is annexed the manner how to anniel in Glas: and alſo the true forme of the Fornace, and the ſecretes thereof.

London, printed in Shoolane, at the ſigne of the Faulcon by Walter Dight. 1615.

Small 4to. A to R in fours; or pp. [24] 3-103 [1 blank, 8]. Folding plate. The greater part of the book is taken up with representations of various designs.

The second tract about glass occupies sig. R, and it has a title-page:

The Manner, Howe to Anneile, or Paint in Glas: The true receptes of the cullors, The ordering of the Furnace, and all the ſecretes there vnto belonging. 1616.

It contains pictures of the furnace, pot, pan for test pieces, etc.

The first copy of this book which came under my notice was in Pepys' Library, Magdalen College, Cambridge, and at the time I knew of no other. Since then two copies have come to my knowledge—the Ashburnham copy and that which I now exhibit. There is one also in the British Museum (C 21, b (1-2)), where it is specially reserved. It is quite possible that there may be others, and that the book is not so rare after all, but in the meantime I have not had an opportunity to search for them.

18. If one may judge by its price, a book sought after at the present time is that on the arts by John Bate. It is not an absolute rarity, but, on account of its contents and illustrations and the difficulty of getting it in perfect condition, it commands a certain amount of attention.

19. On a former occasion* I was able to describe only the first edition from an actual copy, printed in small quarto at London by Ralph Mabb in 1634, but for the later editions I had to rely upon Lowndes and

* Part VI., p. 12. (Reprint, p. 14.)

Hazlitt. Of these I have now got copies. The second edition, also printed by R. Mabb, came out in 1635. To this is prefixed a portrait of the author, and the title is in black and red. The book is a small quarto, and contains: the frontispiece and pictorial title (two leaves), and signatures A to Qq in fours, sig. I having two extra leaves with diagrams. The following points may also be noticed: the first leaf of Q is misprinted P. N1 is the title-page of book second; T1 of book third; and Hh2 of book fourth.

The portrait, for which the book is prized, is far from complimentary, and represents Bate, who, doubtless, was a decent law-abiding citizen,* as a person for whom no villainy would be too great to perpetrate. G. Gifford, the engraver, has no reason to be proud of the "lively pourtraicture."

Though said to be enlarged in every part, the chief additions will be found in part one, to which in this second edition has been added an appendix.

20. The third edition did not appear till 1654, and it was printed for Andrew Cooke at London. It has no portrait, but it has a number of illustrations over and above those in the previous editions, but all of rather inferior execution. The book is in small quarto, and besides the engraved and printed titles (two leaves) contains B to Gg in fours and Hh in two.

In some way or other this edition has got modernized—though with only twenty years interval—and it is not nearly so attractive as its predecessors. All the editions, more particularly the first and third, are moderately rare, and are not readily procurable in really nice state. It may, therefore, be of some interest to see them all brought together as in the present instance. So far as I know, there were no more than the three editions now specified.

21. Bate, as I pointed out before, was a practical man, and described receipts and apparatus which he had tried and found would work, not like some of the compilers who often gathered nothing else but mere nonsense.

The first book contains a good many ingenious devices worked by

* His name, notwithstanding, does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

water power. In particular, there is a weather glass, a water clock, force pumps, and other contrivances. The second book deals with pyrotechny; and as it gives minute directions about the materials and various kinds of fireworks, such as rockets, crackers, fire drakes, as well as fixed pieces, it is worth comparing his receipts with those of other writers on the subject.

The third book is occupied with drawing and painting, and an account is given both of mediums and of colours. This part may be compared with Salmon's *Polygraphice.*

The last book, called "Extravagants," is merely a collection of miscellaneous secrets relating chiefly to the metals, and there are a few medical receipts at the end. On the whole the book justifies the demand for it that still exists.

22. As an example of a successful compilation, the Countess of Kent's *Choice Manual of Rare and Select Secrets in Physick and Chirurgery* (first published, I should suppose, about 1651) has been displayed in virtue of its having gone through at least nineteen editions.* One might have expected therefore, to find occasionally a copy of some edition or other for sale. But that is just what very seldom happens; and if one which I have be inspected, the reason of the scarcity, as in the case of Fenton above quoted (§ 8), will be easily comprehended: the books have been simply worn out. When a volume gets into the state exhibited by my copy of the twelfth edition, it is within a very short distance of final destruction. It has been squeezed out of all semblance to a book; it has been blackened by smoke, and fouled by use till it is almost illegible; the owner may have got a fresh copy of a newer edition, and may have had no special sentiment about the old one which had seen so much service, and so it would drift to its end. It has, however, escaped tearing up and burning as waste paper, and it is worth preserving now, as an illustration of the kind of treatment to which useful books are subjected; and how whole editions may disappear merely by bad usage and want of a little care and consideration. Would it not be a pleasant recreation to have a few minutes' talk with the person who maltreated this volume?

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* Part IV., p. 318. (Reprint, p. 20.)

23. The editions I have recently acquired are the fourth, eleventh, and twelfth.

The fourth is a tiny 24mo, similar to the copy of the nineteenth edition I showed in 1885, and it has a queer little portrait of the Countess. It was printed by Gartrude Dawson, and sold by William Shears at the Bible in St. Pauls Churchyard, in 1654. It contains A to Q in twelves, but the two parts of which the book consists are paged separately: [18], 206, [18], 140. This copy is remarkably fresh and clean.

24. The eleventh edition was printed and sold by the same persons in 1659. It is a 12mo, and is printed in larger type than the other two. It had a portrait, but it has been removed by some Grangerising thief, and its existence, therefore, can only be assumed in the collation:—portrait leaf (?); title; A in six, B to M in twelves; l in six, m in twelve, N to R in twelves, S in eight, T, (T2 was probably blank); or, pp. [2? 2, 12], 258, [6]; 20, 154. It contains certain additional secrets of medicine in Part I., pp. 231-258, which were introduced into the work in some edition which I have not seen, subsequent to the fourth.

25. The twelfth edition is of the same size and style as the fourth edition; the portrait is reversed, and is not only more debased in execution but is more disreputable in expression. It contains A to R in twelves, S in six, or pp. [18], 233, [7]; [20], 140, including the added secrets to Part I., pp. 207-233 already specified. This edition was also printed by Gartrude Dawson and was sold by William Shears, who, however, had removed to the Blew Bible in Bedford Street, Covent Garden. The date on the book is 2659, an uncommon kind of misprint.

A curious point in the publication of these books is the issue of the eleventh and twelfth editions in the same year, by the same people, but in quite a different form.

26. Since the preceding was written, a copy of a still later edition has fallen into my hands.

A | Choice Manual, | or, | Rare and Select | Secrets | in | Physick | and | Chirurgery. | Collected, and Practiſed by | the Right Honourable, the | Countess of Kent, | Late Deceased. | Whereto are added several Experiments | of the Virtues of Gaſcon-powder, and | Lapis contra Yarvam, by a Pro- | feſſor of Phyſick. |

As alſo moſt Exquiſite ways of Pre- | ſerving, Conſerving, Candying, &c. | The 21th. (*sic*) Edition with Additions. |
London, | Printed for Henry Mortlock, at the Phœnix in | St. Paul's Church-yard, 1708. |
12mo. pp. [12] 112; [4] 68 [7, 1 blank]. Portrait extra.

The second part has a title-page as follows:

A True | Gentlewomans Delight. | Wherein is contained all manner | of | Cookery:
Together with { Preſerving | Conſerving | Drying and | Candying. |
Very Neceſſary for all | Ladies, | And | Gentlewomen. | Publiſhed by W. J. Gent. |
London, | Printed for H. Mortlock, at the Phœnix in St. Paul's | Church-yard. 1707.

This copy, too, with one of the Hailstone bookplates, bears evidence of mal-treatment, for it wants a leaf. It has exactly the same portrait as that in the nineteenth edition.

27. When first* I had to speak about the Countess, I consulted Granger† and Walpole.‡ So very different a view, however, of her character (or want of it) is given by Abraham de la Pryme,§ that I have consulted some other authorities, and have found considerable uncertainty and confusion due to a want of agreement among them.

It is unnecessary to go into the details of her life.‖ She is called the second of the three daughters of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; she was married to Henry Grey, seventh Earl of Kent; "she was eminent for her virtue and piety," but "her being an author was not the most estimable part of her character."¶ She died at her house in Whitefriars in 1651.

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* Part IV., p. 318. (Reprint, p. 20.)

† *Biographical History of England*, 5th edition, London, 1824, Vol. III., p. 209. The list of her portraits seems to be contained in the edition of 1775, Vol. II., p. 374, but I have not seen it.

‡ *Royal and Noble Authors*, by Park, London, 1806, Vol. III., p. 44.

§ *Diary*, edited by Charles Jackson, Surtees Society, 1869-70, Vol. 54, p. 8. I have not seen this authority referred to in any notice of either Selden or the Countess.

‖ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxiii., p. 181, under "Elizabeth Grey."

¶ *Memoirs of John Selden*, by Geo. W. Johnson, London, 1835, p. 355.

Selden had been very intimate with the Earl, after whose death in 1639 "he appears to have been domesticated with the widow both in town and country, taking the management of her concerns, and, as Wood says, living with her in a conjugal way: but what he meant by that expression I do not undertake to conjecture."* "There is strong reason to believe," says Johnson, "that he was bound to her by other ties than those of service and friendship." He repeats the "equivocal" words Aikin ascribes to Wood, adding that Aubrey states that he was privately married to the Countess.

Granger says that she was a different person from the Elizabeth "who cohabitated with Mr. Selden, and left him a considerable fortune." There is no equivocating about Granger, but he does not inform us who this other Elizabeth was, and Nichols† says distinctly that Granger is wrong in this supposition. I myself have no doubt that Granger is wrong as to the want of identity.

Lastly, De la Pryme puts the rumour with quite a seventeenth century frankness. Under the year 1686, he says:

> Being reading this day a book entitled "The Countess of Kents receipts," I asked my aunt Prym, who is an ingenious woman, who this Countess was, etc. Shee answered me that when shee, my aunt, lived in London, she lived just over against her, and knew her very well. She sayd that the Countess was a widdow and never had a child in her life: that she was an exceeding good charitable woman, and that she spent twenty thousand pound a year yearly in physick, receipts and experiments, and in charity towards the poor. Shee caused every other day a huge dinner to be got, and all the poor people might come that would, and that which spared they took home with them. My aunt says shee has seen the poor at her tables several times. Sometimes there would have been sixty, sometimes eighty, sometimes more, sometimes less. And shee sent vast quantitys of meat out to those that could not come. She would oft go to the houses of the poor, and visit them and dress their soars with her own hands; and shee distributed a vast deal in money herself yearly to all those that stood in need. Yet for all this (adds De la Pryme) as I have since heard, she lived in common whoredom with the famous Mr. Selden, who (*sic*) she entertained as her gallant.

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* *The Lives of John Selden, Esq., and Archbishop Usher*, by John Aikin, M.D., London, 1812, p. 155.

† *Literary Anecdotes*, London, 1814, viii., p. 510.

The editor of the *Diary*, Charles Jackson, in a note to this passage here mentioned, says:

> It is but an act of ordinary justice to the character of the noble lady whom the diarist has named in the text, to mention that the story to which he refers, whether true or false, does not, at all events, or in any way, relate to *her*. The "good Countess of Kent," so called from her deeds of charity and hospitality, was Amabel, the second wife of Henry Grey, tenth Earl of Kent * (who died 1651), daughter of Sir Anthony Benn, Recorder of London, and widow of the Hon. Anthony Fane. She lived to be 92 years of age, surviving her husband forty-seven years, and dying 17 Aug., 1698. But the "Countess of Kent" who was the real subject of the evil report, was an earlier lady, viz., Elizabeth, second dau. and co-heir of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and wife of Henry Grey, eighth [seventh] Earl of Kent. The latter nobleman died in 1639, without issue, when the title passed to his cousin, Anthony Grey, ninth [eighth] Earl, the father of Henry the tenth [ninth] Earl, husband of the "*Good* Countess" aforesaid. Elizabeth Talbot was born in or about 1581, and died 7 Dec., 1651, aged 70. John Selden, who is here (let us hope) so unjustly brought under our notice, was the famous patriot and lawyer. . . . Mr. Selden appears to have been employed as solicitor or legal steward to the Earl of Kent, the husband of Elizabeth (Talbot) above mentioned, with both of whom he was necessarily much associated, and lived for many years in the strictest degree of friendship. John Aubrey, the Wiltshire antiquary, a great collector of the rumours of the day, has not omitted to notice that which De la Pryme had heard as to the Countess and Selden. . . . It is difficult at this day, in the absence of any positive testimony, to believe that he was likely to be a party to any shameful intrigue like that suggested. Selden died 30 Nov., 1654, at the Friary House, in Whitefriars, London, which, amongst her other property, he possessed as devisee of the Countess, who, by her will dated 20 June, 1649, and proved 12th Dec., 1651, appointed him her executor and residuary legatee.

Before considering the questions raised by this note, it will be best to let Aubrey † speak for himself, since he is referred to by several writers.

> He (Selden) was quickly taken notice of for his learning, and was solicitor and steward to the Earle of Kent, whose Countesse being an ingeniose woman, * * * * * * After the Earle's death he maried her. He had a

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* She was married to the ninth Earl, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxiii., p. 187.

† Aubrey's MSS. in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, edited by Philip Bliss, London, 1814, iii., cols. 377, 378. It is to be observed that the asterisks and dots in the first extract are Aubrey's own.

> daughter, if not two, by . . . . . one was maried to a tradesman in Bristowe. * * * * * *
>
> He never owned the mariage with the Countesse of Kent till after her death, upon some lawe account. He never kept any servant peculiar, but my ladie's were all of his command; he lived with her in Ædibus Carmeliticis (White Fryers) which was before the conflagration, a noble dwelling. He kept a plentifull table and was never without learned company.

Consideration of the statements of Wood, Aubrey, De la Pryme and his aunt, shows that Jackson has got into a confusion of his own making, and that there is no reason whatever for importing the name of the 'Good Countess' into the discussion.

In the first place, the diarist has named nobody in the text but the authoress of the *Receipts*; he does not even insinuate any one else. In the second place, Jackson assumes that because "my aunt Prym" spoke of her charity to the poor, therefore *she* meant the 'Good Countess.' There is no foundation for that, and besides there is no proof that the said Countess spent money on "receipts and experiments," whereas the Countess of Kent's *Receipts* are still with us. In the third place, when it is clearly affirmed that the Countess spoken of by "my aunt Prym" was childless, he overlooks the strongest confirmation of his own statement that Henry, the husband of Countess Elizabeth, died without issue, whereas the 'Good Countess' had a family, so that *she* could not have been meant. In the fourth place, he neglects the obvious implication that the Countess Elizabeth was dead, whereas the 'Good Countess' was still living in 1686. In the fifth place, Aubrey does *not* "notice what De la Pryme had heard"; for he says nothing indicative of a "shameful intrigue" at all, but alludes only to a private marriage. If there is any slur on Selden's character, indicated by Aubrey, it is certainly not in connection with the Countess, but with some person unknown. But Jackson takes no notice of that. In the last place, Jackson would seem almost to believe that the *Receipts* were compiled by the Countess Amabella, which was not the case.

Next, with regard to Wood, as he does not refer to any kind of connection between them, I cannot discover whence comes the phrase with which Aikin credits him, and which Johnson styles 'equivocal'

Aikin emitted it before the publication of Aubrey's MSS. by Bliss in 1814, and he could hardly have known of De la Pryme's version of the story. One thing seems certain that "my aunt Prym" knew nothing of the report current about the Countess Elizabeth, or, if she did, she could still affirm of her personal knowledge and observation that she was an "exceeding good charitable woman."

De la Pryme evidently believed that the Countess described by his aunt was the same as the Countess Elizabeth who was said to have been intimate with Selden. The aunt was as clearly of opinion that the Countess she was describing was the authoress of the book.

If she meant the Countess Amabel, why did she so emphasise the fact that the person she was thinking of was childless; and why did not De la Pryme correct his aunt's misunderstanding, and remind her that the lady whose book he was reading had been dead for five and thirty years, whereas the Countess Amabel was alive?

It is plain, I think, that De la Pryme got his story about Selden and the Countess from a source different from Aubrey's; "as I have since heard" to use his own words, seems to indicate mere gossip, and without more reliable evidence than that, one inclines to consider it the depreciatory inference which is usually, because easily, deduced from misunderstood or imperfectly known facts, and that both the unauthenticated expression attributed to Wood and the grosser fama of De la Pryme are neither more nor less than the low-minded and vulgar interpretation of an unacknowledged marriage emanating from a shallow cynic. In the most recent notice of Selden,* Aubrey's story is stated to be "probably false," but no reason is given in support of that position; and the other reports —whether true or not—are ignored.

It is no advantage to Selden to gainsay his private marriage, when there was obviously a persistent rumour, good, bad, or indifferent, about him and the Countess, and the most reasonable origin and explanation of it is in what Aubrey says. One can sympathise with Jackson's desire to clear Selden from De la Pryme's aspersions; it can be best done by

* *Dictionary of National Biography*, li., p. 220.

accepting Aubrey's statement as true. The existence of the two daughters alluded to by Aubrey, is much more difficult to explain away.

Walpole, it may be observed, does not mention the Countess at all in the first edition of his book.* The account of her in the fifth edition was inserted by the editor, Thomas Park, mainly from Granger. He quotes the sixteenth edition, 1670 (which I have not seen), and says that the title-page states that the receipts were "collected and practised" by the Countess, and he then adds the following oddly ideaed note:

> This information, if it were given on any authority, would reduce her ladyship to be considered in the present work as a mere transcriber of receipts for making confections and cordials, unguents and distillations; though it would still leave her the more exalted character, of having contributed with Christian condescension to administer to the comforts or the necessities of others.

Did he too confuse the two Countesses?

As to Mr. Park's remarks, I may say that, in the editions I have seen, the 4th, 11th, 12th, 19th, and 21st, it is stated that they were "collected and practised" by the Countess, so that the 16th edition resembles the others in this phrase. I have not seen the first or second edition, but it is possible that the book was issued shortly after her death in 1651, printed from her manuscript collections, so that even in the first edition she would appear as the Countess of Kent, *late deceased.*

But whether or not she was as black as common rumour has tried to paint her does not concern the bibliographer. All that he has to do with is that she was the compiler of a book which was in constant use for at least fifty years, and, as it was not devoid of intrinsic merit, deserved the popularity it enjoyed.

28. In 1635 N. and I. Okes printed an abstract in English of Dupleix's *Curiosité naturelle*, under the title of *The Resolver, or Curiosities of Nature.*† The absolute ineptitude of this book—as of the original—did not deter the same firm from bringing out a companion volume two years later.

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* *Royal and Noble Authors*, Strawberry Hill, 1758, 2 vols., small 8vo.

† Part IV., p. 316. (Reprinted, p. 18.)

Curiosities: *or* The Cabinet of Nature. Containing *Phylofophical, Naturall,* and *Morall* queftions fully anfwered and Refolved. *Tranflated out of Latin, French and Italian Authors. by* R. B. *Gent.* Never before Publifhed. *London* Printed by *N.* and *I. Okes.* 1637.

It is a small 12mo, A to N in twelves, pp. [24] 287 [1 blank]. Besides the printed title there is an engraved one: Pliny and Plutarch to the left and right; at the top: Natura seated, holding out bare arms, with celestial and terrestrial globes to the left and right; sun, moon, and stars behind. At the bottom: a landscape with mountains, trees, water, and birds, fishes, quadrupeds, serpents, etc.

29. The author, Robert Basset, in a very "conceited" address to the reader, says that this volume was compiled from a French writer mainly, along with a few others. Some of the sections are taken from Dupleix's *Curiosité naturelle*, but it is possible that it is the same author's *Physique* from which he has borrowed the chief part of the book. I have not been able to lay hands on the *Physique*, and cannot say whether this conjecture can be justified or not.

The contents of this book hardly bring it within range of these notes, except in so far as it includes secrets of nature, which it unquestionably does. The secrets of which explanations are attempted remain as such, some of them, to this day; others have been explained, but by a very different method of investigation and with very different results from those of Robert Basset. There is not a single answer to one of the questions propounded that has any intelligible meaning, much less gives an explanation of the natural phenomenon enquired into. Even the questions are generally those of confusion and ignorance, arising from want of perception of what does and what does not lie within man's capacity of investigation.

This book must not be confused either with Dupleix's *Curiosities of Nature*,* or with T. Brown's *Nature's Cabinet Unlock'd*, which will be referred to subsequently under the year 1657.

30. Of Gabriel Plattes' *Discovery of Subterraneal Treasure* a fourth

* Part IV., p. 316. (Reprint, p. 18.)

edition has to be added to those formerly described.* Although without date, it must be subsequent to 1712; for, in a note at the end of the preface, there is an account of an explosion of fire-damp which occurred during that year in a mine in Durham, whereby 72 persons were killed.† The edition is, probably, several years later than that event. Unless by the dedication of the first edition being omitted, there is no difference between this and the earlier editions as to matter, but as to form there is marked deterioration.

The 1639 edition is a small quarto of 60 pages, in large legible type, with 26 lines to the page, well leaded out, comfortable and agreeable to read. The 1679 edition is also a quarto, but it has shrunk to 24 pages, and contains 41 lines to the page, in smaller type. This undated edition is still further contracted to 22 pages of 43 lines each, and the pages are crammed even to the verge of repulsiveness. The first edition under Plattes' supervision is an attractive pamphlet; the present is a catchpenny impression got up by the "Booksellers of London and Westminster" for selling—not for reading—and they have made it as nasty as they could for its cheapness. A similar falling off is not unobservable in successive editions of books at the present day.

31. There comes next by date a gathering of receipt books which I lighted on accidentally in the British Museum, very much as I discovered the volume made up of the Italian pamphlets described in the first Supplement. It shows the difficulty of exhausting the tale of these books, especially as there is no clue usually either to the name of the author, even when it is given on the title-page, or to the title under which the book was published, if it appeared anonymously. One becomes acquainted with them merely by chance. Past experience convinces me that there may be collections still to be discovered and described.

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* Part I., p. 194. (Reprint, p. 15.) Part II., p. 251. (Reprint, p. 41.) Part III., p. 226. (Reprint, p. 41.)

† Oddly enough the date of another book, White's *Hocus-Pocus*, is fixed by the same catastrophe.

32. I shall now give the titles of this new set of pamphlets in order.

The | Ladies | Cabinet | Opened: | Wherein is found hidden ſeverall Expe- | riments in Preſerving and Conſerving, | Phyſicke, and Surgery, Cookery | and Huſwifery. | [Device.]
London, | Printed by M. P. for Richard Meighen, next to the | Middle Temple in Fleetſtreet. 1639. |
Small 4to. Signatures: A to H in fours; or pp. [2] 59 [3].
The device is a winged skull surmounted by an hour-glass resting on a crossed bone and scythe with the motto: Non Plvs, surrounded by a border of scrolls and flowers.

It is a shabby pamphlet, containing receipts for making preserves, jellies, cordials, medicines, for cooking, for perfumes, rather confusedly arranged.

The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened, 1654, if it can hardly be called a new edition of the above, certainly contains a large number of the receipts. The present, therefore, seems to be the first form of the collection, which was afterwards extended and rearranged by "M. B.," who signs the preface to the later form of the book. I shall consider the question under the edition of 1667.

The present copy is in the British Museum, 1038, i. 35 (1).

33. The next four works deserve a little attention, as the problem of authorship which they present does not yield a solution all at once.

The tracts may be first taken in order, and the question arising out of them then considered.

34. A Precious | Treasury | of | Tvventy | Rare Secrets. | Moſt neceſſary, Pleaſant, and Pro- | fitable for all ſorts of People. | Published | By La Fovntaine | an Expert Operator.
London, | Printed Anno Dom. 1649. |
Small 4to. Sig. A, 4 leaves.
A1, Title leaf. A2 *recto*, Contents. A2 *verso* to A4 *verso*, the Text.
From the copy in the British Museum (1038. i. 35 (2)).

Among the twenty receipts are these: Writing by black or indigo transfer paper; writing secret letters with alum, and juice of lemon; dyeing hair with silver nitrate; perfuming wine by a lemon or orange stuck full of cloves, hung up in the barrel; appeasing toothache by cotton dipped in essence of cloves; taking out grease spots; making instantaneous ink, and so on.

La Fountaine was what is termed a quack, but part at least of his

quackery is recognised now as legitimate, and is licensed regularly under the name of Dental Surgery. He undertakes to do what is done by the dentists of the present day.

At the conclusion of his tract (A4 *recto*) he says:

I have ſome things extraordinary, which I cannot communicate to any but them that have neede of my helpe, and will make uſe of me. I have written here ſomething to ſatiſſie the curious but I muſt confeſſe they are but trifles in compariſon of my manuall opperations which I preſume to be as expert in as any man in Europe whatſoever he be, as my approbation of ſome of the beſt Doctors of this age ſhall juſtify if need requires.

I glory not in knowing or doing much, but in doing well that little which I undertake, and the things which I undertake are these:

Firſt, I pull out hollow Teeth or roots, though ever ſo ſhor, (*sic*) with wonderfull dexterity, facility, and eaſe.

(A4 *verso*) | I make even smooth, and plaine Teeth, that are extravagant or ſharper, longer or ruggeder than the reſt.

Hollow Teeth that for ſome reaſon you would not have drawn, as the falling in of the cheek, or an invincible apprehenſion or fear, or the like, I can ſtop them ſo that they ſhall neither ake, putrifie, nor ſmell ill.

I have the beſt ſecret in the World abſolutely and infallibly, to make Teeth moſt perfectly white and clean, though they be ever ſo black or ruſty.

I can ſet in Artificiall Teeth ſo well that none can poſſibly know them from naturall ones.

Finally, I cannot chooſe but convince their ignorance that are againſt drawing hollow Teeth or roots, their common fooliſh objection is, that I do it more for my own profit then the patients eaſe. I ſay they may as wel object the ſame againſt all other Arts, Sciences, or Trades in the world, for it is evident and cleare that the drawing of Teeth from others is as neceſſary for them as the profit is for me, by reaſon that all the Art in the world cannot make a periſhed Tooth ſound again, nor hinder it from infecting the next adjoyning teeth in time. Besides, hollow teeth breed often a ſtinking breath, a canker in the mouth, and other diseaſes in the body, and their intolerable aking is able to make a body fall into a dangerous Feaver; all which inconveniences may be ſhunned by having ſuch teeth and roots neatly drawn. Laſtly, if it be true that it is good to take the broken from the whole, or that one ſcabbed ſheep may ſpoyl a whole flock, or that it is good and neceſſary to repaire imperfections of nature with Art; then all that I have ſaid herein is true, and ſo I reſt fully ſatiſfied.

I live at preſent in St. Martins Lane, at the next Belcony to the Signe of the Anchor neere Charingcroſſe, where they that have need of me, may finde me to give them all reaſonable ſatisfaction, God willing.

Per me La Fountaine Operator.

35. In the same year a similar collection appeared, as follows:

A New | Dispensatory | of Fourty Phyſicall | Receipts. | Moſt neceſſary and Profitable for | all Houſe-Keepers in their Families. | Beſides three other pleaſant arts fit for | young Gentlemen. | *Published by* SALVATOR WINTER *of* Naples. | *An Expert Operator.*
London, | Printed in the Yeare, | 1649.

Small 4to. A, B, in fours; or pp. [6] 9 [1 blank]. From the British Museum copy (1038, i. 35 (4)).

Winter's preface "To the Reader" is worth quoting:

In my manifold Travels through *Europe*, *Asia* and *Affrica*, I have observed and learned many secrets, yea there is scarce anything profitable for mans body, but I have knowledge thereof. Here I do freely present unto you fourty, most necessary Receipts and very useful in every family, whereof I have oftentimes made good proofe; accept of them thankefully, and as you shall have occasion make use thereof, So Farewell.

Salvator Winter.
Operator.

The receipts are entirely medical and surgical, as for sore eyes, deafness, toothache, palsy, to heal a cut, for the squinzie, for the jaundies, for the swelling of the legs, for piles, for the itch, pleurisy, spitting of blood, scrophulus or King's Evil, for the plague, to break a carbuncle, for worms in children, for the ague, falling sickness, a stitch, sore throat, a scald with fire or hot liquor, to ease the gout, for a tympany, "for an Eare wigg in the Eare," for the green sickness, convulsions in young children, to dye hair black, and three receipts for young gentlemen, which are as follows:

To make a stone which catches fire when spit upon. It consists of lime, saltpetre, tutia, calamine, brimstone, and camphor. To make two waters which turn like milk when mixed, viz. Lead Acetate and oil of Tartar, or potassium carbonate. To make a bullet to hit all marks; take pewter, lead and quicksilver—melt together and cast into bullets. When fired they burst and scatter.

At the very end he states that he pulls out "all manner of Hollow Teeth stumps or roots, with great dexterity, and ease without almost any paine. I make Teeth Smooth and White, set in Artificiall ones, that they shall not be discerned from the naturall ones, yea I doe all to Teeth: (without arrogancie and prejudice to others) as well as any whosoever, and I know none shall goe beyond me in that art." Winter lived at that

time "in Bedford-street next doore unto the signe of the Foxe over against the New Exchange."

This may be compared with La Fountaine's advertisement. Were they rivals?

36. A third work, subsequent to the preceding, appeared the same year:

> A Pretious | Treasury: | or a New | Dispensatory. | Contayning 70. approved Phyſicall rare Receits. | Moſt neceſſary and needfull for all ſorts of people to have | in their Families. | Collected out of the moſt approved Authors, both in Phyſick and Chyrurgery: | by *Salvator Winter*, and Signieur *Franciſco Dickinſon*, expert Operators. | *in two Bookes.* | [Vignette.]
>
> London, Printed by *Tho. Harper* for *Richard Harper*, and are to be ſold | at his ſhop in Smithfield, at the Bible and Harpe. 1649. |

Small 4to. A and B in four, C2, or pp. [1-6] 7-20. From the British Museum copy (1038, i. 35 (3)).

The vignette is a quack doctor on a platform handing out doses to the public below. He says: "Me cure all Diſeaſes." His servant has a small pamphlet and a box of pills or some sort of drug, and says: "Your money Gent." The costumes are of the time.

The first book by Winter consists of receipts for some very common complaints, and is identical with the preceding *New Dispensatory*, with the same address to the reader and the same short statement about teeth at the end.

The second book, claimed by Francisco Dickinson, is in reality a reprint of La Fountaine's *Precious Treasury of Twenty Rare Secrets* of the same date, only the long advertisement about teeth is omitted. This volume, therefore, consists of the two preceding pamphlets printed together, with La Fountaine's name changed to Francisco Dickinson.

37. The fourth collection is in the Museum (1038, i. 35 (5)), and is by La Fountain.

> A Brief | Collection | of many Rare | Secrets. | Moſt of which are approved, | and Phyſical, and the reſt moſt | Pleaſant and Recreative. | Very neceſſary for all ſorts of People. | Newly ſet forth and publiſhed by *La Fountain* | an Expert Operator, living over againſt *Eſſex* | Houſe in the *Strand* near *Temple-bar.* | [Device of a burning heart.]
>
> *London*, Printed *Anno Dom.* 1650.
>
> Small 4to. A in four, B in two. No pagination. Very closely printed. The note to the reader is signed Edw. Fountain.

The secrets, which are quite different from those in the above two issues of the *Pretious Treasury*, are medical, cosmetical (to take out wrinkles and spots from the face, etc., to dye hair, to remove hair, to grow a beard), to make perfumes, some chemical experiments, the tree of Diana, to melt a metal, etc.; and once more his dentistry advertisement in full.

In his note to the reader, he speaks of the general acceptance of his little *Book of Twenty Secreets*, which has obliged him to present this which is "farre better"; and from what he says, it appears that this was sold for twopence.

In this *Brief Collection*, B1 *recto*, receipt No. xxxv. shows how to remove hair and prevent it growing again, by laying on the place a piece of the finest gold, heated red hot, and then anointing the place with oyle of roses, or of violets. He adds: "The Author hereof found this Secret, much practised among the Moores, and since used it much himself throughout Europe, to many Ladies and Gentlewomen to their great content, and to his own Fame and Credit." He does not explain that the author he means is not La Fountain but is Alexis!! in whose work it will be found, Part I., English Translation, 1558, f. 80 *recto*, dated 1521.

38. Looking at these results, it is a question if the names La Fountaine, Salvator Winter, and Francisco Dickinson denoted different people, or were aliases assumed by one person for professional purposes. That La Fountaine and Winter were distinct might be inferred from their having consulting rooms at different places, and from their advertisements indicating that they were rival dentists. But that may have been an essential part of the alias. That they were not rivals, however, may be inferred from their tracts being printed together, and one of the dentistry advertisements being dropped. That La Fountaine and Dickinson were identical is made certain by the identity of the tracts assigned to each, and by no objection being raised by La Fountaine in his *Brief Collection* in 1650 to Dickinson's appropriation of them.

It is curious that the first and last tracts by La Fountaine and that by Winter have no printer's name. This may be a mere coincidence, but when taken in connection with their other peculiarities, it seems rather to

point to their having been issued by the same individual. But why suppress the printer's name unless there was something questionable in the transaction?

Transformation of name was not unknown to one at least of these reputed writers. In the 1650 tract, though the title-page bears the name of La Fountain, the prefatory note is signed Edward Fountain. I have doubts as to the Neapolitan origin of Mr. Winter, and still more as to the nationality of Signieur Francisco Dickinson, who, I take it, was none other than Edward Fountain himself. The good people of the sixteenth century must have been indifferent, or uncritical, if so transparent a bit of mystification could be passed upon them for any reason whatever.

Anyhow, whether these authors are to be identified or not—and there may be a doubt about La Fountaine and Winter—there can be no question that there was juggling with their respective writings somewhere. It is amusing to get them together, for otherwise this curiosity of authorship could hardly have been detected. It may be observed that these names are not mentioned by Lowndes.

39. One more hand-book of medicine for household use has to be mentioned. Of the author, Daniel Border, I have found no notice. He is not included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

ΠΟΛΥΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΣ καὶ ΧΥΜΙΣΤΗΣ: | Or, the Engliſh unparalell'd (*sic*) | Physitian | and | Chyrurgian: | Shewing | *The true Vſe of all manner of Plants and* | *Minerals.* | In which is Explained, *The whole Art and Secresy of* | Phyſick and Chyrurgery. | wherein is contained, |

1. *The cure of any Internal Diſeaſe, which hath taken effect, and* | *brought forth Symptoms, either outwardly or inwardly, in the* | *Head, Stomack, Back, Belly, etc.* |
2. *The making of diverſe rare and excellent Balſames, Oyls, Plai-* | *ſters, and Waters, with the effects thereof.* |
3. *The making and uſe of Purges, Vomits, Drinks, and Cliſters,* | *according to Rules of Phyſick and Aſtrologie.* |
4. *The nature and temperarure* (sic) *of Herbs, Plants, and Vegetables,* | *and the uſe thereof, and the Influence of the Planets as well over* | *Herbs and Plants, as over the Bodies of Men.* |
5. *The way to extract the Spirits and Quintaeſſences of ſeveral ſorts* | *of Herbs and Minerals, and the rare Operations they have.* |
6. *The making of Salt of Wormwood, Balm, or any other Herb.* |
7. *The Cure of any Wound, Contuſion, Puncture, or Vlcer in any part* | *of the Body.* All which have been preſcribed and practiſed by ſe- | veral Learned Doctors and Chyrurgians. |

By D. BORDER, *Practitioner in Phyſick.* |
London, Printed by *B. Alſop*, and are to be ſold at his | houſe in Grubſtreet, near the Upper Pump. 1651. |
Small 4to. A, *, B to T in fours; or pp. [16] 144.

Black letter, but with a great deal of roman interspersed for headings to chapters, etc.

Though the actual word "Secrets" does not occur in the title, but only the very unusual form "Secresy," it is used by the author several times when referring to different sections of his receipts. It is an illustration of the difficulty of excluding a book of the kind from the category, even if it wants the name. The title gives as full an account of the book as is necessary here. From the copy in the British Museum (1038, i. 35 (6)).

The next supplement will deal with English books subsequent to 1650.

No. X.

NOTES ON TWO COPIES OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, PRESERVED IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

[*Read at a meeting of the Society held on 17th February*, 1898.]

I.—INTRODUCTION.

By Professor John Young, M.D.

There are in Glasgow six copies of this document:

1. The General Band of 1588, - - - University Library.
2. The Solemn League and Covenant, signed in the University of Glasgow, 1643-8, - - Hunterian Museum.
3. The same, signed at unknown locality in the west, - - - - - - - - - Hunterian Museum.
4. The same, signed at Biggar, - - - Mitchell Library.
5. The same, - - - - - - - - Corporation Galleries.
6. The same, unsigned, - - - - - Mitchell Library.

No. 3 was bequeathed by Miss Brown of Lanfine. No. 2 was the gift of Mr. James Graham, one of a family long and intimately associated with the University. These will be referred to as the Lanfine and Graham copies respectively.

The Solemn League had predecessors, each with a purpose of its own.

1 and 2. The Bands of 1556 and 1557, the First Covenant or Godlie Band, signed by Erskine of Dun and his friends, and that of 1557, preserved

in the Antiquarian Museum at Edinburgh, were a general affirmation of Protestantism.

3. The Second Covenant of 1559 followed the prohibition of meetings save under Episcopal sanction—an order aimed at Erskine—and it was anti-prelatic. The Congregation at Perth deputed six of their number to sign it on their behalf: that was in May.

4. On 1st August, at Stirling, the Third Covenant went a step farther: the signatures carried the bond to act together and to hold no separate dealings with the Queen Regent and the Bishops.

5. The Fourth Covenant, 27th April, 1560, went again farther: the French were driven out, and the death of the Queen Dowager rendered less urgent the need for the joint action subscribed to the previous year.

6. The Confessio Scotica was adopted by the Estates of Parliament. In 1562 the West of Scotland set its seal, by the meeting at Ayr, to the common cause.

7. In 1572 an Edinburgh Band was subscribed. In that year the Tulchan Bishops frustrated Knox's plan to keep the Church funds for the Church.

8. In 1581 "The King's Confession," abjuring Papacy, was signed by the King and thirty-one persons, chiefly of the royal household. This was signed in 1585 and 1587 by the Regents and Students of Edinburgh University, headed by Rollock.

9. In 1588 a "General Band for the maintenance of the true religion and the King's Majesties person and Estate" was signed by the King and others: the original is in the Glasgow University Library. This was in print, but Laing is unable to say to what extent it was signed in Edinburgh and elsewhere: this is the Renewal of the Covenant by the Assembly at Edinburgh in response to the stimulus of the Service Book.

10. In 1638 the National Covenant abjured Prelacy as its predecessor of 1586 abjured Papacy. This is the unsigned document in the Mitchell Library, a beautiful parchment skin, finely engrossed by William Lawrie in Edinburgh, with ornamental border and the opening words in gold. Why was it not signed? It bears to be authorised by the Assembly at Glas-

gow, which was held, though forbidden. The mystery is the greater that the Covenant had been largely signed in the Greyfriars Churchyard at Edinburgh, while the defections at Glasgow and Aberdeen had been few, though Zachary Boyd was among them.

11. In 1643 the Solemn League and Covenant was adopted as a means of uniting England and Scotland in a common policy. The Parliament and the Westminster Assembly desired a civil league against the King's party, the Scottish Assembly adding thereto religious elements. The resulting document adopted for both countries was ordained to be signed by "all His Majesty's good subjects, under civil penalties as well as Church censures." The document, printed by Evan Tyler, King's printer, was issued with blank leaves for signatures, and copies were scattered broadcast.

II.—NOTES ON THE LANFINE COPY OF THE COVENANT.

By Professor Young.

This copy is without place of signature. A writer in the *Scottish National Memorials*, Glasgow, 1890, says it was signed at Bridgeton or on the south side of Glasgow, for the first signature is that of Pa. Gillespie: but it is not, it is Al. Gillespie, without possibility of doubt. And even if it had been Pa., that with the second signature of Ninian Anderson, bailie, need not have proved anything, for it was not unusual to have leading names at the head of parish subscription sheets, to encourage the signatories. The analysis of signatures is less interesting than Mr. Addison found those of the Graham copy (*infra*). There are 148 surnames, most of them characteristic of Glasgow: Anderson, Bogle, Hamilton, Coatts, Woodrow, Walkinshaw, Tennent; no English names; two Campbells, one Gordon, four Stewarts, nine Macs, a result similar to that among the University names.

Ninian Hill occurs, probably one of the ancestors of Dr. W. H. Hill of Barlanark, whose family has been so closely associated with the University

professoriate, and through the firm with the University business. Ninian Hill married Helen Hutcheson, sister of the founders of the Hospital. He was thus Hill of Lambhill and Gairbraid: his son, Ninian, who (1649) married Jean Caldwell of Caldwell, is, I suppose, the subscriber, and, if so, father of him who married Mary Crawford of Jordanhill. Was Ninian's signature given at his parish of Caldwell?

Ninian Anderson was appointed bailie, in 1634, by the Archbishop, having already, as a cordiner, been deacon-convener (1605) and treasurer.

There is a ghostly look about the list: names pass before one, each associated with the active life of the city and the times, yet not one fixed to any event, none permitting of certain identification. It is more distressing that, in a place evidently near to the city, the names familiar for good or brave deeds are absent. If Kincaid points to the Lennox, Kid, Lyell, Lytoun indicate an eastern source. The names that have disappeared, in the west at any rate, are few: Briscat, Carbarnes (farm near Milnwood), Hoggisyaird, Hyndstraw, Stappart, Stennie, a small number out of 148 in 250 years.

Of 243 subscribers 79 were unable to write, adding their names by notarial proxy. The notaries are John Selkirk, John Neil, Archibald Lowe, who cautiously describe their clients, "scribere nescientes ut asseruerunt," while John Neil states the fact as if he believed it. If the notaries are certainly of this diocese, we might get nearer to the locality.

Notarial Attestations.

(*A*) Decimo septimo Decris 1648. We Johne Robesoune, Mungo Hyndstraw, Ninian Andersonne elder, James Braidwoode, Andro Lie, Jon ———, Jon Patersoune, Jon Tennent, Jon Carruthers, Rot. Glen, Jon Walker, Jo. Mekynnie, Jon Miller, Jon (?) Allasoune, Jam. Fergusoune, James Charters, Jon Clark, Rot. Cuik, Johne Cuminge, Tom. Jack, Niniane Locheid, James Gairdner, Thomas Cauldwall, Henrie Finlay, Jo. Glen, Leonard Kid, Gawane Lang, Jon Stok, wt our hands at ye notaries pen beand we cannot write.

Ita est Joannes Selkirk, notarius publicus in premissis requisitis de mandato dictarum personarum scribere nescientium ut asseruerunt.

(*B*) We Peter Patoun, William Fairie, Johne Logie, David Echeirn, Robert Pollok, Niniane Andersoune elder, James Locheid, Patrick Howstoun, James Pollok, cowper, George Huchesowne, George Thomsoun, Robert Mitchell, David Riddell, William Crik, Thomas Glen, baxter, Robert Forsyth, Mathew Fawsyd, Jon Miller, William Craig, Michaell Blaire, David Peter, William Montgomerie, John Maxwell, John Wylie, Johne Neill, cordiner, Alexr. McKenzie, Thomas Gordoun, James Bryssoune, and William Glen with our hands at ye pen led be ye nottry following because we cannot write.

Ita est Joannes Neill, notarius publicus in premissis requisitis de mandatutis predictarum personarum scribere nescientium.

(*C*) We Robert and William Scottis, James Low, James Andersoune, James Wood, younger, cordiner, Mathew Currie, Arthour Jardine, Johne Mair, Thomas Macalpene, Walter Maxwell, Robert Linlithgow, Alexander Gray, James Scott, Robert Bonar, Thomas Stewart, John Gilkersone, Robert Derroche, younger, John Norie and William Carbarnes, with our hands at ye pen because we cannot wrett.

Ita est Magister Archibaldus Lowe notarius publicus ni premissis requisitis de mandato dictarum personarum scribere nescientium ut asseruerunt.

After these, on the blank space, are the following names irregularly disposed:

William Norwill,		
Alexander Woudropp,	Johne Lowk,	
Robert Adame,	Hendrie Craig,	
James Cuik,	David Andersoune,	John Lowk.
John Burne,	Johne Pinkcaitsoune,	
Robert Hodge,	John Kinkcaid,	
Robert Waird,		
James Lyill,		

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SIGNATURES TO THE LANFINE COPY.

Adam, John.
Adam, William.
Adame, Patrick.
Adame, Robert.
Aitkin, William.
Alen, Robert, elder.
Allasoune, William.
Andersone, Ninian, bailie.
Andersonne, Ninian, elder.
Andersoune, Ard.
Andersoune, David.
Andersoune, Hen.
Andersoune, James.
Andersoune, Ninian.
Arnot, John.

Bell, James.
Bell, William.
Biggart, Johne.
Birsbane, J.
Birscatt, Jhon.
Blair, James.
Blair, Michaell.
Bogell, Robert, younger.
Bogill, James.
Bogill, William.
Bogle, Georg.
Bogle, Robert, elder.
Bogle, Williame.
Bonar, Robert.
Bontein, Robert.
Boyd, Jhone.
Boyd, John.
Braidwood, James.
Brone, Grihame.
Bryssoune, James.
Burne, Johne.

Campbell, Cuthbert.
Campbell, Robert.
Carbarnes, William.
Carruthers, Jon.
Cauldwall, Thomas.
Clark, Gabrial.
Clark, James, fil. major.
Clark, John.
Clerk, John.
Charters, James.
Coatts, John.
Colquhoune, Patrick.
Cook, George.
Craig, Hendrie.
Craig, Williame.
Crafurd, Robert.
Craufurd, Geo.
Crik, William.
Cruick, James, yr.
Cuik, James.
Cuik, Jon.
Cuik, Robert.
Cuming, Johne.
Cuming, Mathew.
Cuming, Robert.
Currie, Mathew.
Cuthbert, James.
Cuthbert, James.

Dainzell, Johne.

Deluine, Robert.
Dennistoune, Andro.
Derroch, Robert.
Donelsoune, Robert.

Fairie, Robert.
Fairie, William.
Fawsyd, Mathew.
Fergison, John.
Fergusoune, James.
Ferlie, Thomas.
Finlay, Henrie.
Finlay, Robert.
Finlay, Willem.
Forsyd, Hendrie.
Forsyth, Robert.

Gairdner, James.
Gib, John.
Gibsonne, Andre.
Gifen, James.
Gilespie, Alexander.
Gilespie, William.
Gilfillane, Colin.
Gilkersone, John.
Glen, John.
Glen, Robert.
Glen, Thomas.
Glen, Thomas.
Glen, Thomas baxter.
Glen, William.
Gordoun, Thomas.
Grahame, J.
Gray, Alexander.
Gray, James.
Gray, Robert.

Hamiltoun, James.
Hamiltoune, Arther.
Hamiltoune, Patrick.
Hammil, Mathew.
Hastie, James.
Hendersone, Johne.
Hepburne, James.
Herbertsoun, John.
Hill, Niniane.
Hodge, Robert.
Hoggiszaird, Robert.
Hoggiszarde, William.
Howstoun, Patrick.
Huchesoune, George.
Huchisoune, David.
Hyndschaw, William.
Hyndstraw, James.
Hyndstraw, Mungo.

Inglis, Jacus.

Jack, Mungo.
Jacke, Johne.
Jak, William.
Jardine, Arthour.
Johnstoun, James.

Ker, Johne.
Kerr, James.
Kid, Leonard.
Kinkaid, James.
Kinkcaid, John.

Lamoun, Archd.
Lang, Gawane.
Lang, Patrick.
Lang, William.

Lawsoune, Johne.
Lie, Andro.
Lindsay, James.
Linlithgow, Robert.
Listoune, Johne.
Locheid, J.
Locheid, James.
Locheid, Niniane.
Locheid, Walter.
Lochid, Hend.
Logie, Johne.
Look, David.
Louk, Georg.
Louk, Johne.
Low, James.
Lowk, Erd.
Lowk, John.
Lowk, —
Lyill, James.
Lytoune, John.

Macalpene, Thomas.
MacCherrell, John.
McClain, Charles.
McCuir, Robert.
McKenzie, Alexander.
McKynnie, Jo.
MacLane, Mathe.
Mair, Johne.
Makclae, Johne.
Makeleu, Thomas.
Marschell, Thomas.
Marshall, R.
Mathie, John.
Mathie, Mungo.
Maxwell, Alexander.
Maxwell, Ard.
Maxwell, John.
Maxwell, Walter.
Mer, James.
Miller, John.
Miller, John
Miller, Robert.
Mitchell, Robert.
Montgomerie, William.
Moresoune, Thomas.
Morisone, John.
Mour, John.
Muirhead, Williame.
Mure, Erchbald.

Neill, Johne, cordiner.
Neill, Johne.
Nisbit, Johne.
Nisbit, Johne.
Norie, Johne.
Norwill, William.

Orr, Johne.

Park, James.
Parke, Johne.
Patersoune, Jon.
Patoun, Peter.
Peter, David.
Pettigrew, Johne.
Pinkcartoune, Johne.
Pirman, John.
Pollok, James, cowper.
Pollok, James.
Pollok, Robert.

Rae, Robert.
Rid, John.

Facsimile of two pages of Lanfine Copy.

Facsimile of one page of Graham Copy.

Riddell, David.
Robesoune, Henrie.
Robesoune, Johne.
Robesoune, Robert.
Robertson, John, yr.
Robertsonne, Patrick.
Robison, E.
Russell, Johne.

Scott, James.
Scott, James.
Scott, Jhone.
Scott, John.
Scott, Robert.
Scott, Thomas.
Scottis, Robert.
Scottis, William.
Selkirk, John.
Sempill, John.
Smith, John.
Smith, Thomas.
Stapart, Jhone.
Stennie (?), Johne.
Sterrling, William.
Steuart, Jhone.
Stewart, James.
Stewart, Thomas
Stewart, William.
Stok, John.

Tenent, Johne.
Tennent, Jon.
Thomsoune, George.
Thomsoune, John

Waird, Robert.
Walker, Jon.
Walker, John.
Walkinshaw, John.
Wallace, John.
Whyt, Walter.
Wilsone, Andrew.
Witherspone, Johne.
Woddrow, James.
Wodrow, John.
Wood, James, yr., cordiner.
Wood, John.
Woudropp, Alexander.
Wylie, John.
Wyllie, Johne.

III.—NOTES ON THE GRAHAM COPY OF THE COVENANT.

By W. Innes Addison.

The signatories are all Members (Officers or Students) of the University of Glasgow.

The dates of signing are six in number, namely, 1643-44, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, and 1649.

The total number of signatures, as detailed in the annexed Table A, is 532, but the 72 marked with a "D" are duplicates, so that the actual number of persons subscribing is 460. These are made up as follows:

	Officers.	Students of Theology.	Students of Arts.	Total.
1643-4	15	30	146	191
1645	...	...	57	57
1646	...	...	34	34
1647	...	2	19	21
1648	1	12	90	103
1649	...	...	54	54
	16	44	400	460

The duplication of signatures was probably due to carelessness on the part of those who supervised the signing. As already stated, the signatures were adhibited in six different years, and it is quite conceivable that the authorities would not always trouble to ascertain whether or not a student had subscribed on some previous occasion; a signature too many being safer than the omission to sign.

The statistics of the signatures, according to surnames, are fully given in Table B.

The subscriptions have been exhaustively compared with the official records of students, as printed in the *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* [Maitland Club, 1854]. With the exception of the 68 marked with a "U" in Table A, all have been identified with names in these records.

The Matriculation Albums of that period (reproduced verbatim in the

Munimenta) do not, as a rule, contain any information beyond the names of the students, but a separate unindexed record (also printed in the *Munimenta*) supplies additional particulars, the parentage of the student being in many cases stated. From this the nationalities of 233 of the students have been ascertained. These are allocated as follows:

Scotland,	210
England,	15
Ireland,	8
	233

The *Scotsmen* are divided geographically thus:

Glasgow,	31	Dumbartonshire,	4
Other parts of Lanarkshire,	22	Linlithgowshire,	5
Ayrshire,	39	Fife,	2
Renfrewshire,	17	Kirkcudbright,	2
Wigtownshire,	2	Bute,	2
Forfarshire,	1	Aberdeen,	1
Stirlingshire,	7	Dumfriesshire,	1
Argyleshire,	11	Miscellaneous,	57
Edinburgh,	4		210
Perthshire,	2		

Englishmen:

"Anglus," without further specification,	8	Cheshire,	2
London,	1	Cumberland,	1
York,	1		15
Lancashire,	2		

Irishmen:

"Hibernia," without further specification,	6
Derry,	1
Down,	1
	8

Probably the most striking name (occurring in 1644) is "Joannes Snell, filius Andreae Snell in M'Calanstone," the founder (thirty-three years afterwards) of the Snell Exhibitions to Oxford. Assuming that his signature to the Covenant was a purely voluntary act, and the outcome of well-reasoned convictions, his opinions must have undergone a very remarkable evolution when from a strenuous advocate of Presbyterianism he became (in intention at least) the most munificent endower of Episcopacy in Scotland. That, by force of circumstances, his princely bequest turned out to be practically inoperative, so far as its prime object was concerned, is perhaps no less astonishing. It is not improbable, however, that in 1644 Snell was merely following the example of his fellow-students, or yielding to the pressure which was said to have been sometimes exerted in the procuring of signatures,—a pressure the measure of which is got in the order that "those indisposed to the Covenant shall be *delated to the Presbytery*." It must also be borne in mind that Snell was then a youth of fifteen, and that consequently his sentiments could not be very fully matured.

It is worthy of note that only 13 (or 2½ per cent.) of the 532 signatures have the Gaelic prefix "Mac," a fact which would seem to indicate that the Highland students were few in number, or that they did not largely subscribe, or were admitted to have signed elsewhere. In an index recently made up of the Glasgow matriculations from 1728 to 1858, and containing 17,083 names, the "Macs" mount up to 1866, or about 11 per cent., and for the present session (1897-98) they reach the still higher percentage of 14.

The following members of the staff subscribed:

John Strang, Principal.
Robert Ramsay, „
Zachary Boyd, Vice-Chancellor.
Robert Baillie, Professor and Dean of Faculty.
E. Wright, Dean of Faculty.
David Dickson, Professor.
Robert Maine, „
John Dickson, „
David Forsyth, Professor.
John Young, „
James Monro, „
William Sempill, „
Hugh Binning, Regent.
James Dalrymple, „
John Kirkpatrick, „
William Strang, „

Table A.—ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SIGNATURES TO THE GRAHAM COPY.

N.B.—The Arabic figures shew the year of signature ("16" being, of course, understood as prefixed in each case), and the Roman figures indicate the University class for that session.

U.	Undeciphered	44	III.	
U.	Undeciphered	49	IV.	
U.	—— Adaire	49	IV.	
	Alexr. Adair	49	IV.	
	Andreas Agnew, major	48	III.	*filius primogenitus comarchi de Lochnaw.*
	Andreas Agnew, minor	48	III.	*filius Andreae de Killumpha.*
	Franciscus Aird	44	Theology.	
	Robertus Allexander	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Roberti de Corsclayes.*
	An. Andersone	47	V.	*filius Georgii typographi Glasguensis.*
	Johannes Andirsone	47	IV.	
D.	Johannes Andersone	48	III.	*filius Johannis de Blook.*
U.	Joannes Andersonn	49	IV.	
	Joa. Ainslie	45	I.	
	Sam. Arnot	46	IV.	*filius Davidis Ar. de Barcaple.*
D.	Samuel Arnot	48	I.	
	Gulielmus Baylie	44	II.	
	Gulielmus Baillie	48	III.	*filius Jacobi de Carnbru.*
D.	Gullielmus Baillie	49	I.	
	Jacobus Ballie	44	IV.	*filius primogenitus Gul. Bailie de Lethem.*
U.	Joannes Baillie	44	II.	
	Robertus Baleus	43	Professor.	
D.	Robert Baillie	48	Dean of Faculty.	
	Robertus Baylie	49	IV.	*filius Magistri Roberti Baylie Professoris Theologiae.*
	Samuel Baillie Lamingtoune	44	V.	*filius primogenitus Gulielmi Baillie Equitis de Lamington.*
	Thomas Baylzie	49	IV.	*fileus Roberti civis Glasguensis.*
	Adamus Bairdius	46	IV.	*filius Adami Baird civis Sellae-Mornoci.*

D.	Ad. Baird	48	I.	
	Andreas Baird	45	V.	*filius Johanis Baird civis Glasgowansis.*
U.	J. Baird	46	IV.	
U.	J. Baird	48	I.	
	Johannes Ballantyne	48	II.	*filius Domini de Corhows.*
	Joa. Barclay	45	IV.	
D.	Mr. Joannes Barclay	48	I.	
	Georg. Barnes	48	IV.	*filius Joannis civis Glasguensis.*
	Humphridus Bell	44	II.	*filius Humphridi in Anglia in Comitatu Cumbriae.*
	James Bell	44	IV.	
D.	Ja. Bell	45	III.	*filius Magistri Johannis Bell quondam pastoris Glasguensis.*
	Hugh Binning	43	Regent.	
D.	Hugh Binning	48	Regent.	
	Hugh Binning	44	III.	*filius Joannis Binning in Maybol.*
	Bryce Blair	44	I.	
U.	Hugo Blair	47	III.	
	Hugo Blair	48	III.	*filius Magistri Hugonis ministri Glasguensis.*
D.	Jacobus Blair	47	IV.	
	Jacobus Blair, major	48	III.	*filius Roberti Blair de Bankend.*
	Jacobus Blair, minor	48	III.	*filius Jacobi civis Irviniensis.*
	Joannes Blair	45	III.	
	M. William Blair	44	Theology.	
	Johannes Blakader	48	III.	
	Geo. Bogille	44	V.	*filius Roberti Bougle civis Glasguensis.*
	Johna Bogle	46	I	
	Alexander Boyd	45	IV.	
	Andreas Boyd	45	IV.	
U.	J. Boyd.	48	Theology.	
	Johne Boyd	44	III.	*filius Johannis civis Glasguensis.*
	Robertus Boyd	44	I.	
	Robert Boyd	44	IV.	*filius Roberti Boyd de Cranberrimose.*
	Zacharias Boyd, Vice-Cancellar	43		

U.	G. Birsbane	47	IV.	
	Gullielmus Brisbane	48	III.	*filius Magistri Mathei Birsbane.*
	Jo. Birsbane	47	IV.	
	Johannes Brisbane	48	III.	*filius Magistri Mathei Birsbane.*
	Matheus Brisban	44	III.	
	David Brone	45	V.	
	Gul. Browne	45	IV.	
U.	Gulielmus Broune	49	IV.	
	Joa. Broune, maj.	45	IV.	
	Joan. Browne, min.	45	IV.	
	Ric. Browne	46	IV.	*filius Ricardi civis Cellae-Mornoci.*
D.	Ricardus Brown	48	I.	
	Robertus Broun	44	III.	*filius Ricardi Broun civis Cellae-Marnoci.*
	Samuel Bruen	44	III.	*Anglus filius Calvini Bruen in Comitatu Cestriae.*
	William Brownesword	44	III.	
D.	Gulielmus Brounsword	45	II.	*Anglus filius Joannis in Comitatu Lancashire.*
U.	J. Browse	48	I.	
U.	G. Buchanan	47	IV.	
	Gilbertus Buchanan	48	III.	*filius Joannis Glasguensis pistoris.*
	Gull. Burnett	48	I.	*de Cringelti.*
	Ricardus Callender	45	V.	*filius Alexandri Callenderi Pastoris apud Dennie.*
	Archibald Cameroune	44	IV.	*filius Magistri Archibaldi Cameroune pastoris de Inchalleoghe.*
	Johannes Camerone	44	IV.	*filius M. Eugenij Cameronis pastoris Noviodunensis.*
	A. Campbell	44	IV.	*Dominus Archibaldus Campbellus filius primogenitus illustrissimi Marchionis Argatheliensis.*
	Archibaldus Campbell	48	II.	*filius Georgii Shireff de Argadia.*
	Collinus Campbell	46	V.	*filius Archibaldi Campbell de Dunstafnig.*
	Colinus Campbellus	47	IV.	*filius Magistri Niniani Cam. pastoris apud Divum Macolum.*[1]

[1] Kilmalcolm.

	Dugaldus Campbell Auchinbreck	44	V.	*filius primogenitus Duncani Campbell Equitis de Auchinbreck.*
	Duncanus Campbell	48	III.	*filius Magistri Dugaldi Campbell apud Knapdail.*
	Hew Campbell	44	III.	
U.	M. J. Campbell	48	Theology.	
	Jacobus Campbell	44	IV.	*Dominus Jacobus Campbellus a Machline Vicecomes filius primogenitus Comitis de Loudun regni Cancellarii.*
	Jacobus Campbell	44	IV.	*filius Jacobi Campbell Novimulensis.*
U.	Joannes Campbell	44	II.	
	Johne Campbell	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Roberti in Stenranert.*
	Johne Campbell	44	III.	
	Johne Campbell	44	III.	
	D. Nigellus Campbell	46	V.	*filius Marchionis Argatheliae.*
D.	Nigellus Campbell	48	III.	
	Patricius Campbell	48	III.	*filius Magistri Dugaldi Campbell apud Knapdaile.*
U.	M. Alexander Cant	43	Theology.	
	Gulielmus Carmichael	47	II.	*filius Mauritii Carmichael in Eastend.*
D.	Gulielmus Carmichel	48	I.	
U.	M. J. Carmichaell	48	Theology.	
	Mr. J. Carstairs	47	Theology.	
	Al. Cathcart	44	III.	*Dominus Alanus Cathcart de Cathcart.*
	James Cathcart	44	III.	
U.	Jo. Cathcart	44	IV.	
U.	William Cathcart	44	III.	
	Wm. Cathcart	44	IV.	*filius Gulielmi Cathcart in Cariltoune.*
	Guliellmus Cauldwell	44	IV.	*Glasguensis.*
D.	Will. Cauldwell	48	Theology.	
	Robertus Caustonus	49	I.	
	Gulielmus Cheislie	46	V.	
D.	Gul. Cheislie	48	II.	
	Ja. Clark, fili.	48	III.	*filius Jacobi Glasgowensis.*

	Guilielmus Cleland	44	II.	
	Jacobus Cleland	44	I.	
	Gulliellmus Cochran	48	V.	*primogenitus Domini Cochran.*
	Jacobus Cockburne	49	IV.	
U.	James Colquhoune	44	III.	
	Johannes Colquhoun	44	I.	
	J. Colquhoune Lusse	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Domini Lusse.*
U.	Johne Colquhoune	44	III.	
	Jacobus Craig	49	III.	
	Joannes Craigingelt	45	V.	*filius Magistri Joannis Craigingelt pastoris Alluensis.*[1]
	Andro Craufurd	44	IV.	*filius Guil. Craufurd de Drings.*
	Hend. Craufurd	45	V.	*filius Henrici Craufurd civis Glasguensis.*
D.	Henricus Craufurd	49	III.	
	Hugo Craufurd	44	V.	*filius Patricii Craufurd ab Achnaimes,* or *filius primogenitus Cornelli Crafurd a Jordanhill.*
	James Craufurd	44	III.	
	Claudius Crechtoune	46	IV.	*filius Magistri Joannis Crichtoun in Hibernia.*
D.	Claudius Crichtonne	48	I.	
	Andreas Cruiks	44	III.	*filius Joannis Cruikes apud Cellam-Marnoci.*
	Guleilmus Cruix	44	IV.	
D.	Guleilmus Cruiks	45	III.	*Irvenensis.*
U.	Alexr. Cunninghame	44	Theology.	
	Alexander Cunninghame	46	I.	*filius Gulielmi civis Edinburgenae.*
	Allanus Conynghame	44	Theology.	
U.	D. Cunynghame	43	Theology.	
	David Cuninghame	47	III.	
D.	David Cunninghame	48	II.	*filius Joannis Airae.*
	Richard Cunynghame	44	I.	
	William Conynghame	44	II.	
U.	William Cunynghame	44	III.	*filius Gulielmi defuncti Custodis Deputati Privati Sigilli.*
	William Conninghame	44	III.	*filius Alexandri a Corssel.*

[1] Alloa.

	Gui. Cunningham	47	IV.	*filius Johannis Cunninghame in Erskine.*
U.	Gullielmus Cunynghame	48	II.	
	Guilielmus Cunningham	48	III.	*filius Magistri Adami de Privik.*
U.	James Cunynhame	44	I.	
	Jacobus Cunyngham	44	IV.	*filius Christiani Cunyngham de Waterstoun.*
	Johannes Cunynghame	48	IV.	*filius Joannis de Bedland.*
	Robertus Conynghame	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Johannis de Gilbertfeild.*
	Andreas Dalrymple	44	III.	
	Jac. Dalrymple	43	Regent.	
	Jacobus Dalrymple	44	III.	*filius quondam Magistri ministri de Stentoun.*
	Jacobus Dalrymple	44	IV.	*filius Magistri Andreae Dalrymple in Mauchlein.*
	Jacobus Daliell	47	III.	*filius Jacobi de Jhonstone.*
D.	James Dalzell	48	II.	
	Jo. Deckie	45	III.	*de Bagret.*
	Alexander Dickson	44	I.	
U.	Alexr. Dickson	48	Theology.	
	Archibaldus Dicksone	49	IV.	*filius Magistri Davidis Professoris Theologiae in Academia Glasguensi.*
	David Dickson	43	Professor.	
D.	David Dickson	48	Professor.	
	Johne Dickson	43	Professor.	
	Jo. Dicksonus	46	IV.	*filius Quintini Dicksone civis Dalmellingtonencis.*
	Joa. Dicksone	48	I.	*filius Hairtrie.*
	Gulielmus Douglas	44	V.	*filius Valteri Douglasse de Caystoune.*
	Johne Douglas	44	III.	
	Joannes Drew	49	IV.	
	Alexr. Dunbar	49	IV.	
	Joannes Duncansone	48	II.	*filius Roberti Invervariensis.*
	Alexr. Dunlop	48	IV.	*Magistri Alexri. Dunlop filius.*
	Hugo Dunlope	48	IV.	*filius Gulielmi Glasguensis Edilis.*

	Jacobus Dunlop	48	V.	*filius Magistri Johannis de Garnkirk.*
U.	Jacobus Dunlop	49	III.	
	James Edmonstoune	44	III.	*filius quondam Jacobi in Streblaene.*
	Guilielmus Edmonstoune	48	III.	*filius Magistri Johanis de Broich.*
	Jacobus Esdail	48	III.	*filius Johannis Caellavinensis.*
	Gulielmus Euart	45	III.	
	Robertus Ffairlie	49	IV.	
D.	Thom. Fforgous	46	IV.	
	Thom. Ffergous	48	II.	
	Alexr. Fergussone	47	III.	
D.	Alexander Fergussone	48	II.	*filius Magistri Joannis ministri a Barnweil.*[1]
U.	Archibald Fergusone	43	Theology.	
	Gulielmus Fergusson	44	I.	
	James Ferrier	44	III.	*filius Petri civis Glasguensis.*
	Mr. Johne Ferrier	43	Theology.	
U.	Jacobus Ffindlay	49	IV.	
	Edmundus Ffleetwood	49	III.	
	Alexr. Fleiming	49	IV.	
U.	Jacobus Fleming	44	I.	
U.	Joannes Flemyng, filius natu maximus Domini Flemyng	49	IV.	
U.	Patricius Fleming	49	IV.	
	Johannes Fork	48	II.	*filius D. Gul. Fork Galstonensis.*
	Da. Forsithe	43	Professor.	
	Wal. Forsythe	44	Theology.	
	Gul. Ffrieland	47	IV.	*filius Roberti Frieland, Erskine.*
D.	Gulielmus Ffriland	48	III.	
	J. Frilandus	47	IV.	
D.	Joannes Firland	48	III.	
	Gulielmus Fullartoune	49	IV.	
	Jacobus Fullertoune	45	IV.	
	Thomas Ffultoune	48	IV.	
	Archibald Galbraith	44	II.	

[1] Barnwell, Ayrshire.

	Gu. Galbraithe	44	IV.	*filius Johannis Galbraithe in Blardardie.*
	Gull. Galt	45	IV.	
	Jacobus Gardiner	47	III.	
D.	Jacobus Gardiner	48	II.	*filius Jacobi G. Britanno-Dunensis.*
	Gulielmus Garner	45	III.	*Anglus.*
	Gulielmus Gemil	49	IV.	
	Petrus Gemmil	46	IV.	
	Al. Gibsone	43	Theology.	
	Hendricus Gibsoune	44	II.	
	Gul. Gilkrisonne	45	IV.	
D.	William Gilkrisoune	48	Theology.	
U.	Jacobus Gillespe	49	III.	
	Joannes Glen	47	V.	
D.	Johannes Glen	48	IV.	*filius Thomae civis Glasguensis.*
	Alexander Gordoun	44	I.	
U.	Alexr. Gordoune	48	Theology.	
U.	Mr. James Gordoune	44	Theology.	
	Archibald Grahame	44	I.	
	Matheus Grahame	48	II.	*filius Walteri in Mauchlane.*
	George Gray	44	III.	*filius Nigelli, Irviniae.*
	Jo. Gray	46	IV.	
	Joannes Gray	47	IV.	
D.	Joannes Gray	48	III.	*filius Joannis Gray Lanarkae.*
	Alexander Hamiltone	45	V.	*frater Thome.* See *infra.*
	Alexr. Hamiltoune	47	II.	*filius Joannis Ham., in Keneil.*
	Alexr. Hamiltonne	48	I.	
	Alexander Hamilton	48	IV.	*frater Comarchi de Bathgat.*
U.	Archibaldus Hamiltonius	49	III.	
	Carolus Hamiltone	47	IV.	
D.	Carolus Hamilton	48	III.	*filius Francisci Hamiltone Equitis Aurati.*
	David Hamiltone	49	IV.	
	Geo. Hamilton	45	IV.	
	Gulielmus Hamiltone	49	IV.	
	Jacobus Hamiltoune	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Roberti de Akinheid.*
	James Hamiltone	44	III.	*filius Edvardi a Silvertounhill.*

	Jacobus Hamiltoune	44	III.	*juneor de Dallserffe.*
	Jacobus Hamiltone	49	IV.	*filius Joannes Ham. de Aernoke.*
	Joannes Hammiltoune	44	III.	*filius Magistri Joanis ministri de Cragy.*
	Johanes Hamiltoune	44	IV.	*Alexandri Hamiltone de Hags filius primogenitus.*
	Mr. Johne Hamiltoun	44	Theology.	
	Joannes Hamiltounus	47	III.	
U.	Joannes Hamiltoune	47	III.	
	Jo. Hamiltoune	47	IV.	*filius Joannis Hammiltoune de Wdstoune.*
D.	Joannes Hamiltonius	48	II.	
U.	Joannes Hamiltonius	48	II.	
	J. Hamiltonne, minor	48	III.	*filius Joannis Dariensis in Hibernia.*
	Joannes Hamiltonne, major	48	III.	*filius Joan. in Mochlinholl.*
	Joannes Hammiltoun	49	IV.	*filius defuncti Claudii in parochia Hamiltoniane.*
	Robertus Hamiltoune	45	IV.	*frater Thomae.* See *infra.*
	Rob. Hamiltone	48	IV.	
U.	Thomas Hamiltoune	44	II.	
	Thomas Hamiltoune	45	V.	*a Bathgait.*
	Johannes Hatrik	48	IV.	*filius Jacobi de Kilmacolme.*
	M. Andrew Hay	44	Theology.	*filius Domini J. Hay.*
	G. Hay	46	I.	*frater Thomae.* See *infra.*
	Gul. Hay	45	IV.	
	Hen. Hayus	46	I.	*frater Joannis Haii qui proxime sequitur.*
	Joa. Hay	46	I.	*filius Magistri Gulielmi Scribae Fori Supremi.*
	Thomas Haius	46	I.	*filius Domini Joannis Haii Equitis.*
	Ffrederick Hendryson	44	IV.	*filius Magistri Davidis Hendrysone in Kilmauria.*
	Georgius Herbertsoune	49	IV.	
	Josephus Heriote	48	I.	*filius quondam Jacobi Herioti Angli.*
	Ninian Hill	43	Theology.	
	Robertus Hodgsyaird	48	V.	*filius Roberti Hodgsyaird civis Glasguensis.*

	Daniel Hodson Anglus	45	III.	*Anglus.*
	Johannes Hopwood Anglus	45	III.	*Anglus.*
	Joannes Horner	44	I.	
	Gulielmus Houstoune	49	III.	
	J. Houstoune	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Ludovici Equitis de Houstoune.*
	Georgius Hunter	47	IV.	
D.	Georgius Hunter	48	III.	*filius Hugonis Hunter Machlenensis.*
	Hen. Hunter	46	IV.	*filius Patricii de Hunterstoune.*
D.	Hendricus Hunter	48	I.	
	Mr. Andrew Hutchesoun	44	Theology.	
	Georg. Huchisone	46	IV.	
D.	Georgius Hutchisone	48	II.	
	Jacobus Hucheson	44	II.	*filius quondam Magistri Jacobi ministri Carmunocke.*
	Joannes Huchisoune	44	IV.	*filius Johannis Huchesoune de Glangall*
	Joannes Hutchison	45	IV.	
	Mr. William Jack	44	Theology.	
	Joseph Johnson	44	III.	*filius Richardi in Comitatu Cestriae.*
	Gul. Kelso	45	IV.	
	Robertus Kelso	49	III.	
	Alexr. Kennedy	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Jacobi de Bogend.*
	Georgius Kennedy	49	III.	
U.	J. Kennedie	44	I.	
	Tho. Kennedy	47	IV.	*filius Thomae Glanebuensis in Hibernia.*
	Robertus Ker	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Hugonis de Kersland.*
	Joa. Kirkpatrik	43	Regent.	
D.	Joa. Kirkpatrik	48	Regent.	
	Alexander Knox	44	V.	*filius Joannis Knox in Bernes.*
	David Landaill	48	IV.	
	Gul. Lang	46	IV.	*filius Roberti in Dumdocher.*
D.	Gullielmus Lang	48	I.	
	Gulielmus Lauder	48	V.	*filius Alexandri Edinburgeni.*
	Georgius Laurie	47	V.	

D.	Georgius Laurie	48	IV.	*filius Davidis Lawrie civis Glasguensis.*
U.	Johne Laurie	48	Theology.	
	James Law	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Magistri Thomae pastoris Inchinen.*
	Joannes Law	48	IV.	*filius defuncti Davidis civis Kirkaldiensis.*
	Joannes Law	49	IV.	
	Robert Law	44	III.	*filius Magistri Thomae ministri de Inchinnane.*
	Tobias Legge	45	II.	
U.	Richard Leighe Anglus	45	III.	
U.	Patricius Leightoune	48	IV.	
	Alexr. Lennox	44	III.	*filius Jacobi de Woodhead.*
U.	J. Lennox	44	III.	
	Hen. Levingston	47	IV.	
D.	Henricus Levingstone	48	III.	*filius Magistri Henrici Levingston pastoris apud Kippen.*
	Gul. Lightbodie	44	IV.	
D.	Gulielmus Lightbodie	45	III.	*Glasguensis.*
	Jacobus Lindsay	44	IV.	
D.	Jac. Lindsay	45	III.	*filius M. Gulliellmi Lindsay pastoris de Dreghorne.*
	Robertus Lockhart	44	II.	
	Robert Lokhart	44	Theology.	
D.[1]	Lorne	44	III.	
	Gavin Lowdoune	46	IV.	
	Edwardus Lownde	45	II.	
U.	Edwardus Lyall	44	II.	
	Georgius M'Adam	48	III.	*filius Jacobi Airensis.*
	Joannes M'Adam	48	III.	*filius Jacobi civis Ayrensis.*
	Robertus M'Aulay	44	V.	*filius Walteri M'Aulay de Ardingaple.*
	Joannes M'Çersie	49	IV.	
U.	J. MacClain	44	IV.	
	Thomas M'Connell	44	III.	*filius Thomae in Brockloghe.*
	Jacobus M'Ghye	48	III.	*filius Magistri Gulielmi de Kirkcudbright.*

[1] See A. Campbell.

	Johne M'Gilchrist	44	IV.	*filius Roberti M'Gilchrist praefecti Rothesaiea in Bota.*
	Guil. M'Kerrell	45	IV.	
	Gul. M'Lellan	46	IV.	*Kirkcuburgensis.*
D.	Gulielmus M'Lellan	48	I.	
	Jo. M'Letchie	46	IV.	*filius Joannis civis Aerensis.*
	Donaldus M'Vicar	48	II.	*filius Malculmi Inerariensis.*
	Johas Madeoke	46	I.	
	Henri Maine	47	Theology.	
	Ro. Maine	43	Professor of Medicine.	
U.	Gullielmus Maxwell	49	IV.	
	J. Maxwell	48	III.	
D.	J. Maxwell	49	IV.	
	Jo. Maxwell	47	IV.	*filius Magistri Joanis in Eastwoode.*
	Robertus Maxwel	47	III.	
D.	Robertus Maxwell	48	III.	*filius Alexandri civis Glasguensis.*
U.	Thomas Melvill	48	Theology.	
	Andreas Millerus	46	IV.	*filius Magistri Andreae Millar ministri Girvani.*
D.	Andreas Millar	48	I.	
U.	Mr. Hew Miller	43	Theology.	
	Mr. James Mitchell	43	Theology.	
U.	Robertus Mitchell	49	IV.	
	J. Moasas	44	Theology.	
	Ja. Monro	43	Professor.	
D.	Ja. Monro	48	Professor.	
	Johannes Monteithe	44	V.	*filius quondam Magistri Jacobi Monteith de Santanae.*
U.	Jo. Montethe	46	I.	
	David Montgomerie	44	III.	*filius Johannis defuncti de Cokilbie primogenitus.*
	Guil. Montgomerie	45	IV.	
	Guilielmus Montgomerie	49	IV.	
	Thos. Montgomerie	44	IV.	*filius quondam Pastoris de Kirkhil.*
D.	James Moore	48	I.	
	Jacobus Muire	45	IV.	
	Gull. Muire	45	IV.	

	Joannes Muire	48	IV.	*filius Gulielmi Gavoniensis.*
	Joannes Muire	49	IV.	
	Johne Mowat	44	III.	
	Jacobus Mouatt	48	IV.	*filius defuncti Jacobi de Buslie.*
	Robertus Mouat	44	III.	
	Johne Muirheid	44	III.	*filius M. Jacobi M. de Bredingsolme.*
	Jacobus Murray	48	II.	*filius Magistri Marci pastoris Ecclesiae de Carhame in Anglia.*
	And. Myrtone	47	Theology.	
D.	Andr. Myrtone	48	Theology.	
	Joannes Napeir	44	II.	*trimogenitus Killmahew.*
	Thomas Neper	44	I.	
	Jacobus Nasmyth	47	II.	
D.	James Nasmyth	48	I.	*filius Jacobi Nasmyth de Posso.*
	Jacobus Neving	47	IV.	*filius Thomae de Munkredding.*
	Archibaldus Nisbetus	46	IV.	
D.	Arch. Nisbitt	48	I.	
	James Nisbet	44	IV.	*filius Gavini Nisbit mercatoris Civis Glasguensis.*
	Ja. Nisbet	46	IV.	
D.	Jacobus Nisbitt	48	II.	
U.	Jeremias O'Quinus	44	I.	
	Johne Osburne	44	III.	*filius Hendrici civis Airensis.*
	Alexander Park	44	III.	*filius Joannis Park Kilvinini.*
	Andreas Park	47	III.	
D.	Andreas Park	48	II.	*filius Johanis in Kilwinning.*
	John Park	44	Theology.	
	Robertus Patoune	45	IV.	
	Robertus Patoune	49	IV.	
	Jacobus Patrick	48	III.	*filius Jacobi Cellaevinensis.*
	Johanes Peibles	44	IV.	*filius quondam Hugonis Peibles Scoto-Hiberni.*
	Patricius Peibles	49	III.	*filius Magistri Roberti pastoris in Kirkmichell.*
	Thomas Peebel	49	III.	
	Hugo Penmango	44	IV.	*Machlinensis.*
	George Pitt	44	I.	*Anglus filius Rolandi Pitt Londini.*
	George Pollok	44	I.	

	Johanes Pollok	44	IV.	
D.	Joha. Pollok	45	III.	*Glasguensis.*
U.	Joa. Pollock	48	Theology.	
	Jacobus Porterus	47	IV.	
D.	Jacobus Porter	48	III.	*filius Jacobi civis Irvenensis.*
U.	H. Porterfield	49	II.	
	Williame Porterfeild	44	III.	*filius Alexandri a Duchall.*
	Georgius Pringallus	46	III.	*filius Joanis Pring. civis Edinburgeni.*
	Georgius Pringallus	46	IV.	*filius natu maximus Jacobi a Torwodlie.*
	Jo. Prymros	44	IV.	*Gull. Prymrosii filius Colrosensis.*
	Jacobus Ramsaeus	44	IV.	*filius Magistri Roberti Ramsay pastoris Glasguensis.*
U.	James Ramsay	48	Theology.	
	Robertus Ramisaeus	43	Principal.	
	Gulilmus Reid	45	IV.	
	Joannes Reid	44	II.	
	Joan. Reid	49	II.	*filius Joannis Irviniensis.*
	Donald Richmond	44	I.	
	Andreas Robertsoune	44	I.	
	Mr. W. Rod	44	Theology.	
	Rodolphus Rodger	44	I.	*filius Gullielmi defuncti civis Aierensis.*
	Jac. Rollok	46	I.	*filius Herculis Rolloci Andriopolitani.*
	Andreas Rose	49	III.	
	Jo. Rose	44	IV.	
D.	Joannes Rosse	45	III.	*Joannes Rosa Magistri Joannis Rosae filius quondam pastoris de Machlin.*
U.	Joa. Rose	48	Theology.	
	Jacobus Rowat	44	Theology.	
	Gul. Sanders	49	IV.	
	Johannes Sandes	44	II.	*filius Gulielmi in Hibernia in Comitatu Medensi.*
	George Schaw	44	I.	
	Gulielmus Schaw	47	IV.	

D.	Guilielmus Schaw	48	III.	*filius Johannis Domini Bairgarran.*
	Hew Schaw	44	III.	*filius Johannis de Grinok.*
	James Shaue	44	III.	*filius primogenitus quondam Patricii in Comitatu Dunensi in Hybernia.*
	Thomas Scherer	49	IV.	
	Gabriel Sempill	48	V.	*frater Comarchi de Cathcart.*
	Wi. Sempill	43	Professor.	
	Gulielmus Semplius	44	II.	
	David Sharpe	49	IV.	*filius Magistri Jacobi Sharpe pastoris Lethensis.*
	Gilbertus Simson	48	II.	*filius Joannis Iravanensis.*
	Gulielmus Smyth	49	III.	"*his father ... duellis neir Aberdein.*"
	Hugo Smith	47	III.	
D.	Hugo Smith	48	II.	*filius Hugonis Smyth Cellivensis.*
U.	Jacobus Smith	49	IV.	
	Joannes Snell	44	III.	*filius Andreae Snell in M'Calanstone.*
	M. Andrew Snype	43	Theology.	
U.	Mr. —— Stewart	43	Theology.	
	Archibaldus Stewart	44	II.	*filius Davidis defuncti in Insula Bota.*
	Jacobus Steuart	44	V.	
D.	Jacobus Stewart	45	IV.	*filius primogenitus Jacobi Steuart a Chryswall.*
	Jacobus Stewart	47	II.	*Glasguensis.*
	Joannes Stewart	47	III.	
D.	Joannes Stewart	48	II.	*filius Magistri Gavini Glasguensis.*
	David Stirling	49	IV.	
	Georgius Stirlinng	48	III.	*filius primogenitus Domini de Glorat.*
	Guilielmus Stirling	44	II.	*filius Magistri Gulielmi defuncti in Dumblane.*
D.	Gulielmus Stirling	45	III.	*filius Magistri Joh. Stirling pastoris de Baldernoke.*
	Willielmus Stirling	44	IV.	
	Jacobus Stirling	45	IV.	
	Joannes Stirling	44	II.	*filius Alexandri in Stewartoun.*

	J. Stirling	44	V.	*filius primogenitus Joannis Stirling de Craigbarnard.*
	John Strang	43	Principal.	
D.	John Strang	48	Principal.	
	Will. Strang	48	Regent.	
	William Strang	44	IV.	*filius Doctoris Strange gymnasiarchae.*
	Mr. William Thomson	44	Theology.	
	Torphichen	44	III.	[*Doubtless Scotland*].
	Alexander Tran	48	IV.	*filius Magistri Alexandri Tran ministri de Lochrutton.*
	Hugh Vauss	43	Theology.	
	David Vetcheus	46	IV.	*filius Magistri Joannis Vetche M. pastoris Robertoune.*
D.	David Vetche	48	I.	
U.	Mr. J. Vetche	44	Theology.	
	Jac. Vetche	46	IV.	*filius praedicti Pastoris* — see David Vetcheus.
D.	Jacobus Vetche	48	I.	
	Hugo Walker	48	III.	*filius Jacobi Novimollensis.*
	Johan. Walker	46	I.	
	Ja. Walkinshaw	48	I.	*filius Magistri Joannis Walkinshaw a Walkinshaw.*
	Jo. Walkinschawe	46	IV.	*filius Mag. Jacobi de Cardonald.*
	Patricius Walkinshaw	44	II.	
	Georgius Wallace	49	III.	
	Guil. Wallace	45	IV.	
	Gulielmus Wallace	48	III.	*filius Roberti Wallace de Brighouse.*
D.	Gulielmus Wallace	49	IV.	
	Joannes Wallace	44	III.	*filius primogenitus Roberti Wallace de Brighouse.*
	Joannes Wallace	48	I.	
	Robertus Wallace	49	IV.	
	Johes Wallworke	44	IV.	
D.	Johes Wallwork	45	III.	*filius Nicholai Wallworke Manchestriensis.*
	Samuel Ward Anglus	45	III.	*Anglus.*
	Robertus Watsoune	45	IV.	

	Robertus Watsoune	49	IV.	
	Gull. Weir	45	IV.	
	Jacobus Weir	47	III.	
D.	Jacobus Weir	48	II.	*filius Jacobi Hamiltoniensis.*
	James Welshe	44	III.	
	John Welsch	44	III.	*filius quondam Josiae Ministri in Hibernia.*
	Petrus Whetcombe Anglus	45	III.	*Anglus.*
	Rob. Whyte	46	IV.	*filius Joannis civis Sella-Mornoci.*
	Thomas White	47	III.	
	Joannes Quhitfurd	44	V.	*filius Adami Quhitfuird ad Kirkmichael.*
	Joannes Whytfoord	48	IV.	*filius Adami Domini de Miltoune.*
	David Whytlaw	44	IV.	*filius Davidis Whytlaw civis Glasguensis.*
	Joannis Wilkie	44	I.	
	Zacharias Wilkie	44	I.	
	Johannes Will	44	II.	
	Hugo Wilson	48	III.	*filius Johannis de Maxwood.*
D.	Hugo Wilsonus	49	IV.	
	Jacobus Wilsoune	45	V.	*filius Magistri Joanis Wilsoune Pastoris Craffordi-Duglasii.*
	Pathrick Wilsoune	44	III.	*filius Joanis civis Glasguensis.*
	Rot. Wilson	44	IV.	*filius Joa. Wilson in Darngabero.*
	Thomas Wilson	44	III.	*Anglus filius Christopheri in Comitatu Eboracensi.*
	Thomas Wilsonne	47	V.	
D.	Thomas Wilsoune	48	IV.	*filius Roberti W. civis Glasguensis.*
	Joannes Winet	44	II.	
	Thomas Winzett	44	III.	
U.	Alexr. Woddrope	44	IV.	
	Johannes Waddrap	44	IV.	*filius Jacobi Woddrop in Dalmornoke.*
U.	J. Wallace	44	III.	
U.	Allanus West	45	IV.	
U.	David Wilsenne	44	II.	
U.	Mr. J. Wilsone	43	Theology.	
U.	Alexander Wreittoune	45	IV.	

	Johannes Wricht	48	III. *filius Joannis civis Irvinensis.*
	E. Wright	43	Dean of Faculty.
	Johannes Wyllys	45	III. *Anglus.*
D.	Joannes Wynrame	48	II.
	Jo. Wynrame	47	III.
	Hugo Younge	47	II.
D.	Hugo Younge	48	I. *filius Joannis in Hibernia.*
U.	Jo. Young	44	Theology.
	Joa. Young	43	Professor.
D.	Joa. Young	48	Professor.
	Pa. Young	44	IV. *filius M. Geo. Young pastoris de Mauchlein.*
D.	Pat. Young	45	III.
U.	Pat. Young	48	Theology.

TABLE B.—STATISTICS, ACCORDING TO SURNAMES, OF SIGNATORIES TO THE GRAHAM COPY.

Undeciphered,	2	Blakader,	1
Adair, Adaire,	2	Bogille, Bogle,	2
Agnew,	2	Boyd,	7
Aird,	1	Brisbane, Brisban, Birsbane,	5
Allexander,	1	Brown, Browne, Brone, Broune, Broun, Bruen,	8
Andersone, Andersonn, Andirsone,	3	Brounsword,	1
Anislie,	1	Browse,	1
Arnot,	1	Buchanan,	2
Baillie, Baleus, Ballie, Baylie, Baylzie,	8	Burnett,	1
Baird, Bairdius,	4	Callender,	1
Ballantyne,	1	Camerone, Cameroune,	2
Barclay,	1	Campbell, Campbellus,	16
Barnes,	1	Cant,	1
Bell,	2	Carmichael, Carmichaell,	2
Binning,	2	Carstairs,	1
Blair,	7	Cathcart,	5

Cauldwell, - - - - - 1
Caustonus, - - - - - 1
Cheislie, - - - - - 1
Clark, - - - - - - 1
Cleland, - - - - - 2
Cochran, - - - - - 1
Cockburne, - - - - - 1
Colquhoun, Colquhoune, - 4
Craig, - - - - - - 1
Craigngelt, - - - - - 1
Craufurd, - - - - - 4
Crechtoune, - - - - - 1
Cruiks, Cruix, - - - - 2
Cunningham, Cunninghame, Conynghame, Cunynghame, Cuninghame, Conninghame, Cunyngham, - - - 16
Dalrymple, - - - - - 4
Daliell, - - - - - - 1
Deckie, - - - - - - 1
Dickson, Dicksone, Dicksonus, 7
Douglas, - - - - - 2
Drew, - - - - - - 1
Dunbar, - - - - - 1
Duncansone, - - - - - 1
Dunlop, Dunlope, - - - - 4
Edmonstoune, - - - - 2
Esdail, - - - - - - 1
Euart, - - - - - - 1
Ffairlie, - - - - - 1
Ffergous, - - - - - 1
Fergusone, Fergusson, Fergussone, 3
Ferrier, - - - - - 2
Ffindlay, - - - - - 1
Ffleetwoode, - - - - - 1
Fleming, Fleiming, Flemyng, - 4
Fork, - - - - - - 1
Forsithe, Forsythe, - - 2
Ffrieland, Firland, - - - 2
Fullartoune, Fullertoune, - 2
Ffultoune, - - - - - 1
Galbraith, Galbraithe, - - 2
Galt, - - - - - - - 1
Gardiner, Garner, - - - 2
Gemil, Gemmil, - - - 2
Gibson, Gibsoune, - - - 2
Gilkrisonne, - - - - - 1
Gillespe, - - - - 1
Glen, - - - - - - 1
Gordoun, Gordoune, - - 3
Grahame, - - - - - 2
Gray, - - - - - - 3
Hamilton, Hamiltonne, Hamiltoune, Hamiltonius, Hamiltoun, Hammiltoune, Hamiltounus, Hamiltone, Hammiltoun, - - - 27
Hatrick, - - - - - 1
Hay, Hayus, Haius, - - 6
Hendryson - - - - - 1
Hebertsoune, - - - - 1
Heriote, - - - - - 1
Hill, - - - - - - 1
Hodgsyaird, - - - - - 1
Hodson, - - - - - 1
Hopwood, - - - - - 1
Horner, - - - - - 1
Houstoune, - - - - - 2
Hunter, - - - - - 2
Hutchesoun, Huchisone, Huchesoun, Huchisoune, Hutchison, 5
Jack, - - - - - - 1
Johnson, - - - - - 1
Kelso, - - - - - - 2

Kennedy, Kennedie,	4
Ker,	1
Kirkpatrik,	1
Knox,	1
Landaill,	1
Lang,	1
Lauder,	1
Laurie,	2
Law,	4
Legge,	1
Leighe,	1
Leightoune,	1
Lennox,	2
Levingstone,	1
Lightbodie,	1
Lindsay,	1
Lockhart, Lokhart,	2
Lowdoune,	1
Lownde,	1
Lyall,	1
M'Adam,	2
M'Aulay,	1
M'Cersie,	1
MacClain,	1
M'Connell,	1
M'Ghye,	1
M'Gilchrist,	1
M'Kerrell,	1
M'Lellan,	1
M'Letchie,	1
M'Vicar,	1
Madeoke,	1
Maine,	2
Maxwell, Maxwel,	4
Melvill,	1
Miller, Millerus,	2
Mitchell,	2
Moasas,	1
Monro,	1
Monteithe, Montethe,	2
Montgomerie,	4
Moore, Muir, Muire,	4
Mowat, Mouat, Mouatt,	3
Muirheid,	1
Murray,	1
Myrtone,	1
Napeir, Neper,	2
Nasmyth,	1
Neving,	1
Nisbet, Nisbetus, Nisbitt,	3
O'Quinus,	1
Osburne,	1
Park,	3
Patoun, Patoune,	2
Patrick,	1
Peebel, Peibles,	3
Penmango,	1
Pitt,	1
Pollock, Pollok,	3
Porter,	1
Porterfield, Porterfeild,	2
Pringallus,	2
Prymros,	1
Ramsay, Ramsaeus, Ramisaeus,	3
Reid,	3
Richmond,	1
Robertsoune,	1
Rod,	1
Rodger,	1
Rollok,	1
Rose, Rosse,	3
Rowat,	1
Sanders, Sandes,	2
Schaw, Shaue,	4

Scherer,	1
Sempill, Semplius,	3
Sharpe,	1
Simson,	1
Smith, Smyth,	3
Snell,	1
Snype,	1
Stewart, Steuart,	5
Stirling, Stirlinng,	7
Strang,	3
Thomson,	1
Torphichen,	1
Tran,	1
Vauss,	1
Vetche, Vetcheus,	3
Waddrap, Woddrope,	2
Walker,	2
Walkinshaw, Walkinschawe,	3
Wallace,	7
Wallwork,	1
Ward,	1
Watsoune,	2
Weir,	2
Welsch, Welshe,	2
West,	1
Whetcombe,	1
White, Whyte,	2
Whytfoord, Quhitfurd,	2
Whytlaw,	1
Wilkie,	2
Will,	1
Wilson, Wilsone, Wilsonus, Wilsenne, Wilsoune, Wilsonne,	8
Winet, Winzett,	2
Wreittoune,	1
Wright, Wricht,	2
Wyllys,	1
Wynrame,	1
Young, Younge,	5
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Old Church of St. Kentigern, Lanark.

No. XI.

THE OLD CHURCH OF ST. KENTIGERN, LANARK.

BY

HUGH DAVIDSON.

[*Read at the Excursion of the Society on 1st September*, 1898.]

At the settlement of the kingdom of Strathclyde in A.D. 573, under King Roderick, commonly known as Rydderch Hael, St. Kentigern, who had for several years been obliged to seek shelter in Wales in consequence of the apostacy of the times, the oppression of barbarous tribes, and treacherous conspiracies against his life, was restored to the See of Glasgow. It is generally inferred that this event marked the institution or the revival of the primitive Church of Lanark. Joceline in his *Life of Kentigern* narrates that King Rydderch, "seeing that the Christian religion was almost entirely destroyed in his kingdom, anxiously considered how he might restore it"; and that "he found no plan by which it would be more surely brought about than to send messengers to Saint Kentigern to recall him to his first see." Kentigern, who was occupying a distinguished place among the Christian teachers of Wales, consented to his recall to Clydesdale by the pious king. He was then at Llanelwy in Flintshire, where he had founded the Monastery of St. Asaph's; and returning, accompanied by a large number of monks, met Rydderch and his people at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire, where for some time his see was fixed, but afterwards, "warned by divine revelation, he transferred

it to his own City of Glasgow." These pieces of information are chiefly supplied by Bishop Joceline, but, notwithstanding the fact that the *Life* was written five centuries after the occurrence of the events which it professes to record, and is founded chiefly on tradition, the information claims due attention. Lanark lies in the direct route from Hoddam to Glasgow; and as it was the practice of St. Kentigern in going from one place to another to erect churches, and to ordain priests, it has been inferred that in this journey the Church of Lanark was founded by him—a supposition which is countenanced by the fact that in after times the church was dedicated to his memory.

The Church of St. Kentigern appears to have been a parish church in the time of David I., who acceded in 1124 on the death of his brother Alexander. Previous to his reign it appears to have belonged to the Crown; but by a charter granted by David between the years 1150 and 1153, and addressed to *Francis Anglis et Scotis et Galwiensibus*, he conveyed it to the Monastery of Dryburgh, with the lands, teinds, and others belonging to it. This grant was confirmed by Bishop Herbert of Glasgow, by Malcolm the Maiden, and by William the Lion. The right of the Monastery of Dryburgh to the Church of Lanark was likewise confirmed by Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow and his successors in the see down to 1258; also by Pope Lucius III. in 1183, Pope Celestin in 1196, by Pope Gregory VIII. in 1228, and by King Alexander II. in 1230.

About this time it was not uncommon for proprietors of land in Lanark to make donations to increase the revenues of the parish church. Amfridus *Cornaisarius* de Lanark (manufacturer of implements of horn) granted to the Canons of Dryburgh, between 1165 and 1214, his land in Lanark which he held of the king in burgage, and which lay between the workshop of Henry Well and the tenement of William the Janitor. William de Karamikley, burgess of Lanark, and a member of a family of that name, who in the year 1228 owned the estate of Cleghorn, granted to the Canons of Dryburgh a tenement in the burgh, between the house of William the Weaver on the one side and that of John Blaw (Blair?) on the other, in excambion for another tenement opposite to his house which the canons had granted to him; so that John the son of Enoch and his heirs, who

held the same burgage tenement from William de Karamikley, should pay yearly five shillings as feu-duty to the abbot and convent. In the time of William the Lion, Jordanus Brac granted to the Church of St. Mary of Dryburgh, and Saint Kentigern of Lanark, certain lands, to be held by him and his heirs as a charitable gift for the soul's weal of King William and others. John Brac confirmed to God, the Blessed Mary, St. Kentigern, the Abbot and Convent of Dryburgh, and the Rectors of Lanark, the lands bestowed on them by his father, which he described as surrounded by a ditch on the east of the church, to be held of him and his heirs, for the soul's weal of King Alexander, free of all service, custom, or demand. These lands gifted by Jordan Brac and John Brac are identified to this day as the lands lying immediately outside of the churchyard wall and extending to the Clyde, and have from time immemorial been known under the name of Braxfield, a name which during the latter half of the eighteenth century gave a title to the celebrated Lord Justice-Clerk Macqueen, who was born at Braxfield, and whose descendants are proprietors of the lands to the present time. William Gillies, for the soul's weal of Kings William and Alexander, granted to the Mother Church of St. Kentigern of Lanark all the tithes and offerings of his lands of Mossplat, with the right of thirlage of his mill.

There were various chantries within the Parish Church of St. Kentigern. Robert the deacon, son of Hugh the clerk of Lanark, granted to God and St. Kentigern of Lanark, for lights to the church, a feu-duty of three shillings per annum, payable from the land which his brother Walter held of him. Alexander, the High Steward of Scotland, who died about the year 1300, gave a yearly sum of five shillings and sixpence, being the whole annual revenue payable from his land in the burgh of Lanark, to provide a light in the greater church and chapel of the town, for the soul's weal of King Alexander. About the beginning of the fifteenth century John Simpson, a burgess, founded a chaplainrie in the parish church. In the year 1500 King James IV. granted to William Clerkson, chaplain at the altar of the Blessed Virgin within the Parish Church of Lanark, a tenement in the burgh, which had reverted to the king by reason of the bastardy of the last owner. There was also an altar or chantry dedicated to the

Holy Rood, called the Rood Altar, and in the year 1561 was worth seven pounds yearly. The Canons of Dryburgh, who still continued to hold the church by the grant of Saint David, appear to have appropriated the rectorial tithes from the time of the grant in the twelfth century until the Reformation, the cure being served by a vicar and curates. They paid forty pounds a year to three priests of the chapel. The vicar paid ten pounds yearly, with a share in the lesser offerings to a resident curate.

The Church of St. Kentigern, situated as it is outside of the town of Lanark, and in the centre of the parish churchyard, was in ancient times known as the "Out Kirk," or "High Kirk," to distinguish it from the Church of St. Nicholas within the town, which was called the "In Kirk" or the "Town Kirk."

Blind Harry, the minstrel, in his *Life of Sir William Wallace*, 1297, refers to Wallace, when in Lanark, passing

"On fra the Kyrk that was without the toun":

and, if the same authority is to be believed, it was in this church that the Scottish hero first saw the young lady who became his wife. To that circumstance Blind Harry alludes when he says:

"Upon a day to ye Kyrk as sche went,
Wallace hyr saw, as he hys eyne can cast,
Ye prent off luff hym punzett at ye last,
So, asprely, throuch bewte off yat brycht,
With gret uness in presence bid he mycht,
He knew full weyll hyr kynerent and her blud,
And quhew sche was in honest eyss and gud."

They were united in the bonds of matrimony in this church in 1296, the ceremony being performed by a clergyman of the name of Blair, a schoolfellow in Dundee and a personal friend of the patriot, and who afterwards wrote in Latin the story of his exploits.

Lanark was a favourite residence of several of the early Scottish kings, notably of William, Alexander II., and Alexander III., who also frequently held their courts there. Several charters were granted by these sovereigns

when they resided in the town. The charter to the town of Ayr constituting it a Royal Burgh bears to have been granted by King William at the Castle of Lanark. The kings and their courts doubtless worshipped in the Parish Church of St. Kentigern, which originally must have been an edifice of imposing appearance. As already stated, three priests served at its altars, and the festival of Corpus Christi and other accustomed ceremonials were annually observed.

The ruins of this venerable church are perhaps the oldest ecclesiastical remains in the upper ward of Lanarkshire. The edifice appears to have been built of the hard and durable whinstone found on the estate of Jerviswood in the parish. At the Reformation it was stripped and its revenues confiscated, but for a hundred and fifty years after that event it was used as the parish church. It fell into disuse shortly after the period of the Revolution of 1688. It was then in a state of great disrepair. A proposal to repair or rebuild it was made in the year 1709, but the proposal was opposed by the Town Council, and St. Kentigern's appears then or shortly thereafter to have been abandoned. The Church of St. Nicholas, commonly called the Laigh Kirk, thereafter practically became the Parish Church of Lanark. Repairs and alterations were made on it to suit the requirements of those whose dwellings were in the landward part of the parish as well as those in the town. In 1710, when allocating a seat to Sir James Carmichael of Bonnington, the Town Council recorded a caveat that "nothing herein shall infer the said laigh church to be the parish church of Lanark."

This ruin of St. Kentigern's Church possesses all the features of the Early English or First pointed style of Gothic architecture which prevailed in Scotland in the thirteenth century, the period of the erection of the church. The same style is represented in the crypt and choir of Glasgow Cathedral, in the nave of that of Dunblane, and in the transept of Dryburgh. The thirteenth century parish churches are mostly of small dimensions and simple design, and a considerable number of them are to be found in the Western Highlands. The plan of the structure has been of a peculiar and unusual arrangement, consisting of two aisles, with possibly a chancel attached to each, or one chancel for the whole church,

but without a nave. The row of six pillars and five lofty, pointed, an elegant arches appear to form the centre, dividing the church into tw aisles. These pillars and arches are in a good state of preservation. Th pillars are alternately round and octagonal, the latter having eight sides an eight angles, and the two responds are half octagons. The arches hav a double splay or sloped surface on each side. The southern aisle is 7 feet in length by 20 feet in width internally. Its walls are in a fair stat of preservation. It has a chancel arch at the east end, a little over 8 fe in width. This arch is supported by responds or half pillars attached t the wall, and are half octagons, and it has a double splay on each sid There is a small lancet window with wide internal splay in the east wal to the south of the chancel arch, and the latter is placed close to th central row of pillars. If there was not a chancel to the east of th northern aisle, the arrangement described may have been adopted so as t bring the chancel as near the centre of the church as possible, with th view of its serving as the chancel for the whole church. Mere fragmen remain of the walls of the northern aisle. Excavations were, at my instig tion and in my presence, made in the year 1874, when the base of doorway shaft was discovered at a point 22 feet or thereby to the nort of the row of pillars and arches. This was supposed to represent the nort doorway of the church. At the east of this northern division, where it possible there was a chancel, there is a hideous tomb-house for the famil of the Lockharts of Lee, erected probably in the seventeenth century. I the south wall are preserved a range of five narrow lancet or acute-shape windows with wide splayed reveals inside. But it contains also an importar object in the remains of a fine First pointed doorway, remarkable in its detail It has had two nook shafts, with First pointed foliage in the Caps, and th mouldings of the pointed arch are bold and characteristic. This doorwa is described by Bloxam in his *Gothic Architecture* as exhibiting th "round moulding with a fillet in the face, while the capitals" (which ar all that remain of two nook shafts) "are richly sculptured." I was informe by the late Sexton of Lanark Churchyard that numerous students of eccles astical architecture, some even from America and the Continent of Europ had from time to time come to Lanark to study this ancient doorway.

Attached to the church, opening from the southern aisle by a doorway, and extending outwards from the south wall, is an apartment in the possession as a mausoleum of the family of the Lockharts of Cleghorn. This apartment may have probably been the sacristy in which the sacred utensils were kept and the clerical vestments deposited.

The site of the bellgable or belfry is distinctly visible outside of the west wall. The bell, which dates from the year 1110, was removed to the steeple of St. Nicholas, which is now the parish church, and is rung several times every day. The inscription is interesting, and is as follows:

"1. DATE. ANNO 1110.
I did for twice three cent-ries hing
And unto Lanark City ring.
Three times I Phenix-like have past
Thro' fiery furnace, till at last . . . .
2. . . . . ANNO 1659.
Refounded at Edinburgh
By Ormston and Cunningham,
ANNO 1740."

In the year 1874 certain restorations were executed on the ruin. A large gap in the west wall was built up, and the present polished doorway formed in the centre, with columns and sill of single stones. The masonry was so executed as to correspond with the oldest part of the masonry of the church. The south wall was levelled to two different heights, and a stone cope placed along the top of it and of the west wall, and the walls of the arches. Other operations were executed by which the ruins were strengthened and improved so as to last for a very considerable period. Three sculptured stones were built into the west wall on the outside, which can now be seen. The circumstances of the finding of these stones are not uninteresting. About the year 1822 there was erected on the area inside of the south wall a watch house for detecting those who violated the sepulchres of the dead. The house consisted of one apartment, which was entered by a flight of stone steps outside of the building. Among the improvements effected in 1874 was the demolition of this building, when two of these sculptured stones were discovered doing duty as steps in the stair. The third stone was found buried under

the surface near one of the pillars. They resemble some of the sculptured stones, drawings of which are contained in *The Sculptured Monuments of Iona and the West Highlands*, by James Drummond, R.S.A., published in 1881.

ANNUAL EXCURSIONS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1898 AND 1899.

1898.

THE Excursion took place on Thursday, 1st September, the day's programme including Craignethan Castle, Lanark and Douglas. Among those present were J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., Vice-President, P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A.Scot., R. Hunter Dunn, Colonel Stirling of Gargunnock, R. Y. Pickering, W. A. Scott Mackirdy of Birkwood, John Mann, C.A., J. Laurie Coulson, Walter Easton, Alexander Park, J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., Honorary Secretary, Andrew Smith, A. B. Dick-Cleland of Ravenswood, James White, F.S.A.Scot., Walter E. Wingate, W. J. Wood, James Caldwell, F.S.A.Scot., J. Edmiston, the Rev. J. M. Kirkpatrick, the Rev. Ernest Scott, the Rev. J. Young, John Somerville, W. F. Grimston, J. W. Ruddock, J. M. Steven, T. B. Fotheringham, James Mitchell, etc. Leaving the Central Station by the 8.57 a.m. train, the members, on arriving at Tillietudlem Station, proceeded on foot to Craignethan Castle, and made a careful examination of the building. A paper on its history and architectural characteristics was read by Mr. Dalrymple Duncan as follows:

The original name of the lands of Craignethan was Draffan, and they are first heard of under that appellation in 1160, when Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, granted them in feu to Lambyn Asa for a reddendo of two and a half silver merks. In 1271 they were held by Sir Hugh of Crawford and Alice his spouse, but no documents have been discovered throwing any light

on their ownership for a considerable period after this date, though it is probable they formed part of the vast possessions of the House of Douglas. It is also uncertain at what period they passed into the hands of the Hamiltons, but in all likelihood James, 1st Lord Hamilton, obtained possession of them shortly after the forfeiture of the Black Douglases in 1455. He probably erected the keep of the Castle, which appears to date from the latter half of the fifteenth century. In 1529 the fortalice, under the name of Castre de Nauthan, with the adjacent lands, was bestowed by James, 2nd Lord Hamilton and 1st Earl of Arran, upon his natural son Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, and to this remarkable man it undoubtedly owes alike much of its architectural importance and its historical interest. It is impossible within the limits of a paper of this description to do more than touch upon the salient points in the career of one of the most notable figures of the reign of James V. Hamilton's character is a most complex one, and it is difficult to understand how one possessed of his fine taste and artistic skill should have been conspicuous for ferocity and barbarity, even in the rude age in which he lived. His career up till the period of his fall was one long series of honours and successes, and he became the possessor of a chain of estates running from Crawfordjohn in upper Clydesdale to Finnart in Western Renfrewshire. The offices of dignity and profit he held were innumerable—Captain of the Palace of Linlithgow, Sheriff of the Counties of Linlithgow and Renfrew, Bailie of the Barony of Lesmahagow, Cupbearer and Steward of the Household, the King's Master of Work and Superintendent of the Royal Palaces, Lord High Treasurer and Governor of Dumbarton Castle, and last, but not least remarkable, Grand Inquisitor in all cases of heresy. Every effort was made to efface the stain on his birth. He was twice legitimated—first in January, 1512-13, and second, with three natural sons of his own, in November, 1539, while the King even gave him the right to incorporate the royal double tressure in his coat-of-arms. Amongst the many cruel and violent deeds of his life none was baser than his slaughter in cold blood of the Earl of Lennox, after the battle of Linlithgow Bridge, in 1526, a murder which Hamilton's own father Arran bewailed, exclaiming with anguish that the wisest, best, and bravest man in Scotland had fallen.

And yet, with all his ferocity and rapacity, he is believed to have been the architect of some of the finest portions of the Palaces of Holyrood, Falkland, and Linlithgow, while the Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Rothesay were considerably added to and adorned by his genius. It is therefore not surprising that he should have devoted attention to the improvement of his own residence at Craignethan, and to him are attributed the enclosing walls and towers round the keep, with the outer courtyard.

In 1540 King James visited him at Craignethan on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to James, Master of Somerville, but his career of prosperity was soon to close. In the following year he was accused of connivance in a plot to assassinate the King, and though it seems not improbable that the charge was groundless, he was found guilty and executed, while his estates were forfeited.

In 1541 the Lord Treasurer's accounts contain entries of disbursements in connection with the maintenance of Craignethan Castle, and in that year also James again visited it, while on a hunting expedition in Lanarkshire.

The Castle and lands remained annexed to the Crown till after the King's death, when the forfeiture was recalled, and they were restored to the son of Hamilton of Finnart, who subsequently became Sir James Hamilton of Evandale and Sheriff of Lanarkshire. He did not, however, long retain possession of them, as James, 2nd Earl of Arran, was desirous of acquiring them, and they were subsequently conveyed to him.

There is a tradition that Queen Mary was at Craignethan after her flight from Loch Leven on 2nd May, 1568. Mr. Greenshields of Kerse, in his *Annals of Lesmahagow*, seems to consider the tradition as founded on fact, pointing out that it is undoubted that Mary proceeded to Hamilton, where her friends and adherents assembled from all quarters. Sir William Drury, writing to Cecil on 6th May, 1568, informs him that "since the despatch of his last letter" he "could not hear of any more than that the Queen continued at Draffen among the Hamiltons." The tradition of the district is that Mary, after remaining some time at Cadzow Castle, was removed to Craignethan as a place of greater security, and,

as Mr. Greenshields says, the Place of Hamilton at that time being merely a square tower, altogether unsuited for a royal residence, it is quite likely that Craignethan, both from its strength and its greater distance from Glasgow, where Moray was assembling his forces, would be selected as the most suitable dwelling for the Queen in the district.

Be this as it may, it is undoubted that when after Langside Moray made an incursion into the Middle Ward, he took possession both of Craignethan and the Place of Hamilton.

In 1570, during the struggles between the adherents of Mary and those of her son James VI., Sir William Drury and the English army took the Place of Hamilton and destroyed it. The defenders were, however, allowed to retire to Craignethan, and meeting Lord Sempill, one of the King's party, took him prisoner and carried him with them.

In 1579, when John and Claude Hamilton were attainted for their supposed complicity in the assassination of the Regent Moray, Craignethan was again besieged, and in it was found James, the 3rd Earl of Arran. Despite the fact that he had been insane for many years, he was taken prisoner and kept for some time in captivity.

Craignethan remained in the hands of the Hamiltons till 1665, when the Duchess Anne sold it to Andrew Hay. The latter seems from the arms over the entrance to the mansion which he (in the words of Hamilton of Wishaw) "built with the ruins of the Castle in the corner of the garden," to have been a cadet of the house of Tweeddale.

In 1720 the Castle and lands were acquired by purchase from the Hay family by the Duke of Douglas, and after his death passed, by the decision of the House of Lords in the famous Douglas cause, to Archibald Douglas, son of Lady Jane Douglas, the Duke's sister, and her husband Sir John Stewart of Grandtully. Mr. Douglas was raised to the peerage in 1790, but the title became extinct in 1857. Craignethan now belongs to his descendant and representative in the female line, Charles, 12th Earl of Home.

The Castle, which stands on a rocky eminence overhanging the Nethan, consists of an inner and outer courtyard separated by a dry ditch or moat 30 feet wide. The outer courtyard, 190 feet by 140 feet, is surrounded by

battlemented walls and has square towers at the north-western and south-western angles and over the gateway. The inner courtyard was entered through a narrow gateway furnished with a portcullis, after passing which the moat would probably be traversed by means of a drawbridge. The wall on the west side of this courtyard must have constituted a very formidable rampart of defence, as, according to Messrs. M'Gibbon and Ross, it was 16 feet in breadth and probably contained embrasures for cannon above and a vaulted passage on the ground level. On the south side the wall of the courtyard is strengthened by three square towers, one of them abutting in the moat, the second in the centre, and the third at the eastern end. The last of these is of large size, being 34 feet by 32. The basement story is on the level of the ground outside, while the first floor is at the level of the courtyard, which latter to the east of the keep is raised on a vaulted substructure. This floor is entirely occupied by a kitchen of fine proportions. In the upper story, under the corbels of the parapet, are embrasures for cannon so constructed as to be able to sweep the steep bank below.

The keep is battlemented, the corbelling being extremely fine and artistic, and has bartizans at the angles and over the entrance. The internal arrangements are rather peculiar, the principal floor being on the ground level and not, as is usually the case, on the first story. The dividing wall in the centre is also not of very common occurrence in Scotland.

The entrance lobby contains a stair leading to the upper stories and a smaller stair down to the vaulted basement, which latter has a well at its east end. Over the doorway there is a panel with the Hamilton arms. On the left of the lobby is a guardroom, from which a newel stair leads to the battlement. The Great Hall is on this floor, and is a fine apartment, 40 feet long by 20 broad. It has a lofty semicircular vault and is lighted by three windows. The fireplace was in the part of the central wall now demolished. The private rooms opened off the eastern end, at which point there was a newel stair communicating with the upper story.

Access to the kitchen (which lay to the north of the hall between the private room and the guardroom) was got from the latter.

The lean-to buildings against the west wall of the outer courtyard seem to have been kitchen offices.

It is well known that Craignethan was the prototype of the "Tillietudlem" of Sir Walter Scott's *Old Mortality*.

The house to which reference has been made as having been built by Andrew Hay in the outer courtyard was offered as a residence to the great novelist by Lord Douglas, and Lockhart mentions that he was at first disposed to entertain the proposal favourably, though circumstances subsequently occurred which altered his intention.

After a vote of thanks had been accorded to Mr. Dalrymple Duncan for his paper, the Society walked down the beautiful glen through which the Nethan flows, to Crossford, where carriages were in waiting in which the members and their friends were conveyed to Lanark, stopping at Stonebyres Fall on the way, and passing (by permission of Sir Simon Lockhart, Bart.) through the Lee Castle policies. On arriving at Lanark a visit was paid to the old church of St. Kentigern, and a paper on its history was read by Mr. Hugh Davidson.[1]

Mr. Davidson having been cordially thanked for his valuable paper, the Society left Lanark at 3.18 for Douglas. On arriving there the old church of St. Bride, containing the Douglas tombs, was visited, and an interesting paper on them was read by Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers. The party next proceeded to Douglas Castle, which is situated in a fine park about a mile from the town. There are no remains of the original residence of the historic race, whose wide possessions formerly comprehended a great part of the Lowlands, and the present Castle only dates from 1760. By permission of the Earl of Home, the Society was permitted to see the interior of the house, and a number of historical relics which it contains were exhibited.

Returning by train to Lanark, the Society dined in the Clydesdale Hotel under the presidency of Dr. J. O. Mitchell. In addition to those whose names have been already mentioned there were present at the Dinner, the Provost of Lanark, Sheriff Fyfe and Mr. Hugh Davidson, with Mr. William George Black, F.S.A.Scot., Honorary Secretary, who had been prevented from taking part in the earlier portion of the day's proceedings.

[1] Mr. Davidson's paper appears *in extenso* at p. 155.

1899.

THE Excursion took place on Thursday 7th September, when a visit was paid to Tulliallan, Culross, Pitfirrane Castle, and Dunfermline. About forty of the members were present, among whom were J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., Vice-President; Principal Dyer, J. T. T. Brown, A. W. Gray Buchanan of Parkhill, Colonel Stirling of Gargunnock, Robert Guy, J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., Hon. Secretary, James Caldwell, F.S.A. Scot., T. L. Galbraith, Andrew Smith, Walter Easton, William Anderson, F.S.A., Scot., A. B. Dick-Cleland of Ravenswood, P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A. Scot., John Mann, C.A., D. R. Clark, William Gibson, Charles E. Whitelaw, Thomas Adam, J. A. Petrie, Campbell Douglas, F.R.I.B.A., P. Hill Normand of Whitehill, J. D. Roberton, D. S. Miller, J. A. Brown, W. J. Wood, R. Y. Pickering of Conheath, the Rev. E. Scott, the Rev. J. Young, John M'Intyre, W. F. Grimstone, C. R. Cowie, J. M. Steven, George Ainslie, William Howatt, W. Anderson Baillie, etc.

Leaving Queen Street Station at 9.10 A.M., the Society proceeded by train to Kincardine-on-Forth, where carriages were in waiting in which the members were conveyed to Tulliallan Castle. A careful examination of the building was made, and a paper on its history was read by Mr. Dalrymple Duncan as follows:

In Scotland, as in other countries, the introduction and improvement of artillery put an end to the erection of castles of the type which had prevailed in the early days of feudalism, the main purpose of which was fitness for standing a siege. It being found that it was vain to attempt to construct walls which were proof against the battering effect of cannon, the barons, to a large extent, abandoned the disused strongholds in which they had been living, the discomfort and squalor of which it is almost impossible to picture, and set about the construction of more commodious dwellings. Tulliallan Castle is a fine specimen of the Scots castellated architecture of the period, which includes the latter half of the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries, when the defensive qualities which had been the paramount requisites of such buildings in the age preceding,

while still largely retained, were combined with the necessary characteristics of a reasonably comfortable place of residence.

The early history of the lands on which the edifice stands seems, to a large extent, veiled in obscurity, but in the 15th century they were the property of the Edmonstones of that ilk. In the latter part of the 15th century they were acquired by Sir Patrick Blackadder through his marriage with Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir James Edmonstone of Edmonstone. Sir Patrick was the younger son of Sir Robert Blackadder of that ilk, a Berwickshire knight, in whose person the lands of Blackadder were erected into a free barony in 1452, and who sat in the Scots Parliament of 1464. Patrick Blackadder was involved, along with his elder brother and other members of the family, in a criminal prosecution, chronicled in Pitcairn under date 18th August, 1499, for the "cruel slauchter of umquhile John Nisbet and Philip Nisbet, and for spulsieing of their goods"; but he seems to have escaped punishment. His son and successor, John Blackadder, was less fortunate in regard to a somewhat similar offence, for which he was tried some 30 years later, though possibly it was the rank and importance of his victim which secured his condemnation. This crime was the murder of no less a personage than the Abbot of Culross, James Inglis by name, who had held high court appointments, and who was also a poet of some merit, if we are to believe Sir David Lindsay—

> "Who can say more than Sir James Inglis says,
> In ballads, farces, and in pleasant plays?
> But Culross hath his pen made impotent."

Ill-feeling seems to have arisen between the Abbot and the Laird of Tulliallan in consequence of the former having granted to Lord Erskine a lease of the lands of Balgownie, which were in the occupation of Blackadder. The latter swore that he would be revenged, and shortly afterwards encountering the Abbot at Rosyth, near North Queensferry, attacked and slew him. For this he was executed, as recorded by Sir James Balfour in laconic terms: "This zeire 1530 the Laird of Tulliallane was beheidit the first day of March for killing Mr. James Inglis, Abbot

of Culross, and with him a monk of the said abbey, a chief author of the Abbot's slauchter." The monk, who was named William Lothian, had the previous day been unfrocked and deprived of his orders on a public scaffold at Edinburgh in presence of the king and queen and an immense crowd. Three retainers of Blackadder's were also charged as accomplices in the murder, but having taken refuge at Torphichen, they claimed the privilege of sanctuary. Being brought to trial, but "acquitted of forethought felony," they were "judicially re-delivered to George, Lord of St. John, Master of the said sanctuary."

Another John succeeded his father in Tulliallan and in 1532 crossed to the continent on a pilgrimage of atonement for his father's crime, a royal warrant of protection to his tenants and servants being granted during his absence. He was a devoted adherent of the ill-fated Mary, and his son William, who had served in her army at Langside, being taken prisoner after the battle, was carried to Edinburgh, and there hanged and quartered on 24th June, 1567.

The other Blackadder lairds of Tulliallan were undistinguished. The last of them, John Blackadder, was created a baronet in 1626, but being of a spendthrift disposition he so embarrassed the estate that it passed out of the hands of the family, and he himself was compelled to retire to France, where for a time he served as an officer of the Guard. He died in America about 1651.

The most distinguished member of the Blackadder family was Robert, the first Archbishop of Glasgow. This distinguished ecclesiastic was a brother of Patrick Blackadder of Tulliallan. Held in high esteem by James IV. he was employed by that monarch in various delicate and important missions, the most notable of these being the negotiation of the king's marriage to Margaret Tudor. Appointed by Pope Sixtus IV. Bishop of Aberdeen in 1480, he was four years later translated to Glasgow, which was then merely a bishopric. Blackadder's influence at Rome was, however, so great that he was able in 1491-2 to secure its erection into an archbishopric, and thus to place himself on a level with the holder of the see of St. Andrews. He seems to have been a man of very considerable artistic taste, and has left his mark

on several buildings in Scotland. He erected the tower at Jedburgh (of which he was for a time Abbot), and his arms and initials are still to be seen in its N.W. corner. An aisle of the church of Edrom in Berwickshire was also erected by him, while in our own cathedral we owe to him the building in continuation of the south transept known as Blackadder's Crypt. He is further commemorated by the two altars in front of the rood screen on which his carved arms and initials may still be seen.

At Culross he, in 1503, founded a chapel in honour of St. Mungo at the reputed place of the saint's birth, and endowed it with a grant of the lands of Craigrossy in Strathearn. The terms of the foundation were as follows, "*Robertus Glasguensis Archiepiscopus primus a reditibus terrarum de Cragrossy quas ecclesiae donavit fundavit unam capellaniam in ecclesia beatissimi Kentigerni confessoris ubi idem natus erat per archiepiscopum constructa et edificata prope monasterium de Culros.*"

The ruins of this chapel still exist at the south-eastern extremity of the Abbey grounds. Its length was 54 feet, and breadth 20 feet, and its eastern termination was a three-sided apse.

It was only natural that an archbishop of Glasgow, who, from his connection with the locality knew well the legend of St. Mungo's birth, should thus have commemorated it by the erection of a place of worship. I may in a few sentences recall to your recollection that curious and interesting story.

Thanew, the mother of the saint, was, by the cruelty of her father, the king of Lothian, placed in an open boat, without oar or rudder, and sent to sea from Aberlady. The boat drifted first to the Isle of May, but eventually grounded at Culross, where, as the morning of the next day dawned, the unfortunate princess gave birth to her son. The aged St. Serf, who lived near, while engaged in his devotions, heard the sound of angelic voices calling him to the spot, and found on the rugged shore the young mother and her child. Seeing the infant the venerable anchorite exclaimed, "*Mochohe*," "My dear," whence the derivation of Mungo. He, however, subsequently christened the babe by the name of Kentigern, "head chief." The education of Mungo or Kentigern was

carefully supervised by St. Serf, whose favourite pupil he became, and many wonders are told of his school-days. After a time he was warned by an angel that he must leave Culross, and to avoid the opposition which he would have encountered from St. Serf, he stole away secretly. He was, however, followed by his master, who overtook him just as Mungo had crossed the Forth, whose waves divided to let him pass. St. Serf implored him either to return or let him go with him, but Mungo remained deaf to his entreaties, and pursued the journey by which he eventually reached the banks of the Molendinar.

A visit to Culross and Tulliallan is thus of peculiar interest to a body of Glasgow archæologists, for here two of the most notable figures in our city's history meet each other across the long centuries which divided their lives; on the one hand, the humble Christian missionary of the 6th century, on the other, the powerful and haughty prelate of the 16th.

To return for a moment to the Tulliallan Blackadders, it may be mentioned that another member of the family was the famous Covenanting preacher, John Blackadder, who was punished for his opinions by a four years' captivity on the Bass Rock, where he died in 1685.

On the downfall of the Blackadders, Tulliallan passed by purchase into the possession of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, an important personage in Scotland in the first half of the 17th century. Third son of Edward Bruce of Blairhall, grandson of David Bruce of Clackmannan, and brother of the eminent diplomatist who became the first Lord Kinloss, it would have been only natural if he had sought distinction in court or camp, but the bent of his genius lay in other directions. Possessed of unbounded energy and enterprise, he turned his attention to commercial pursuits, and was eminently successful. Embarking in the coal and salt trades, he exported large quantities of these commodities, and erected numerous and extensive works both at Culross and elsewhere. In developing one of his mines, he had the courage to sink a shaft on the shore, well within the tide-mark, encasing the shaft in a circular wall which rose above the surface of the water. This was connected by an underground gallery with the shore workings, and when James VI. on one occasion paid him a visit, he had the monarch conveyed under the

sea, and, to his great consternation, brought up the shaft to find himself at its extremity surrounded on all hands by the angry waves.

Besides Tulliallan, he acquired extensive estates in the parishes of Culross, Carnock, Torryburn, and Dunfermline, and it was through his influence that Culross was, in 1588, constituted a royal burgh. He does not seem to have lived much at Tulliallan, his favourite place of residence being in Culross, where the mansion in which he lived can still be pointed out. During his proprietorship of Tulliallan a crime was committed within its walls of a particularly cruel and barbarous description. Pitcairn chronicles that in 1619 four persons were accused of "carrieing umquhle Thomas Davidson to the pit of Tulliallan, quhair through want of enterteenment he famisched and deit of hunger." Sir George was not accused of complicity in the crime, but he would seem not at any rate to have disapproved of it, for, on the hearing being adjourned, he became security for the appearance of the culprits at a subsequent diet, and possibly used influence to secure their acquittal, as nothing more is heard of the case. He married Margaret, daughter of Archibald Primrose of Burnbrae, and was succeeded in Tulliallan, Culross, and Carnock by his elder surviving son George, while the estates in Dunfermline parish passed to his younger son Robert. George Bruce was created Earl of Kincardine by Charles I., at Carisbrooke Castle in 1647, but dying unmarried, was succeeded in the title and estates by his brother. In his hands, and those of his successors, the vast property which their ancestors had acquired became so burdened with debt that, in 1700, it was brought to a judicial sale, where the greater part of it (including Tulliallan) was purchased by Colonel John Erskine, son of David, second Lord Cardross. The new proprietor (who was known as "the black Colonel," to distinguish him from a relative who rejoiced in the appellation of "the white Colonel") lived in Culross, and being of a troublesome and litigious character, kept the place in hot water during the whole period of his residence. He was succeeded by his son, John Erskine of Carnock, the eminent jurist, author of the *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, who left the estate to James Erskine, the eldest son of his marriage with his second wife Anne, daughter of James Stirling of Keir. James Erskine's son

David sold Tulliallan to the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, better known as Admiral Keith, who was raised to the peerage as Lord Keith in 1797.

Lord Keith was twice married: first, to Miss Mercer of Aldie, by whom he had an only daughter, Margaret, who succeeded him in the peerage, and married Comte Flahault de la Billarderie. Lord Keith married, secondly, Hester Maria Thrale, daughter of Mrs. Thrale, the friend of Dr. Johnson, and by her had an only daughter, Georgiana, who married, first, the Hon. Augustus Villiers, and secondly Lord William Godolphin Osborne. Tulliallan was left by Lord Keith to his two daughters in succession, and afterwards to the representatives of the elder of them. Under this destination it is now held by the present Marquess of Lansdowne, whose mother, the late Marchioness, was the eldest daughter of the Comtesse Flahault.

The castle, in old days, must have been situated close to the Forth, the tract of ground which now divides it from this water having been reclaimed, and was encompassed by a rectangular enclosure, defended by a ditch and mound.

The principal entrance to the castle is at the S.W. corner, which was protected both by a drawbridge and portcullis and by machicoulis. There is a postern at the S.E. corner.

The ground floor contains two apartments with fine groined and ribbed vaulting. One of them has a fireplace with a large projecting hood and moulded jambs; corbels for supporting lights stand on either side. The upper floor contained the Great Hall, 38 × 22 feet, and a with-drawing room 21.6 × 22.6. There is an entrance from outside to the Great Hall which is a very peculiar feature. It would be reached by a temporary wooden stair.

Leaving Tulliallan the Society drove to Culross, where, in the first place, a visit was paid (by permission of Miss Luke, the proprietrix) to the so-called "Palace," the former residence of Sir George Bruce. It is a very fine example of an old Scots town residence, and consists of two ranges of buildings on the west and north sides of a courtyard. The former of

these bears the date 1597, with the arms and initials of the founder, while the latter dates from 1611. One of the rooms has a wooden ceiling on which are painted emblematic subjects, each with an appropriate text, while some of the other apartments have been decorated with patterns in colours of various designs. The house received the name by which it is generally known from the fact that James VI. stayed in it on the occasion of his visit to Culross in 1617. It was observed with extreme regret that the interesting old mansion is rapidly falling into a state of dilapidation, and earnest hopes were expressed that steps would be taken in the immediate future for its preservation.

The quaint old town of Culross contains besides the "Palace" a number of interesting specimens of domestic architecture, and among those which were shown to the Society may be mentioned the house known as "The Study," part of which dates from pre-Reformation times, and the Town House or Tolbooth, built in 1626.

The remains of Culross Abbey were next visited, and a paper on the history of the building was read by Mr. Charles E. Whitelaw, as follows:—

The site of Culross Abbey is hallowed by memories of St. Mungo and his reputed teacher, St. Serf; but, unfortunately, of the history of the Abbey almost nothing is known.

According to Dr. Skene it was founded by St. Serf at the close of the seventh century, and in 1217 Malcolm, third Earl of Fife, re-founded it, introducing Cistercian monks from Kinloss. Of this period there are considerable remains and also some of what may be considered earlier, although most of what we see is much later.

The most remarkable feature of this building is the arrangement of the plan—a cruciform eastern church separated from a western church by a tower pierced only by doorways. Both of these churches are about the same dimensions, 78 ft. by 21 ft. 6 in. The whole floor and the ground to the S.E. are on the same level, the cloister garth is 10 ft. lower, and on the S. of the cloister garth there is again a drop of about 20 ft., where there were originally extensive vaults.[1]

[1] Slezer, 1693.

The West Church shows in the masonry indications of the Transition; it was lit from above on either side by six or seven round headed windows (Slezer), and, as seen by remaining jambs, they belong to fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. This upper work was removed by the late minister, Dr. Erskine, for the purpose of building dykes. The West Door was where the entrance gate now stands, to judge by the still extant buttress.

The Tower shows two periods, the lower part being the older, which, with the westmost door, is probably of the thirteenth century; the vault and work above it, including the eastmost and internal doors, is probably of the sixteenth century. The original finish, shown by Slezer, was a parapet and saddle-back roof, as at Torphichen, Dundee, etc. The chapel to the north is late fourteenth century.

The North Transept was built in 1640 by Sir George Bruce of Carnock, doubtless on the old foundations. The South Transept is original, and had an Eastern aisle with a lean-to roof against the transept (now removed), as shown by Slezer.

The same arrangement was evidently carried out in the North Transept, to judge by the existing two-light east window.

The present century is responsible for the culminating misfortunes, the original windows which were large and handsome have been built up, with the exception of that in the East Gable.

The Sacristy is just recognisable in its modern garb, now serving as a vestry.

The Chapter House, of which there are but scanty remains, shows only the northmost of the usual three openings, here a fine example of first pointed (thirteenth century), with indications in the still remaining springers of three rows of columns.

The Manse dates from 1647, as indicated by one of the dormers.

About a quarter mile north there are remains of what is considered to have been the Lodge, with indications of an arched pend, showing the probable extent of the enclosing walls.

The most interesting point in this building is the dividing tower, for whose position two solutions may be propounded.

1. That the Tower separated the Abbey Church from the Parish

Church of the town and coast line, the other Parish Church, at about one mile distance, being for the country folk. This is feasible, seeing the ancient parish was very large and included Kincardine. Such an arrangement is unusual in Scotland, although Mr. Freeman has described several churches in England where one portion belonged to the parishioners and the remainder to the monks.

2. Docking of the church towards close of fifteenth century on account of shrinking revenues. However, against this latter, there is the serious evidence that one finds the jambs of windows attached to and apparently coeval with the west side of the tower, and thus pointing towards the first conclusion as the more probable.

Previous to leaving the Abbey precincts, the Society was allowed to examine the fine seventeenth-century monument erected to the memory of Sir George Bruce, which is in a burial aisle built against the east gable of the church. The monument itself is of freestone, but the recumbent statues of Sir George and his wife, placed in a square recess at some distance from the ground, and the kneeling effigies of their three sons and five daughters, ranged in front of the base, are of alabaster.

The Society drove from Culross to Dunfermline, stopping on the way to visit Pitfirrane Castle, where they were most courteously and hospitably received by Sir Arthur and Lady Halkett. Pitfirrane has been in possession of the Halkett family from an early period. The Castle is a very interesting specimen of an old Scots mansion. Originally it was evidently a simple oblong keep of four stories, but towards the end of the sixteenth century considerable alterations were made on it, the effect of which was to convert it into a structure of the L plan. Further additions were made to it in the sixteenth century.

Dunfermline was reached about five o'clock, when the Abbey Church and the ruins of the Palace were visited, and a paper on their history was read by Mr. Dalrymple Duncan. The Society had previously visited Dunfermline in 1879.

In the evening the members and their friends dined together in the Royal Hotel, Dunfermline, under the presidency of Dr. J. O. Mitchell.

No. XII.

MOUND-DWELLINGS AND MOUND-DWELLERS.

BY

DAVID MACRITCHIE, F.S.A.Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 18th January*, 1900.)

In discussing the early races of the British Islands, the late Dr. W. F. Skene tells us that "there are just two people mentioned in the Irish records who had settlements in Ireland, and who yet were connected with Great Britain and the region lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. These were the people termed the *Tuatha De Danann*, and the Picts. The traditionary migration of the *Tuatha De Danann* brings them from the country between the Rhine and the Elbe, where they possessed four cities, to Scotland, where they inhabited a district termed Dobhar and Iar Dobhar; and from thence they went to Ireland, where they drove out the Firbolg, to be subdued in their turn by the Gaels. The Picts are likewise brought from the Low Countries to Ireland, and from Ireland to Scotland, where they founded a kingdom which included, till the seventh century, the Picts of Ulster, and which was subverted in the ninth century by the Gaels. These two tribes were thus the prior race in each country. Both must have been prior to the Low German population of the Netherlands. The Picts were the race prior to the Gaels in

Scotland, and the *Tuatha De Danann* the prior colony to the Gaels in Ireland."[1]

The name of the *Tuatha De Danann* often appears under the abbreviated form of *Tuatha De* or *Dea*, and sometimes also they are spoken of as "the Dananns." It is Professor Rhys, I think, who explains the

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[1] Page lxxvi. of Dr. W. F. Skene's Introduction to *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Edinburgh, 1862.

For the sake of clearness, I have modified Dr. Skene's words to the extent of substituting modern place-names and racial terms for those employed by him, except in the case of the *Tuatha De Danann*. But all the equivalents given are, with one reservation, those given by Dr. Skene himself in the work quoted from. The following list shows the alterations:

"Great Britain" . . .	is substituted for	"Albin" and "Breatan."
"The region lying between the Rhine and the Elbe" .	,,	"Lochlan."
"Netherlands" . . .	,,	"Lochlan."
"Low Countries" . . .	,,	"Lochlan."
"Picts"	,,	"Cruithne."
"Scotland"	,,	"Alban."
"Ireland"	,,	"Erin."
"Gaels"	,,	"Scots" and "Milesian Scots."

The one reservation is in the case of "Breatan," and this also implies a partial correction of the definition of "Alban" as "Scotland." Dr. Skene thus defines "Alban" and "Breatan" (*op. cit.*, p. lxxv.): "Alba or Alban was Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Breatan was not Wales, but the southern districts of Scotland, of which Dunbreatan, now Dumbarton, was the chief seat."

On the other hand, the Rev. Dr. M'Lauchlan, who translated and annotated *The Dean of Lismore's Book*, states (p. 8) that "Breatan" denoted "either Wales or England and Wales together"; and again (p. 49) that the term "included then as now England, Scotland, and Wales."

Of "Lochlan" Dr. Skene says: "Lochlan was the north of Germany, extending from the Rhine to the Elbe; and the name of Lochlanach was originally applied to the ancient traditionary pirates termed the Fomorians. When the Norwegian and Danish pirates appeared in the ninth century, they were likewise called Lochlanach; and the name of Lochlan was transferred to Norway and Denmark, from whence they came." "Historically, 'the land under the waves' [a poetical expression; in Gaelic, *Tir fo thuinn*] was the low-lying coast of Holland and Germany, extending from the Rhine to the Elbe." (*Op. cit.*, pp. lxxv.-lxxvi., and p. 148 of "Additional Notes": also pp. 303 and 603 of Dr. Standish Hayes O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, English translation; London and Edinburgh, 1892.)

term as signifying "the People of the Goddess Danu," or, in the shorter form, "the People of the Goddess." According to this interpretation, therefore, the name does not necessarily imply anything racial, belonging as it does to the same order as Buddhist, Christian, or any other term denoting the followers of a certain deity or religious leader. A much earlier interpretation is, however, given in a manuscript (now in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh), which formerly belonged to the Argyllshire family of the M'Lauchlans of Kilbride, and which is supposed to have formed a portion of the famous library of Iona, dispersed at the Reformation. In this Kilbride manuscript, then, it is explained that the *Tuatha De Danann* were so called because they were men of science, and were, so to speak, "gods" (*dé*), in contradistinction to laymen, who were *andé*, *i.e.* "no gods."[1] Then, again, the Hon. Algernon Herbert regards the name as meaning "the people devoted to the gods and to bardic sciences."[2] In each of these last interpretations the *Tuatha Dé* are held up to us as a people possessing or claiming superior attributes, which were understood to raise them above the level of other contemporary castes.

These *Tuatha Dé* or "Dananns," then, are said to have come from the Low Countries to Scotland, and after living there for several generations they are understood to have crossed to Ireland, at that time inhabited by the race of the "Fir-Bolgs," whom they subdued. The rule of the Dananns, however, only lasted two centuries; at the end of which time the conquering Gaels made their appearance. It was at this period that Angus, son of The Dagda, was king of the *Tuatha Dea*. The story goes that the Dananns, recognizing that the Gaels came as powerful and warlike invaders, and as colonizers, told them on their first arrival that if they could effect a landing in open day, and in spite of the Dananns, then one-half of Ireland would be ceded to the new comers. The Gaels were successful in landing; but the two parties could not agree as to the

[1] See Dr. Hayes O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica* (English translation), p. 522.

[2] See a paper by the late Herbert Hore on "The Origin of the Irish Superstitions regarding Banshees and Fairies," in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, p. 121.

division of Ireland, apparently because the Dananns, while willing to surrender one-half of the island, wished to retain the sovereignty of the whole. Then, after the simple fashion of the heroes of ancient chronicles, the rival forces came to the agreement that the matter should be laid before the first person whom a party of deputies from either side should happen to encounter at the outskirts of a certain town on an appointed day, and this man's decision should be held as final. Now, although the Dananns are remembered as "adepts in all druidical and magical arts," the Gaels also had a *druidh* (*i.e.* wizard or *magus*) among their number; and he proved more than a match for the Dananns. For, between him and the leaders of his party it was arranged that the man whom the deputies should accidentally meet at the appointed place should be no other than this *druidh* of the Gaels, whose person was unknown to their opponents. The unsuspecting Dananns walked into the trap. The first man that the delegates met was a strolling harper. "It is a great thing thou hast to do to-day, good master of the sciences!" was the greeting of Angus Mac-a-Daghda, who was one of the company. "What have I to be doing to-day?" quoth the wise man, "except to go about with my harp, and learn who shall best reward me for my music."[1] "Thy task is far greater than that," answered the Danann king; "thou hast to divide Ireland into two equal portions." Thereupon the *druidh*, having obtained the promise of either side that they would abide by his decision, pronounced as follows:—"This, then, is my decision. As ye, O magical Dananns, have for a long period possessed that half of Ireland which is above ground, henceforth the half which is underneath the surface shall be yours, and the half above ground shall belong to the sons of Miledh (the Milesians, or Gaels). To thee, O Angus, son of the Dagda, as thou art the king of the Tuatha De Danann, I assign the best earth-house in Ireland, the white-topped *brugh* of the Boyne.[2] As for the rest, each one

[1] The Dananns themselves were notably "professors of musical and entertaining performances"; and, indeed, the term *druidh*, applied to them also, seems to have indicated the possessor of many accomplishments in art and in a pseudo-science. Compare the interpretation of Tuatha Dé as "gods," already referred to.

[2] "*Brugh barragheal na Boinne*" is the phrase given in *The Glenbard Collection of*

can select an earth-house for himself." Against this grotesque decision there was obviously no appeal, and the Dananns surrendered the surface of Ireland to the Gaels; and, in the words of Dr. Skene, "retaining only the green mounds, known by the name of Sidh, and then being made invisible by their enchantments, became the Fir Sidhe, or Fairies, of Ireland."[1]

In this legend of the "halving" of Ireland Dr. Skene recognizes the memory of a historical fact—the conquest of Ireland by the Gaels, and the terms meted out by them to the natives. The tradition has, of course, its defects, like most traditions. The "earth-houses" referred to[2] must have already been in existence before they could be spoken of, and particularized, by the magician of the Gaels. The inference to be drawn from the story is that the Dananns were already dwellers in earth-houses or chambered mounds, and that the terms imposed upon them by the Gaels restricted the conquered people to their own habitations, presumably with the reservation of a small portion of the adjoining territory. That, in short, the Gaelic conquest denoted a state of things analogous to the European conquest and settlement of North America, where the native races, having once submitted, were allowed to live on "reservations" scattered here and there throughout the country. Thus, as in America, the two races would live side by side, though perhaps, as in America, presenting the most opposite characteristics.

The Dananns, it has been seen, were famous for the possession of "magical power," or "druidism"; terms which probably can best be translated into modern language by such expressions as shamanism, hypnotism,[3]

Gaelic Poetry (Haszard, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 1888, p. 78), where the above story is told.

[1] Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. III. pp. 106-107. See also p. 93 of the same volume, and pp. 178 and 220 of Vol. I.

[2] The words translated "earth-house," as used by the *druidh*, are "*brugh*" and "*bruighin*."

[3] In a paper on "Mediaeval Glamour and its Antidotes," read before the Folk-Lore Congress held at Memphis, Tennessee, United States, on 23rd January, 1895, I have brought together a number of instances tending to show that "glamour" or "the druidic sleep" was identical with the "mesmerism" and "hypnotism" of modern times.

and a more or less uncertain amount of scientific knowledge. To a great extent, their so-called magical power was not likely any greater than, or different from, the shamanism of the Lapps, who, down to the present century, were considered to have power to raise tempests and to allay them again; a purely imaginary power, but nevertheless believed in by other races, if not by themselves. One recorded instance of the druidic or magic power of the Dananns is childish in its simplicity. We are told that Cormac Mac-Art, King of Ireland, met his death at the house of Cletech on the Boyne, through "the enchantment (*siabrad*) which Mailgenn the druid practised upon him, after Cormac had turned against the druids, because he worshipped God rather than them."[1] Now, this "enchantment" was very simple in its nature. A fish-bone had been designedly kneaded into some bread which was given to the king, and the bone stuck in his throat and choked him.[2] That is an instance of the "enchantment," "druidism," or "*siabrad*," practised by Mailgenn the druid; and it is one of several indications that the power of those pagan priests was based upon nothing higher than cunning deception and trickery.

The Gaelic word *siabrad*, signifying "enchantment," which has just been quoted, visibly connects itself with another version of the same

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[1] Quoted by Dr. Whitley Stokes from the "Four Masters," at p. 512 of *Folk-Lore*, December, 1892.

It may here be noted that the word "druid," as above used, is the Gaelic word denoting a priest. That Dr. Hill Burton and others should ever have questioned the former existence of druids in the British Islands is simply a proof of their ignorance of Gaelic and of Gaelic records. For an interesting account of druids see pp. 107-119 of Vol. II. of Dr. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*. The situation is there (p. 119, *note*) summed up in these words:—"Dr. John Hill Burton was the first to expose the utterly fictitious basis on which the popular conceptions of the so-called Druidical religion rests, and he has done it with much ability and acuteness in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1863, and in his *History of Scotland*, vol. i. chap. iv. But he undoubtedly carries his scepticism too far, when he seems disposed to deny the existence among the pre-Christian inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland of a class of persons termed Druids. Here he must find himself face to face with a body of evidence which it is impossible, with any truth or candour, to ignore."

[2] See *Silva Gadelica*, p. 289 (Eng. trans.); also the eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, fol. 41 b., as quoted in Petrie's *Round Towers*, pp. 96 and 98.

story recorded in an ancient Irish manuscript;[1] wherein it is stated that Cormac was killed by "the Siabhras, *i.e.* the Tuatha De Danann, for they were called Siabhras." And on examining these two forms it becomes evident that *siabrad*, "enchantment," is derived from the name applied to the enchanters themselves, *siabhra*.

But this etymological question is still further complicated by the fact that *siabhra* is itself a transference of meaning from the dwellings occupied by those enchanters to the enchanters themselves. To understand this properly we must go back to the name mentioned by Dr. Skene as associated with the Dananns,—the name of *Fir Sidhe*. They were so called, he says, because they lived in "green mounds, known by the name of *sidh*"; whence they became spoken of as *fir-sidhe*, or "mound-men,"—this term being often shortened into *sidhe*.[2] Thus it is stated in an ancient metrical life of St. Patrick that before he began to preach Christianity "the people of Ireland worshipped the *Side*"[3]—by which the mound-

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[1] The *Senchas na Relec*, or History of the Cemeteries. The passage here cited does not appear in the pages of the twelfth-century *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* (of which the *Senchas na Relec* forms a part), but in "a second copy of the same tract [*i.e.* the *Senchas*] preserved in an ancient vellum manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, Class H. 3, 17." (See p. 96 of Petrie's *Round Towers*.)

[2] For a full consideration of this word see my "Notes on the word 'Sidh,'" in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, December, 1893. Owing to the frequent confusion between *sith*, "peace," and *sith* (or *sidh*), "a mound or hill," it is important to cite the remarks in this connection made by the late Dr. Thomas M'Lauchlan, who spoke Gaelic as his mother-tongue, and who also knew the language as a scholar. "This word," he observes, "is found in the names of several Scottish hills, as 'Sìth challain,' *Schihallion*; 'Beinn shìth,' *Ben Hi*; 'An t-sìth mhòr,' *the great pointed hill*"; as well as in "'sìthan,' *a hillock*." And he goes on to say:—"The word has been often mistaken for '*Sìth*,' *peace*, whence the name 'Sitheach [sometimes written phonetically "sheogh" by modern Irish writers], sìthichean,' *a fairy*, *fairies*, has been absurdly rendered *the peace folk*, instead of *the folk of the hills*, referring to their reputed residence in earthen mounds" (*The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Edinburgh, 1862, p. 30, n.[2].).

[3] This, it will be seen, is only another way of referring to the condition of things which was illustrated by Cormac's conversion to Christianity and his consequent murder. For his death was brought about by the *Tuatha De Danann*, or *Siabhras*, otherwise the *Fir-Sidhe*, "because he worshipped God rather than *them*."

dwellers, and not the mounds, are indicated. This one word, *side*, was therefore not only used in its original sense, to denote a certain kind of mound or hill, but it was also applied secondarily to the dwellers in such mounds. (A similar usage obtains among ourselves when we speak of a "blue-jacket," a "red-coat," or a "kilty," meaning in each case, not the actual article of apparel but the person whom it covers.)

And this twofold meaning was further extended from the simple form *side* to the compound *siabhra*. For although it is true that the Dananns "were called Siabhras," yet that name is really a corruption of *sidh-bhrog*, which signifies "a mound-broch or -burgh." In this compound word, therefore, as in the simpler form, the word which primarily denoted the dwelling was also transferred to the dwellers themselves.

The Dananns, then, were known indifferently as *side* and *siabhras*. Whether there was any distinction between these two terms, when used in their original sense, is a little uncertain. In the *Book of Leinster* there is a reference to visits made to "mounds *and* mound-brochs" (*i sithaib ocus i sithbrugâib*),[1] which seems to imply that *sith* and *sith-bhrog* were not exactly synonyms. On the other hand, the *Book of Lismore*[2] speaks of a search to be made in the hope that certain tidings may be found "in any mound of the mound-brochs of Ireland or of Scotland" (*i síd do shídbhrogaib Eirenn nó Alban*).[3] Here there is evidently a distinction in words without any difference in meaning. And in another part of the same manuscript[4] the two terms are interchangeable. A third Irish manuscript, written in 1487, tells of a mound-broch (*sídbrug*) in which was "a fair dwelling," occupied by an aged couple who made ready "a couch and high bed" for their visitor.[5] That such mounds existed within clearly defined

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[1] See Dr. Todd's *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (London, 1867), p. 172. The earliest MS. of the *Book of Leinster* dates from about the twelfth century, but the version here quoted is a copy of 1635, which contains interpolations. It is not known whether the above quotation was in the original MS.

[2] An Irish MS. of the 15th century.

[3] Dr. Hayes O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, p. 203: English volume, p. 230.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 133-135: Eng. vol., pp. 146-148.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 297: Eng. vol., p. 333.

territories is indicated by a reference to one of the heroes of Irish tradition, Liath, "son of a chief that dwelt in the mound-regions" (*mac flatha bái i sídchairib*).[1] We are told how Liath loved the daughter of a mound-dweller known as Midir of the Mighty Deeds, and how Liath and his followers went forth towards a certain place, "and the slingers of Midir's mound did not let them pass, for as numerous as swarms of bees on a beautiful day was the mutual answer of their castings. So Lochlan, Liath's gillie, was wounded by them, and he died."[2]

The description of Liath as the "son of a chief that dwelt in the mound-regions" plainly points to one or more districts in which those mounds were numerous. But the actual whereabouts of that district, or of those districts, is still more plainly indicated in the celebrated *Book of Ballymote*, a compilation of the latter half of the fourteenth century—the statements in which appear to be partly based on pre-existing manuscripts and partly on oral tradition. In this *Book*, then, there is mention made of a certain woman of the name of Nar. We find Nar spoken of in a work of much earlier date,—the *Book of the Dun Cow* (*Leabhar na h-Uidhre*), with regard to which Dr. O'Grady states that it is "a folio vellum MS. in the Royal Irish Academy, and the earliest non-ecclesiastical codex in Ireland," and that its scribe died in the year 1106.[3] Of that portion of it which I am about to quote from, Dr. George Petrie gives as his opinion that, "judging from its language, its age must be referred to a period several centuries earlier than that in which its transcriber flourished."[4] Here, then, we read that the husband of this woman Nar chose as his burying-place the Cemetery of the Brugh (*Relec in Broga*) on the Boyne, County Meath, "because his wife Nar was of the Tuatha Dea, and it was she solicited him that he should adopt Brugh as a burial-place for himself and his descendants," that having been the cemetery of the nobles of her race.[5] Being one of the Dananns, or *Tuatha Dea*, this Nar was therefore one of the *siabhras*,

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[1] *Silva Gadelica*, Eng. vol., pp. 476 and 522.
[2] *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Decr. 1893, p. 374.
[3] Preface to *Silva Gadelica*, p. ix.
[4] *Round Towers of Ireland*; Dublin, 1845, pp. 95-96.
[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 97 and 99.

sidhe, or mound-people. And that is how she is spoken of in the fourteenth-century *Book of Ballymote*, which describes her as "Nar out of the mounds" (*a sidaib*).[1] But the writer adds an alternative designation which is of the greatest significance. For the full statement is that she was "Nar out of the mounds *or of Pictland*" (*nó do Chruithentuaith*). Thus "Pictland" and "the mound-regions" were one and the same thing. As if to leave no doubt whatever that this is what is meant by the passage in the *Book of Ballymote*, we have the statement in another manuscript altogether, the manuscript already referred to as having belonged to the M'Lauchlans of Kilbride, that Nar was "the daughter of Lotan of Pictland" (*ingen Lotain do Chruithentuaith*).[2] In this instance there is no mention of her being one of the *Tuatha Dea*, or of her coming "out of the mounds": she is simply "the daughter of Lotan of Pictland." Yet the other quotations show that any one of these designations implies the others. Nor is this the only case in which "the mounds" and "Pictland" are placed side by side. "In an ancient genealogy we read of a wife who was obtained from the mounds of the son of Scal Balbh, or King of Pictland" (*a sidhaibh mic Scail Bhailbh, no ri Cruithentuaithi*).[3]

The Picts, then, are associated with, or identified with, the mound-people or *Tuatha De Danann*; and in at least one instance, that of Nar, all these terms are indifferently applied to one person. Now, it will be seen that this is quite in accordance with what Dr. Skene says. Dr. Skene, it will be remembered, informs us that the Dananns and the Picts, whom he regards as two contemporary tribes, are both traditionally derived from the Netherlands and the neighbouring territory, and both formed settlements in Ireland and Scotland. "These two tribes," he says, "were thus the prior race in each country. Both must have been prior to the Low German population of the Netherlands. The Picts were the race prior to the Gaels in Scotland, and the *Tuatha De Danann* the prior colony to the Gaels in Ireland." He further relates how the Dananns became known as *Sidhe*, or mound-people,

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[1] *Silva Gadelica*, English volume, pp. 495 and 544.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Quoted by Mr. Herbert Hore from the Miscellany of the Celtic Society, p. 25 (*Jour. Roy. Soc. Antiq., Ireland*, June 1895, p. 128).

and we have just seen that precisely the same appellation was given to the Picts.

And when we turn to Scotland from Ireland (whence most of the foregoing references have been drawn) we find similar testimony. We are informed that when, in the year 1849, Mr. George Petrie was engaged in excavating what appeared to be "a green knoll" on the slope of Wideford Hill, in the mainland of Orkney, he discovered that this "green knoll" was in reality "a structure of the description so generally known by the appellation of a 'Pict's House.'"[1] "Nearly every strong hillock in Orkney is called a 'Pict's House,'" observes Captain Thomas,[2] whose antiquarian experiences in the Northern and Western Isles have long been on record. By this expression he means a structure that outwardly resembles a natural mound, but which is really a stone-built house, whose exterior has been purposely heaped over with earth and stones until the whole presents the appearance of a mound or hillock. Where there is a sufficient superficies of soil, this seeming mound has become clad with the rich, green turf of the typical "fairy knowe."

The interior of the hollow hillock on the slope of Wideford Hill, which Mr. Petrie opened in 1849, consists of one large central chamber, from which three subsidiary rooms or cells lead off by separate passages; while a main passage leads from the west side of the main chamber towards the western base of the mound. Another exit and entrance ought probably to be recognised in the passage which leads eastward from one of the side cells, although Mr. Petrie seems to have had some doubts on the subject.

I have here copies of Captain Thomas's ground-plan and sectional views of this mound-dwelling. From these it will be seen that the stone-work of the structure was of immense thickness, "built generally with considerable regularity; in some cases without clay, and in others with more than a due proportion." The height of the circular wall at its outer side was only

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[1] *Celtic Antiquities of Orkney.* By F. W. L. Thomas, R.N. London, 1851, p. 40 (From the London *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXIV. pp. 88-136).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

2 feet, but although the perpendicular wall stopped at that height the building continued to rise by means of a "bee-hive" or "Cyclopean" roof to a maximum height of about 9½ feet above the centre of the central chamber. All the rooms "are so constructed that the walls gradually converge, closing in on all sides towards the top"; but whereas these converging walls are capped by a large flag-stone in each of the side rooms, the apex of the dome or arch in the main chamber forms an aperture, with regard to which Mr. Petrie says: "The opening at the top is a regularly-built hole, and particularly attracted my attention from its resemblance to the top of a chimney. . . . The top of the hole was on a level with the stone structure, and was merely covered with a layer of turf,"—obviously an accretion since the date when the building was in use. There was "no appearance of any sculpture upon the stones composing the structure, nor were any human bones discovered in or near the building."[1]

The only relics which appear to have been found within the rooms were "the bones of the horse, cow, sheep, swine, etc., and some which were supposed to be those of deer."

Another illustration of the mound-dwelling is afforded us by the Rev. Alexander Pope, minister of Reay, in Sutherland, during the latter part of the eighteenth century.[2] He calls it a "Pictish house," of the variety distinguished by him as a "double house." It will be seen that his sectional view is taken from the side next the doorway, looking into the dwelling. The doorway, we are told, was 3 feet high; closed, when required, by "a large, broad stone." From the dimensions of the mound it is evident that in this case the entrance passage was shorter than that of the Wideford Hill mound. Like Captain Thomas's designs of the latter structure, Pope's representation is conventional in its treatment, though in rather a different style. Probably the originals of the pictures would resemble each other more closely than the diagrams do.

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[1] Capt. Thomas, *op. cit.*

[2] The information here quoted in this connection is taken from Pope's account "Of Caithness, Stathnaver, and Sutherland," published in the Fourth Edition of Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*; London, 1776; Vol. I. pp. 336-366 (Appendix No. V.); Plates XLVI. and XLVII.

Perhaps even more interesting than the "double house" is Mr. Pope's illustration of the single "Pictish house,"—of which he has happily left us not only a sectional view but also a ground-plan. As in each half of the "double house," the Cyclopean roof of this building terminates in what Pope describes as the usual "opening at the top which served both for light and a vent to carry off the smoke of their fire." And, although there is a marked difference between the respective ground-plans, it will be noted that both at Wideford and in this Sutherland example it was only the central and principal chamber—what Pope calls "the great room"—that had this aperture above. In the Sutherland house, the subsidiary chambers—which are subsidiary to a much greater degree than those at Wideford—had, like those at Wideford, no direct connection with the outer air. So that, when the 3-foot-high doorway was closed, little light could enter the dwelling from outside. When the fire was lit, it would illumine the "great room" fairly well, and we may suppose lamps also were used; or otherwise the side chambers would be quite without light, beyond what flickered in from the central fire. But presumably both fire and lamps were rarely used during the day, and at that time the great room can only have received a dim twilight, while the chambers in the wall would be steeped in obscurity.

It will be seen that the Pict's house last noticed was visibly a stone building, when viewed from the outside. That is to say, there is nothing of the mound about it. Pope tells us "that where the stones were not flat and well bedded, for fear the outer wall should fail, they built great heaps of stones to support it, so that it looks outwardly like a heap without any design." It may be doubted if his explanation of the custom is the correct one, but at any rate he shows us that the builders did not invariably conceal their building under a heap of superincumbent earth, or stones.

But perhaps *the* most interesting feature of the specimen under consideration is its ground-plan, a glance at which will recall to any Scottish archæologist the ground-plan of the so-called "brochs," or "doons." In fact, no one familiar with the tall, double-walled towers so known to archæologists, on looking at the ground-plan of this "Pict's house," would suppose that the structure itself was anything else than a "broch"—except

for one particular. This is, the absence of a staircase in the wall, leading to one or more upper stories. But the reason of this omission is quite apparent; for the sectional view and Mr. Pope's own words inform us that the walls only rose to a height of twelve feet, and then closed in in a dome-shaped roof. Consequently there was no occasion for any staircase in the wall. Thus, these "Pictish houses," while distinctly allied to the "brochs," reveal themselves as forming a separate variety of the general order of Cyclopean structures. And it is quite likely that in several cases where only the ruined basement of such a building has survived to the present day, it has been hastily assumed to be the ruin of a "broch," although in reality the walls of the complete building had never risen higher than twelve feet.

A further consideration is this. Had this specimen been hidden under a mound of earth, like its kindred "double-house," it would have given us an excellent picture of the mound-broch, or, in the Gaelic, the *sith-bhrog*, a term which, as we have seen, has given its name to the whole race of mound-dwellers in Scotland and Ireland. But what I believe was likely a still better specimen was the mound formerly known as the *Sith-Bhrog*, or Fairy Knowe, of Coldoch, situated about four miles to the south of Doune. In 1870 this mound was opened, and it was discovered to be entirely artificial in its origin, being, in fact, a circular stone building of the kind just described. In one respect, it suggests itself to be a broch, because it has the usual wall staircase of those structures. On the other hand, it had been outwardly a mound, composed of earth and stones heaped over the dwelling. Now, although there are other artificial mounds which have been claimed as true brochs, I find it difficult—on that assumption—to account for the mass of earth heaped around and above the stone-work, which gave the whole the appearance of a conical grassy hillock. Other brochs which have stood for centuries, such as those at Glenelg and Carloway, have no hint of such an accretion of earth; and I do not see how it could have come there except by design. Thus I should interpret the Fairy Knowe of Coldoch to have been akin to the Sutherland structures described by Pope, but differing from them in that it had a staircase in the wall, leading either to a second storey or to an exit in

the upper part of the mound. This is assuming a structure of which no exact equivalent has to my knowledge been found. But there are so many known varieties of the mound-dwelling (only some of which have been specified in this paper) that the discovery of another variety would not be at all astonishing.

With reference to the Coldoch mound and others like it, Dr. Joseph Anderson remarks: "A few years ago they were mere grass-covered hillocks, indistinguishable from many others that are yet to be seen in various quarters of the same wide district of country. It is impossible to say how many of these unexamined mounds, which exist abundantly in the valleys of the Forth and Teith for instance, may be of similar character. But it is possible to say that where three have been found without being specially looked for, the probability is that more will be found when they are looked for."[1]

What may prove to be a good working clue to guide the investigator to the proper mounds is already suggested in this paper. Considerations of time and space prevent me from entering into a discussion of the involved question of the Origin of the Fairies. But whatever may be the myths and superstitions that cluster around the word "fairy," it is clear that the Gaelic word so Englished originally meant mound-dweller, and was applied to the Picts and to the race known as the Dananns. Why it was so applied is seen from the nature of the dwellings ascribed to those people. Now, it is certain that one cannot accept the tradition of fairy origin as undoubted proof that a mound so distinguished is really an artificial structure. The popular memory is uncertain, and after a lapse of time any green hillock may become confused and identified with others whose origin is really due to the *fir-sidhe*, or mound-men. As a matter of fact, while tradition has been proved to be right in some cases, it has been proved to be quite wrong in others. Still, the statements quoted in the earlier part of this paper seem to me well worth consideration by the practical investigator. Tradition had ascribed the mound at Coldoch to the race of the mound-dwellers long before its artificial origin was clearly

[1] P. 191 of *Scotland in Pagan Times*: The Iron Age. Edinburgh, 1883.

proved: what of the Fairy Knowe on the neighbouring estate of Blair Drummond, or what of many others whose names will occur to several of those present? At any rate, whatever degree of reliability one may place in the clue which I have just indicated, there can be no doubt as to the former existence in this country of a people who lived in what were practically mounds; and I shall be glad if this paper does anything to stimulate others in the same line of research.

No. XIII.

THE TEMPLE BARONY OF MARYCULTER.

BY

JOHN EDWARDS, F.S.A. Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th February, 1900.*)

The Parish of Maryculter lies almost entirely upon the south side of the Dee, and is thus in Kincardineshire, while the neighbouring Parish of Peterculter lies on the north of the river, and is in Aberdeenshire. Maryculter had a population in 1891 of 1024. In early times they formed the undivided Parish of Culter. The name is Gaelic, Cùl-tir, signifying "at the back of the land."[1] The division of the parish took place in the 13th century, and the events which led to it will appear as we proceed.

The Knights Templars had, as is well known, their principal seat at Balintrado or Balantrodach, now the Parish of Temple, on the South Esk, and there they erected their principal Church and Preceptory in Scotland. But it is probably not so generally known that they had another Church and Preceptory within the old Parish of Culter in a very picturesque situation on the south bank of the Dee, about ten miles south-west of Aberdeen. Our historians—notably Mr. Hill Burton—have taken pains to endeavour to prove the wealth of Scotland prior to the War of Independence. But there is indirect evidence of the

[1] Johnston's *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 72.

comparative poverty of our country in the fact that while the Templars had upwards of forty Preceptories in England,[1] in Scotland they had only two. Preceptories, I need hardly remind you, were established for a twofold purpose: (1) as a recruiting ground and training school for the young members of the Order; and (2) as a source of revenue. Every Preceptor required to make a periodical return of his revenue and expenditure and remit the balance, if any, to headquarters, to be applied to the general purposes of the Order. The wealth of the Order, and the sinews of war in Palestine, were obtained in great part from the remittances made by the different Preceptories throughout Europe. We know from the returns of the Hospitallers that in 1338—26 years after the suppression of the Templars—their revenues derived from "Lands, tenements, duties, services, churches, and all other possessions which had belonged to the Templars in Scotland, were, on account of the fierce war continued for many years, nothing at all." But they state that, "in time of the Templars, and in time of peace, there was wont to be a balance on the credit side of 300 marks."[2] This credit balance, the head of the Order in Scotland, who resided, as I have already said, at Balantrodach, was bound to remit to the Master of the Temple in London, and he in turn remitted to the Grand Master abroad. The objects for which the Order was established made it, during its day of prosperity, one of the popular institutions of the Middle Ages, and its rapid increase of wealth, at a time when there was no opportunity of employing it against the enemies of the faith in the Holy Land, was one of the potent causes of its downfall. As Mr. Kemble says of the Hospitallers, and the remark is equally applicable to the Templars: "While the Order was very young and poor, humility of spirit and oatmeal porridge were considered to have a sort of necessary connexion, but as it grew old and rich, venison and claret were not found incompatible with the fundamental virtue."[3] One mistake that the Knights Templars made was to flaunt their privileges and wealth before the eyes of their possibly poorer but still powerful neighbours, the secular and regular

[1] Addison's *Knights Templars* (2 Edn.), p. 103.
[2] *The Knights Hospitallers in England*, p. 201.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. lvi.

clergy. The Hospitallers were somewhat wiser in their generation, and they survived, while their brethren of the Temple were ruined.

When proceedings were taken against the Templars in Scotland, in November 1309, the Court sat at the Abbey of Holyrood, and it had before it two Templars. The second of these, William de Middleton, in his examination being asked in what houses of his Order he had dwelt from the time of his reception, replied that he had been for five years in different places in England, and also for two years in Scotland at "Culthur" and at "Blancrodoks," and for three years in Northumbria in different places.

Culter, thus mentioned by de Middleton, is now the Parish of Maryculter, and came into the hands of the Knights before 1239[1] by the gift of Walter Bisset, from whom also they received the Church of Aboyne, about 25 miles further up the Dee. This latter grant was confirmed by the Bishop of Aberdeen, Ralph de Lambley (1239-47).[2] Bishop Ralph was a model Bishop. "Vir magnae honestatis," he is called by Fordun. He was such an ascetic that he is said to have made the visitations of his diocese on foot.[3] Thus a confirmation by him of a grant to the Templars seems to prove that at that date there was not much wrong with their morals—in Scotland, at all events.

We must remember that so far as the Order was concerned we were just an outlying part of England, and that the brethren here, from the Scottish master downwards, took all their orders from the Temple in London. No brethren, it appears, were received into the Order in Scotland. The rites of reception were performed only in England. This was in favour of the brethren in Scotland when the examination into the Order in 1309 took place, for the charges were chiefly directed against rites alleged to be practised at the initiation of new members. Of the two Knights examined before the Court appointed to inquire into the charges, which consisted of the Papal Legate, John de Solerio, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, the first, Walter de Clifton, had been admitted into the Order in

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[1] *Scott. Review*, July 1898, p. 12. [2] *Reg. Episc. Aber.*, ii. 271.
[3] *Reg. Episc. Aber.*, xxiii.

1299 at Temple Bruer in Lincolnshire. I may say in passing that the tower of the Church and Preceptory of Temple Bruer is still standing, and is on the estate of the Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, M.P.[1] The second Knight, William de Middleton, depones that he was admitted in 1302 at Temple Newsom, near York.

When the Templars acquired the lands in Culter Parish from Walter Bisset in the 13th century, they proceeded to build their Preceptory upon the banks of the Dee, and also erected a Chapel dedicated to their patron, the Virgin Mary. The old Church of Maryculter, situated in a very picturesque spot on the south bank of the river, and of which only the foundations are left, occupies, without doubt, the site of this Chapel. It is said to have contained a number of curious wood-carvings which were all dispersed when it ceased to be used as a place of worship. It is surrounded by the old churchyard, and is quite near the present mansion-house of Maryculter. I measured the old Church and found it 84 feet long, 30 feet wide, with walls about 3 feet thick. It was used as the Parish Church until 1782, when the present church was built about a mile to the south. Dr. Walker, in his paper on "The Knights Templar in and around Aberdeen," mentions that "part of the walls of the Preceptory were included in the walls of the residence built by Gilbert Menzies, the proprietor of Maryculter, in 1728." The present parish takes its name from the Templars' Chapel, which, as I have said, was dedicated to St. Mary, hence Maryculter.

This Chapel soon got them into trouble with the powerful Abbot and Monastery of Kelso, who were proprietors of the Parish Church of Culter, situated on the other side of the river in what is now the Parish of Peterculter, the Church having been dedicated to St. Peter. Although the dispute has been referred to before, yet it is worth while to recall some of the points.

According to the practice which was followed in cases of this kind where the dispute was between different ecclesiastical authorities, the Holy See appointed the question to be amicably decided by the Abbots of Jedburgh and Holyrood. These appointed as their Commissaries the

[1] An engraving of it is given in *Addison's Knights Templars*, page 48, second edition.

Subprior and Sacristan or Treasurer of Dryburgh before whom the case was debated.[1] The Abbey of Kelso alleged that besides its other privileges it had the right to prohibit the building or repair of any Chapel within the parish, and that, notwithstanding this, the Templars had erected the Chapel in question. The Monks therefore claimed that they had the legal right to have it pulled down. In addition to invading the rights of the Abbey by building their Chapel, the Knights are accused of having done the Abbey the further wrong of unjustly withholding payment of "tithes greater and lesser and offerings of all kinds exigible for their lands and property in the parish." The claim of the Abbey of Kelso on behalf of the Parish Church of Culter was thus a twofold one: (1) that decree should be given that the Knights' Chapel of St. Mary should be levelled with the ground, and (2) that they should be ordained to pay the Abbey as proprietors of the living the teinds and offerings due, and to become due for their lands in the parish. Against this twofold claim the Master and Knights exhibited "certain privileges of the Apostolic See, from the inspection of which it appeared to be certain that the brethren of the Order had obtained from time immemorial (*ab antiquo*) the right that they should be free and exempt from payment of tithes from their lands which they had brought or might bring into cultivation either by their own labour or by that of others their men, and also that it was lawful to the brethren in waste places obtained by them through pious devotion to erect churches or chapels (*ecclesias seu capellas*) and cemeteries for themselves, and for their men dwelling there and their servants (*familia*), and also for wayfarers." In exercise of this power they stated that they had lawfully built the said free Chapel beside their Preceptory of Culter with the cemetery and baptistry, also that they had possessed the teinds, etc., of their lands in the parish, and also "Tulichezirt and Blaris," which they had reclaimed from the Royal forest, quietly and peaceably for forty years and more.[2] They also declared that,

[1] We are not told why the Abbots did not hear the case themselves.

[2] It is evident that the western part of Maryculter was originally forest, and that the Templars had brought considerable portions into cultivation. They thus proved themselves enterprising landlords.

owing to the Parish Church of Culter being across the river of Dee—a river of great size—(*flumen grande*), their men living on their lands of Kyncolsi, Estertully, and of both Deliburries, were prevented often from attending the Parish Church though willing to do so. There being no bridge, attendance at church was, and had all along been, in times of flood, accompanied by risk both to the parishioners and their horses. The parishioners in these circumstances were seldom able to reach the church at all. I fear that in this less strenuous age the necessity of fording a river such as the Dee would be looked on as a good reason for not only "seldom" but never attempting to reach it. They were bound, they stated, to provide not only the usual succour for the body, but also the means of Christian burial, baptism, and the other Sacraments of the Church for those dwelling upon their lands. They anew recite their privileges in accordance with which they had built the Chapel with cemetery and baptistry, and had refused payment of teind.

The Arbiters were evidently of opinion that the Knights had made a good defence, and, in order "that all matter of dispute might be for ever removed," pronounced an amicable decree, whereby the Templars retained the Chapel, baptistry, cemetery, teinds, offerings, etc.; in fact, all that they contended for, they becoming bound to pay the Abbey of Kelso 8½ marks annually at the Feast of St. James the Apostle (25th July) in the Preceptory of the Temple of "Blantrodoc." The first payment was to be made at the Feast of St. James, A.D. 1288.

There are some interesting facts connected with the execution of this Agreement. It was in duplicate, and we learn that it was sealed with several seals. The part retained by the Templars had affixed to it the Common Seal of the Abbey of Kelso and the seals of the Subprior and Treasurer (*Sacrista*) of Dryburgh, the Arbiters; that retained by the Abbot and Monastery had the seal of the Master of the House of the Temple in Scotland and the Common Seal of the Temple of England, and also the Arbiters' seals. It was executed in March, 1287. About 100 years after—namely, in 1396—the copy in possession of the Abbey of Kelso was taken from its repository by Nicholas de Burn, Clerk of the Diocese of Glasgow, Notary Public, in order to make a copy thereof. He found

that it then had four seals attached. The first was of green wax, with the Sacred Lamb in the centre, and round the circumference the legend "Sigillum templi Scotie." The second seal was of white wax, with a shield on which were three leather bottles (*utres*). The third seal was oblong, with an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the middle, "but its circumference I could not read," he says. The fourth seal was also oblong and of white wax. It displayed a representation of the Holy Trinity.

The boundaries of the Parish of Maryculter which resulted from this Agreement are thus described in the 15th century: "Thir ar the merys of the landis of Cultyr pertenand to the Tempil of Saynt Jon; to begyn at the est half at the burn of the Ardach as it descendis in water of Dee, and sua up endlang that burn and about Tulyschetir to the hill of Knokyndythir and sua furth west to Drumdothrik and sua to the syde of Corsley, and syne furth on the west half to the cors of Brechmont and syne doune betwix the twa Essyntulis to the crag of Essyntuly, and sua doune to Drumdarach and thar was a cors, and sua in the water of Dee on the west half of the land of Cultre towart Durrys."[1] From this entry in the registry of the Bishopric of Aberdeen we learn that the Knights of St. John had made good their claim to the Maryculter property of the Templars. This claim had in all probability been conceded soon after the fall of the latter, and it seems likely that the Hospitallers had become firmly established on Deeside by the time of Sir Alexander Seton's preceptorship. He had a charter from King Robert the Bruce "of ane tenement in Aberdeine."[2] In all probability this is the property in the Nether Kirkgate of the burgh which belonged to the Knights Templars.[3] We know, from proceedings taken by him, that he was strenuous in upholding and asserting the rights of his Order. In 1345 he must have been in Aberdeen, for among the muniments of Mr. Gordon of Fyvie is a charter by "Sir Alexander Lord of Seton, Guardian of the House of St. John of Jerusalem of Torphechyn narrating that by the evils of the wars

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[1] *Reg. Episc. Aber.*, i. p. 247. [2] *Robertson's Index Ch.*, p. 16-29.
[3] *Chartulary of Drem*, p. 11.

in Scotland Walter Gretheued, burgess of Aberdeen, lately his tenant in fee and heritage of the lands of Ochtyrelon, in Buchan, had been reduced to such poverty, that, for his relief and subsistence, he had been compelled to sell these lands without the said Sir Alexander's consent, to William of Melgdrum, son of the late John of Melgdrum, and that it would be more for his advantage to have the said William than the said Walter for his tenant, therefore confirming to him the said lands, he making the customary returns, and giving suit at three head courts at Little Harthill, in the Garuyach. Dated at Aberdeen, on Monday after the feast of St. Mary Virgin, 1345."[1] The Preceptor was evidently on the spot looking after the property of the Order, and the Barony of Maryculter doubtless had his attention, and we know from subsequent deeds that the lands and Preceptory of Maryculter, with the Church, teinds, fishing, etc., remained in possession of the Hospitallers. The fishings in the Dee must have been valuable. "About 1521 Sir George Dundas, Lord of St. John, had a remission of customs of 8 lasts of salmon extending to £19 4s. exported yearly by him from Aberdeen on the account of Grand Master at Rhodes."[2] In 1540 Sir Walter Lindsay, Preceptor of Torphichen, is said to have granted the lands of Essentully (now Ashentilly) *jacentes in Baronia nostra de Maricultir*, to his beloved brother-german, Alexander Lindsay, and in 1545 he leased to him the Mains of Maryculter, part of the rent being "thre barrell of salmont yeirlie for the Weill Watter anentis Furd."[3]

In 1547 Sir James Sandilands, Lord of St. John's and Preceptor of Torphichen, leased the "teynd schawis" of Easter Essentully and the Mains of Maryculter, "lyand within the Barony of the samyn," to the same Alexander Lyndesay; and in 1548, in an action raised by the Preceptor, it was found that "the haill landis and Barony at Maricultir" belonged "to his said preceptorie in fre regalite," having been "in tymes bypast replegit fra the Scheref of Kincardine and his deputis to the fredome and privelege of the sayd regalite and baillies courttis thairof."

In the charter obtained from Queen Mary in 1563 erecting the estates of

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, v. 646. [2] M'Call's *Par. of Mid-Calder*, p. 255.
[3] *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland.*

the Hospitallers into a lay Barony in favour of the last Preceptor, Sir James Sandilands, and his heirs, the lands of Maryculter are mentioned as being part of the estates so erected. But twenty-eight years before, large portions of them had been alienated, so that, beyond the patronage of the Parish Church, the estate in Maryculter was mostly a superiority. At Edinburgh, on 15th December, 1535, Sir Walter Lindsay—Sir James Sandilands' predecessor in the Preceptorship of Torphichen—had granted a charter, with consent of Friar Philip Villiers de L'isle Adam, Grand Master of the Order at Malta. By this charter he feued to Gilbert Menzies of Findon and Marion Chalmer his spouse and the longer liver of them, and to Thomas Menzies of Pitfodels, his son and apparent heir, and his heirs male and assignees whomsoever, heritably, his lands of Blairs, Estland, Tuliskeith, and Estertilboury, with the mill of the lands of Maryculter, and other rights, including fishings, all in the Barony of Maryculter and shire of Kincardine. The feu-duty payable is £16 13s. 4d. yearly, and attendance is stipulated for at the three head Courts of the Barony.[1]

The Menzies family had proved good tenants under the Knights, and they are rewarded by obtaining fixity of tenure in 1535. Coming originally from Perthshire, this family for about 300 years possessed great influence in and around Aberdeen. In 1426, Gilbert Menzies was Provost of Aberdeen, and thereafter a Menzies occupied the civic chair so frequently that in the following 200 years the combined provostships of these gentlemen amount to 112 years. Sir Paul Menzies of Kinmundy, who died in 1641, at the ripe age of eighty, was the last of these hereditary provosts. His monument, with an inscription, was discovered in St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, in 1875, when some alterations were being made on the West Church.[2]

But to return to the main branch of the family: The lands of the "Maynis" of Maryculter; the lands of Cottoun, including the teinds, and with their salmon fishings in the river Dee; also the lands of Blairs and other lands named, with the mill of Maryculter, also "lie Wode" of Kintewling, were resigned by James Sandilands, second Lord Torphichen, into the

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 29 Jac. V. 2680.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xi. p. 458.

King's hands, who, on 27th July, 1615, by charter under the Great Seal, granted them to Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodels and his heirs, in consideration of a feu-duty of £8 per annum and an annual teind to the minister of Maryculter of 200 merks.[1] This grant embraced further portions of the lands, and consolidated them with former grants, but still these formed only a portion of the extensive estates in the parish formerly belonging to the Knights; and yet they were an important possession, for the Menzies family made Maryculter henceforward their residence, and the present clock-tower at the mansion-house is said to have been used by them as an oratory.[2]

In the Abstract of Charters in the Chartulary of Torphichen, published by the late Mr. Maidment, there is a Letter of Commission of the Parish of Marieculter to Gilbert Inez, of Pitfodels, 16th August, 1584.[3] Inez is obviously a mistake for Menzies. The family burial-ground is at St. Nicholas, in Aberdeen, and there, in what is known as the West Church, are to be seen the effigies of Thomas Menzies and his wife Marion Reid, heiress of Pitfodels, who were married in 1517.[4] The last laird of the family of Menzies of Pitfodels founded the Roman Catholic College of Blairs, his gift extending to 1000 acres of the Templars' lands. The estates of Maryculter and Ashentilly in possession of the Lairds of Pitfodels extended to 5000 acres.[5] The whole Temple Barony of Maryculter contained about 8000 acres of arable land.[6]

We find that in 1610 John Irving, then of "Kincowssie" had a grant from the Crown on the resignation of James, Lord Torphichen, of the town and lands of Kincowssie, with the manor-place, rabbit-warrens, fish-ponds, salmon fishings of the same in the water of Dee, forests, marshes, moors,

meadows, "lie foggage, fewall," common rights and pasture, with the rectoral tithes included, with all privileges contained in the infeftment of James, Lord of Torphichen, in the Barony of Maryculter.[1] This John Irving was of the same line as the Irvines of Drum. The Irvines of Kingcaussie ended in an heiress, Ann Irvine, who married Claude Irvine Boswell, Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Balmuto. Two etchings of him will be found in Kay's *Original Portraits*. We are told that "the death under his own roof of his kinsman, Sir Alexander Boswell, from the effects of a wound received by him in a duel with James Stewart of Dunearn, gave him a shock from which he never entirely recovered." He died in 1824 in his 83rd year.[2] His son, Mr. Irvine-Boswell, who died in 1860, is buried in the churchyard at Maryculter.

In the year 1610 we have another Crown charter, also on the resignation of James, Lord Torphichen, of a part of the same lands of Maryculter, namely, that in favour of John Collesoun of Auchinlowny, and Jeanne Hay, his spouse, of the lands of Auchinlowny (now Auchlunie), with the salmon fishings in the river Dee adjoining to them, all these lands being described as lying within the Barony of Maryculter, Lordship (*dominium*) and Regality of Torphichen and shire of Kincardine.

From these charters we see how extensive the Barony of Maryculter was, and also how the lords of St. John got quit of it. In 1599, some years after his accession, the second Lord Torphichen conveyed the whole Temple and Hospital lands, with the exception of the large estates and baronies, of which Maryculter was one, to Robert Williamson, writer, and James Tennent of Linhouse. In subsequent years he gradually disposed of the large properties, until he was left with only the land upon which stand the ruins of the Preceptory at Torphichen. That he could not part with, as it is generally considered by peerage lawyers that the grant of the dignity of Lord St. John of Torphichen depends on the possession of the principal messuage.

Thus this northern parish was for the long period of 300 years in close

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.* 44 Jac. VI. 392.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography, sub voce* "Boswell."

touch with two of the grandest orders of medieval chivalry, and I venture to say that not only its inhabitants, but the dwellers in the surrounding districts, including the neighbouring city of Aberdeen, benefited from the stimulus given by the presence of the Knights. For both the Templars and the Hospitallers were "nobill travellit Knichts," and the enlightenment which they thus gained themselves, they could not help imparting in some measure to others. I believe our country would have been poorer in many ways, mentally as well as materially, had we not formed a part of the wondrous organization of the Temple, and of the Hospital of St. John, which in their day embraced the whole Christian world.

No. XIV.

LETTERS FROM DARIEN.

BY

THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL STORY, D.D., LL.D., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th February, 1900.*)

THESE letters are of interest as throwing a little side-light on one of the most unfortunate episodes in Scottish history. Many chapters in that history are full of tales "of stormy chivalry and tragic love"; of gallant and not seldom disastrous warfare; of cruel conflicts between rival factions in Church and State; but none record so deplorable a commercial ruin as those that tell of the expedition to Darien, and the ill-fortune of the great Scottish Company, "trading to Africa and the Indies." The letters were addressed to Wm. Dunlop 200 years ago, Principal of the University of Glasgow, the son of that Rev. John Dunlop, of Paisley, whose "holy groan," and "painful preaching of the Word," wonderfully thrilled his hearers—according to Mr. Buckle. Dunlop, persecuted because of his religion, went to Carolina for refuge; returning after the Revolution, he became minister of Ochiltree, and finally Principal of the University in 1690. During his residence in Carolina he had learned a good deal about the West Indies and the Isthmus of Panama—enough to make him turn a willing ear to the brilliant proposals of William Paterson, and the other bold and adventurous spirits who planned the expedition to Darien. Paterson was undoubtedly a great financial genius. The son of

appear from his letters to Dunlop—the first of which is dated "Port Royale, August 18, 1699"; and the last "Caledonian Bay, 2 Feb., 1700."

We can gather from the letters from Darien a pretty clear indication of the fatal conditions that existed within the expeditions themselves. It is clear that the second company of settlers were, to a large extent, like the men of the First Crusade, loose and unruly adventurers; their leaders were not strong enough to control them; and their rather fanatical ministers, trying to force on them the most rigid discipline, and the extremest of Scottish 17th century Calvinism, only succeeded in verifying the dictum of Sir John Dalrymple, that "though Religion be the noblest and firmest principle of great actions, yet, in the hands of weak men, it will defeat the greatest." There was little practical wisdom shown in the selection of the materials for Transatlantic trade; in the fitting out of the expeditions, and in the administration of the Colony. The causes of their ruin, external to the expeditions, were the hostility of Spain; the jealousy of the English and Continental merchants; but above all, the heartless unfriendliness of William and his English Government, who would not even allow the adventurers to get relief and supplies in their extremity from the English Colonies. The great Company struggled on in a bankrupt condition till the Union, when it was formally dissolved, and a grant of £400,000 was voted as compensation for a failure which had involved, one may say, all Scotland, in financial disaster and national humiliation.

EDINB^R. March 29th 1698.

Dear Sir,—I have been exceedingly troubled at your illness who Can be soe ill spared but hope in god you may Recover from this Fysickal Destemper with the Spring of the year and that we shall shortly see you at Edinb^r to help us forward in the work that has been soe Long Depending But in yor Absence I am forced to trouble you with these Lines for yor Advice and Directions in the mater of the Ministers to goe in the Expedition in order to which Mr. Thos James was with the Directors this Day and has moved that 60^ll that was proposed is not Incouragment suficient for Induceing persons to that undertaking who may be any way fit for it; and Indeed since anything at all has been named for the Ministers I am of his oppinion—therefore I thinke the Company ought to name their Establish^mt to be 100^ll ster a year and

Certainly That would be litle enough nay too Litle for any man in that station were there not more Incouragment to be expected when it shall please god we Come to be setled, but since we can give them noe prospect of what as yet has noe being and they can have noe Due Conceptions of let us name something that may be Aceptable to people in their own way and there can be no Danger in it, since they must have all the Incouragment we shall name them here and more, or it will not be Right, for you know 100ⁿ a year will not goe far in the Indies—so as I am very Anctious to have a good *Magistracey* soe as much as possible for a good begining and foundation of a *Ministery* which will be of the highest Consequence to this Designe pray therfore write Answer to the Companeys of this night and speake your minde as to a yearly Allowance as also of a sum to buy Books for the Ministers, Tho you Know I am a free Spirit to all nay even somtimes so far as justly Deserves Correction and Reprehension, yet I tell you I have since I saw you Last had more Cause to take Care and be cautious upon that mater then in most other steps of my life for I am sure the Ends I have had and allwayes hope to have of the glory of God and good of men will be far from being Answerd by a wild-headed unsavoury Magistracy, and either the want of a Ministery or such a one as we had beter be without pray therfore take care of this mater and give the Compʸ faithfull Advise both as to persons and Things; things Doe goe well here thoʰ somthing slowly and I hope about 14 or 20 dayes shall set all our wheels a goeing and that soe much more time will set the ships to sea soe beseeching Allmighty God of his goodness to grant this undertaking a Just and Religious Magistraccy and as Godly savoury and profitable Ministery, —I am Sʳ with Due Respects Yoʳ Real friend and humble sert

WILLM PATERSON.

Pray send yoʳ Answer to the Company in these maters by nixt post.

Mr Lodge is Arived from London and is as hearty for the Company as formerly I suppose you have heard

EDINBʳ. Thursday April 21 1698.

Sʳ,—Considering how Indisposed you have Latly been I am unwilling to Desire you to hazard yoʳ health but Rather even to Run the greatest Dangers or Disorders, in our publike undertaking, but could it any way sute with your ability and convenience there is a great need of your presence now but for a few Dayes to give a finishing stroake to what you have Already been soe usefull in, and I hope eight or ten days stay in Edinburgh would nowe give you more satisfaction then you Could ever yet have in—puting this thing in a fair way of doeing well therfore if you Can be at Edinburgh on Monday or

Tuesday nixt it will not only be to the great satisfaction to our frends but will greatly promote some things that perhaps canot or at Least will not be soe Cosyly or well Done without you, and which are Essntially needfull before wee Can proceed, Soe with my most hearty Respects to your Familly and all frends,—I am yo^{rll} Reale frend and humble Sert

WILLM PATERSON.

MADERA August 31 1698

S^{r},—We and the Endeavour Pinck Arived here in good health on Monday was the seven night and the St Andrew Caledonia and Dolphin on Thursday Last the Councell have writen at Large to the Directors by way of Lisbone as they Intend by this occasion being an English Ketch Bownd from hence to Midleborg in Zea Land and to these Letters I Refer you only in generall if we are but in any Reasonable sort supported from Scotland we have all the probabilliy in the world of success A good Harmony Among us and none of the whole fleet Dead but two one Drunk Dead with Brandy and Another who was Deadly sick when he parted from Scotland and upon Review this Day we could but finde three men on board or ship somewhat ill and none at all sick and the other ships are also very healthfull tho^{h} we be all very much Crouded for God's Sake minde is with supplys from Glasgow for to have any more ships sail from the firth is Destruction it being worse and far more hazardous then an Indian voyage to sail Roond I have my health very well and am far beter then I Ever used to be at Sea or then I Expected I wrote to you and to Coll Erskine about supplying that part of my family left at London with subsistance I hope he and you have Er this taken Care in that Mater and I hope I need not tell you how Ready I shall be with the first occasion to Remitt it Back to you the English hre are very kinde and the Consule here Ready Enough to serve us and by all I Can Learne I hope we shall not finde a Dog to Move his Tongue Against us so w^{t} most hearty service to all frends,—I Rest yo^{rs} to serve you

WILLM PATERSON

LONDON 29th Novemb^{r} 1698

S^{r},—This came inclosed from Mr Paterson at ye Madera 31st Augt last, when be writes word they were then all in good health, He likewise acquaints me That he had desired you & Col^{o} Erskine wth some others of his Friends there to supply his occasions here with one hundred pounds towards support of his Children in his absence, S^{r} I hope you will gratify his request therein, and I doubt not but he will thankfully owne all Friendshipp & kindness to him on any occasion, especially on this, Pray S^{r} what you intend, lett be

very speedy, wch will double ye obligation to him, and also to Sr Your unknown Servt

SAM^L SOUTH

You may direct your Letter for me in Mark Lane. London.

For MR WM DUNLOPE
Principall of the
Colledge of Glascow
Edinburgh

Caledonia

The Humble Proposalls on behaffe of William Paterson to the Right Honble the Court of Directors of the Indian and African Company of Scotland.

1. That towards his Great expenses Losses and pains in and about this Vndertaking The Company will be pleased to allow him a credit for 7500^li payd into their Capitall Stock and allsoe three pr Cent of the profits of their said Capitall Stock for one and twenty years to come.

2. In order to ease him of some of the most uneasy and—troublesom debts Contracted since his first Coming to Scotland in order to promote this Affaire: that The Company will bee pleased to advance one thousand pounds sterling In Scotland to him or his order

3. And to relieve and promote his Credit in this place soe as to bee better enabled to follow trade for his owne and the Collonys Advantage, That the Company will give him one thousand pounds sterling Credit vpon the Councell here

4. That In Order to recouer what is due to the Company frome Mr Dan^le Lodge and that his demands vpon Mr Paterson may be timely deducted and allow'd As Apart of the said one thousand pounds Credit vpon the Councell The Court of Directors will please to send a full power to the Councell here to demand and receive what euer said Mr Lodge owes to the Company;

5. That Mr Patersons Books may be discharged frome of 150^li Sterling advanced him by the Comitee for Sailing orders, that it may bee henceforwards Left in his voluntory power to appropriate not only these but all other books

that hee shall bee Master of to the Collony, but not to bee exposed to affronts in hauing them forceably extorted from him vnder pretence of a sale wth if hee had known of the vse hath been made of it, hee would neuer have Condesended thereunto;

6. That one half of the profits and produce of the said Intrest in and profits of the Companys Stock proposed to bee allowd Mr Paterson may goe towards satisfying and repaying the before proposed Summs of two thousand one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, and the ballance of James Smith his account to the Company wth Intrest att the rate of 6 pr Cent pr anum, and for that end, that Mr Paterson may not have power to sell or allienate any part of the said Stock or profits untill the said Summs and Intrest bee fully payd and satisfyd and if the same shall not be fully payd and satisfyd before his decease, then one half of the said profits and Stock and Likewise of all the other effects or estate of the said Paterson shall belong to and goe to the Company, but if the whole shall bee then payd and Satisfyd by the said Paterson in his Life time then the Same as of Course it ought, shall goe to his heirs or those hauing right,

7. Thus this whole allowance Altho' Mr Paterson were even discharged of Smith's debt will bee farr short of what hee Should haue had before hee freely and Generously abandoned all his Affaires Comforts and Intrests in London wholly to embark in this affaire, or that any such thing was required of him that being twelve thousand pounds Sterling in hand to bee payd in the year ninty-five besides 3 pr cent of the profits for one and twenty years, and since that time Mr Paterson has Indefatigably spent his time wth otherwise Could haue been exceeding valluable to him as is suficiently known, and hath been for the greatest Part at his owne and not the Companys expence, and besides that griuous ballance of Smith and other Losses and disapointments ocasioned by his being Concerned in the Company hath visibly Lost four thousand pounds Sterling in the orphans-fund and more then two thousand pounds in the Watter Works at London, Soe that this is rather a medium for restoring Mr Paterson for present to some part of his former Credit then the giuing him any thing of a reasonable equiuolent for his Losses Sufferings and risque in and about this vndertaking; hee not doubting in the Least but in time the Directors will both bee in A better Condition and disposition to deall Gratfully and Generously wth him then they are or Can bee att present

8. And Since by the devine blessing this affaire is now brought to greater forwardness and hope then Could ever haue been expected by any or then euer was proposed in soe short a time or att soe Litle expence, to the Company, but at soe Long and Intolerable a suffering risque and ruine of Mr Paterson Allone The present Age and posterity will from hence forward bee witneses

of his hard vsage if reliueing should bee Longer delayd, and it will not only Justly discourage him but all others to Serue the Company Soe Constantly Sincerly and faithfull as he has hitherto done.,

But if frome a Just and Generous Sense thereof the Company shall readily Condesend to this; it will Intirely oblige Mr Paterson to adapt himself and what euer hee is or shall bee Capable of to the Companys Seruice and disposition

Endorsed a Caledonian Lett^r Claims by MR PATERSON Darien Exp

CALEDONIA HARBOUR Decem^r 29th 1698.

Dear S^r,—I shall be extreamly satisfyd to understand that you have Lived to Recieue that Credite and hon^r which is your Due for yor Indefatigable and unwearyed Supporting of this Designe and me in the promoting of thereof You know the Difficultys we mett with and now its Gone soe far that what ever Comes of it for the future, yet noe small glory will be Duely Attributed to those who haue been the promoters and supporters therof, Its no small Satisfaction to me to see myselfe Restored in Reputation But my Difficultys and Discouragments in Bringing it hitherto has been Almost Insuportablé And to add to all the Rest it hath pleased God to take from me in this voyage my Dear and most Intirely beloved wife this has been a great breaking to my Spirits, but it has pleased God—even under this Afflection to support me, and the loss of our Ministers is no small Griefe and trouble and I Intreat Doe what you Can to send us others for, we are in a Sad Condition for want of some I have noe time now to write the publicke hauing taken me soe much up of Late, But Major Cunningham and Mr Alexander are bound home with these Dispaches to them I Refer you to be Informed in all things as also to the Councells Dispaches pray Let me hear from you by all occasions and from henceforwd I hope not to fail writing to you Excuse me for not writing to frends but I hope to make them Amends by the nixt occasion which I Expect suddenly.—I am, Yo^r Real frend and Humble Ser^t

WILLM PATERSON.

The Major will be able to Informe you all maters Distnk^y as being one of us

Addressed

For
Mr WILLM DUNLOPE
principale of the
Collodge of Glasgow

LETTERS FROM ALEXR. SHIELDS.

PORT ROYALL August 18: 1699.

Sir,—My last to you was from Boston; whence I came with a small vessell loaden with provisions intending for the supply of the Colony at Caledonia, since which time I have been on that Coast, but came after the place was deserted, and demolished after such a shameful manner as can scarce be paraleled, providence ordered, that I should meet w^t the St Andrew run ashore at the Bernardo 12L: to the Leeward of Carthagena; its true the Company was very sickly and weak, but yet I could not impute it to that, but the ill management of those in command; I had much adoe to perswade them to save the shipe tho the Loss of the ship there, must also have necessitate the loss of their Liberty; if not Lives; I my self, and sundry of my Company gave them all the assistance I could, both in sailing the ship, and supplyeing them with any provision they wanted, and by the help of god brought them safe to Jamaica near Bluefields. To speak modestly thers not a man on board that ship so far as I can judge capable of that Charge, Captaine Colline Campbell is here, and indeavours for men to get the ship brought hither, and some Credit for supplying necessars. Doctor Blair who is the only man of a friend here, that can supply him is sick; so that he cannot be presently resolved, we hear of some ships about Caledonia with new Supplies, but whither they will adventure to resetle the place we doe not yet hear; if any Capable person had the management of the ship to get her hither safe, there would be much Less difficulty to obtaine Credit for supplyeing necessars; and I presume to say if the Company doe not take care to intrust their ships with men of Experience, and honesty; they may expect to see few of ym return. I give my mind freely, and is no more then I have often said to those in the St Andrew, Livetenant Lothian

who is now comeing home, can give a full Account of all, so I put ane end to this unpleasing Relation, and with due respects to your self, Lady

Port Royal 1699
ALEX SHIELDS

The next—after an interval—and the loss of one or more letters is, from on board the Rising Sun in Caledonia Bay.

Dec. 25. 1699.

Rev. Sir,—I wrote to you from Montserrat giving you account both of our grievances in respect of the wickedness of our Society and some foolish mismanag^ts as to our scant and bad provisions &c. The Lords truly contending with us in a raging Contagious sickness wch very few escaped and whereby many were cutt off among whom the Laird of Dunlop and Capt. Wallace were most lamented And of our Comforts and Mercies in ye midst of all these Grievances in ye favour of the weather &c. These heads I resume because I doubt if thet Line hath come to your hands observing how averse the English are to do us any Service or kindness For when at Montserrat Mr Byres and some Officers visited ye Governor and desired a little wood and Water and some fresh provisions He absolutely denied and discharged it and alledged he had orders not only to Refuse all Supply and Incourag^t to this Colony but to secure their persons if they came in his way however he was so kind as to let yem go Yet we venture to send our Letters w^t the English (until we shall settle a Correspondence other wayes) hoping they will not all be so Barberous Our passage from Montserrat was tedious by reason of westerly winds when we made the Coast of Peru and frequent calms And very sorrowful by reason of Mortality burying three or four every day I cannot yet send ye List of yem but in our fleet yey will amount to about 150 Among the Rest we lost our dear Brother Mr Alex: Dalgleish who died of a fever Nov. 16. His Relict must return with the hired Ships. And we must recommend her to your Care and the Compassion of the Company

The Occasion wherewith I venture this Letter (a Jamaica Sloup come hither to catch Turtle and Manatee knowing nothing of our being here) is so uncertain and withal so surprising being so suddenly to depart When we came to Cape Tuberon on this side the Gulf of Darien there came on board of us some Indians who talked much of Caledonia and named some Captains that they had seen yere and called yem their Bon-Comerads. We not understanding their Language imagined they were telling all good things of the Colony Only it grieved me to hear yem parotting the Language of our Countrymen in Cursing and Swearing wch were the only words they had of our Language Of wch sort of prate we have heard a great deal more since But when we arrived at yis Bay Nov. 30. we found our Mistake and what we were told at Montserrat and what

I feared all aways too true yat ye Colony was deserted We came first to an Anchor in Caret bay and thence sent off our pinnace w^{t} Mr Hamiltoun yt had been there before to reconnoitre the Condition of our Settlement wondering that none came out to us The Pinnace coming up to ye point opposite to Golden Island discovered tuo Sloups in the Bay but no Ships They durst go no further but went yrough ye woods up to ye top of the hill where the Look-out used to be And from yence saw plainly yere was no people in the place where the Fort was nor any vestige Left of a Fort but thick Groves of Trees After yeir return with this Melancholy Account we spent near a week before we got up to the place. In wch time four or five of the Ships Crew went off with the Longboat without orders. And coming to the Mouth of the Bay the Sloups hoisted out Spanish Colours And pursuing and firing at our Longboat the Men without Arms yeelded to yem when yey came on board the Sloups They were found to be Scotchmen One Commanded by Capt. Tho: Drummond who also hired the other at St Thomas wch was come from New England with some litle provision belonging to Mr Porterfield and Mr Fulton both Scotch Westcountrymen Capt. Drummond and the Mate of his Sloup were our pilots into ye Bay Passing the Seen Rocks in ye middle we sat down upon a hidden Rock and could not get off for 3 or 4 hours If yr had been a Gale it had been very dangerous I need not tell you how we were affected to find a waste houling wilderness in stead of a Colony and how our grief was increased when we were informed by Capt. Drummond of the Cause of ye desertion And by others (that have been well intertained all this time among the Indians) what befell Jamesons Ship that was burnt while Jameson and his Mate were cutting others throats for a whore It was much debated whether under all our descourag^{ts} we should resettle or not yet it carried we should And whether any thing should be attempted by way of Reprisall ag^{t} the Spaniards while they keep so many of our Countrymen Prisoners But the Motion was rejected and became the Spring and foment of Jealousies and animosities wch prevail too much among many here Last week a plot was discovered to kill ye Councellors seize ye Ships &c for wch One Alex: Campbel was hanged who confessed a design to seize the Ships and that he was entyced by one Eus: Spark and those that witnessed ag^{t} him but denied that of killing the Councellors. Upon some jealousies (the Grounds whereof I am not acquainted w^{t}) Capt. Drummond was put in Arrest confined to his own Hutt. Capt. Ker Ingeneer and his brother Mr Hamiltoun that came from yis Colony with Aicket, Mr Mill our Stewart and some others were imprisoned. A few dayes ago Some Rascalls in ye night time ran away with our pinace And for several nights together Some keeping Guard a shoar on the ground of the Fort have deserted. As we suppose intyced by an Irishman yat lives here among the Indians on a design to form a Society to Live by Rapine. Those are part of our Vexations at ye time wch

are very trying and perplexing But the worst of all is the Licencious and uncontrolable wickedness of the Universality of us Seamen and Landmen Officers and Souldiers that under all these Afflictions and Rebukes from God is growing more and more Insolent and desperate We endeavoured to exoult our Conscience at Sea both in Publick and private Reproofs but with litle effect We distributed then to the Most of the Officers the printed Letters of the Commission of ye Church which were Litle regarded by many When we arrived Mr Borland Mr Stobo and I meeting in ye woods And Consulting our Instructions and considering our Circumstances we judged it necessary duty to propose a day to be kept for thanksgiving and humiliation together We drew the Causes. And with the Commissions Letter and our General Instructions proposed them to the Councell who intertained yem well enough but delayed the appointing of the day until the Hutts be all built and all the men go ashoar to possess them for as yet we lie all on board the Ships except a few yat keep guard a shoar Upon that account also and until we know how many and who they shall be that shall be sent away with the hired Ships to ease the Colony and save provisions We have delayed the general distributing of the printed Letters as Likewise the erecting of our Presbyterie and ye yings to follow upon it till we be all a shoar We shall yrough Grace endeavour and Assay what is duty but have a prospect of insuperable difficulties and litle hope of doing any good among this people Yea we know not how or where to find among them a Competent number of Elders of any Note or figure Dear Sir I was alwayes of the Mind and I fear the Company will at length find it too well grounded that the sending and Entrusting so many men Sine Delectu and without enquiring into their Principles and Practice or proofs of their Integrity would be hath been and may hereafter be the Ruine of this Settlement As for the Indians we have as litle hopes of doing any good among them We find yem indeed an Affectionate Innocent and Simple People and inclined to Peaceableness w^t all men And (contrary to what we heard in Scotland) intertaining peace actually both with the Spaniards and French and every body that comes We find also that yey have been much obliged to our Countrymen that were here before us in being furnished not only with Shirts and Linnen (which they have been taught to buy very Cheap for a few Oranges or Plantains) but with the Companies Arms Spades Hatchets and all manner of tools which now they have in abundance in every house But they have been both much abused and injured by our Rascalls cheating them and stealing from them And scandalized and stumbled by seeing the Profanity of our People teaching yem to Lie and Curse and Swear It seems they had never observed any difference among our People between the Sabbath and any other day For some of them came a board of us with their Fruits and Trade on the Sabbath Our People were going to buy I cried out against it And made signs that this day was for devotion and bid

them go away and come again another day They obeyed For yis I was invectively reflected upon by some as offending ye Indians and scaring them away from us upon a wild Caprice Yet they returned as before And the Next Sabbath I intertained yem and engaged them to sit with us all the time of worship which they did with very great decency and reverence tho' they understood not. We purpose to put our Young Expectants to try what they can Learn of our Language We are at a Loss that Mr Johnson that projected an Indian School died at Sea Among the rest of our troubles tho' we have few wives yet some of them are very uneasy Mistress Stobo will needs go home and will have her husband with her We cannot for the time yeeld to this but would fain encourage one another to wrestle out the difficulties of the first year Until we see the Settlement in some hopeful way of Standing And something like the beginning of a Church planted But if the Lord spare me till my year be out I must of necessity return. This is my first warning I am sorry that I have Spent all my paper in a rehearsal of our Grievances And have no time nor Place to enlarge upon our Encouragements But in a word I am Confident there is not a better more fruitful or richer Spot of Ground in all America than this yat we are upon Of which more pr next.—I am Rev. Sir Your Bro: and Servant ALEXANDER SHEILDS

From on Board the Rising Sun in CALEDONIAN BAY Feb. 2. 1700.

Reverend Sir,—I omitt no opportunity: tho' this may seem superfluous to write, when two Ships are going home from this place, that can give you fuller and more particular accounts: But I am resolved to fulfill my Promise, as hitherto I have endeavoured. I wrote to you from Montserrat of the date Nov. 9. And from this place Decr 25. Giving you some account, of the wickedness of our Society, and our great sickness the punishment thereof, whereby about 150 of our fleet died, among the rest Your Cosing Dunlop and our Dear Brother Mr Alexander Dalgleish, whose wife now returns, and must be recommended to your kindness; And of our sad Disappointment at our Arrival, finding our Colony deserted; and the Murmurings and Mutinyings that followed upon that, when it was resolved we should resettle The Mutinee and plot, wherein it seems only some Planters, and Seamen, and Officers of no great Note, were Concerned, was soon crushed. For tho' Some of our Councellors suspected Capt. Thom. Drummond, one of the former Councellors, who came hither with two sloups from New-York, and Capt. Ker Engineer, and some other Gentlemen, as some way accessory to it, and thereupon imprisoned them; yet they could not make out any thing of that Nature against them, howbeit on some other heads and more private Concerns, which I know not and do not enquire into, they keep them still in prison. But our Murmurings still continue and encrease among all sorts: having formed in their minds too big

Ideas of mountains of Gold, and Nicoragua wood growing upon them, and no preconceptions of sweating, and working, with the pinching allowance of a Litle Stinking Saltbeef, and rotten meal &c and finding themselves confoundedly disappointed, this makes many of them desperate. Some have run to the Spaniards to be slaves: Nine Sea men, Grecians, Italians, English, and Scotch, run away with our pinnace to Portobel, where they are prisoners: About half a score or a dozen others have deserted, we know not whither, among the Indians remote from us: Others have been brought back and punished by whipping: And some Hunger forced to return. Upon the same Discontents, several Gentlemen got a forloff to go to Jamaica with others that were sent in a sloup that was here catching Turtle, in which we sent our Last Letters from Scotland: We have waited now upwards of five weeks for their return, expecting with them some provisions, and encouragement for Trade, but have heard no word of them, and do fear some Misfortune, or Treacherie, or that the Sloup is imbargoed and inhibited to return; upon the account of the Kings Interdict, or their National Antipathy, or Buccaneerish Malice against us, or their private resentments of particular Injuries, done to some of them trading here, by those that were here before us, which we hear were both base and foolish. Yet for all this, we are now to send off with these hired ships, that bring our Letters, a great many Gentlemen, Volunteers, and Invalides, to Jamaica; not knowing what entertainment they shall have, or how they may be disposed of: which some think a dangerous Risk; yet it is thought necessary for saving Provisions, which we find come short of what they were calculate to, even to the one half, (many things not Ansuering the Envoys, and many things being altogether damnified,) and will be very soon exhausted: And it is resolved on to entertain only 400 Land men, and 100 Seamen. We have indeed too many men; which are rather a burden than useful to the Colony. So many of them being too Gentle to work: Tuo or three hundred Blacks, might do more service than all of them. We cannot give a good account, what we have done since we came here. We had litle to work with, wanting Tools and Instruments, and wanting both heart and Art and skill: And we have done as Litle. All our performances for these tuo Moneths, being summed up in Clearing the Fort, that was all of new overgrown with trees, and remounting some Batteries that were all burnt doun, and building hutts for ye men, which are not yet compleated: The Ministers have not yet a hutt built for them. As for our Ecclesiastical work, there is likewise very Litle done in that; nor can be done among perverse men, that will not submit to our Ministry, and so many wild Highlanders, that seem to be a third part of our number, that are more Barbarous than the Indians, and many of them do no more understand our Language than they. But we are taken up in visiting the Sick, which are very many, and preaching, tuo of us

a shoar, and one aboard, every Lords day *per vices*. On the 3d of January last we kept a day for Solemn thanksgiving for our Preservation, for Humiliation for former and present Sins and Miseries, and for Prayer for Mercies. It was a Grief of heart that so few countenanced it. Thereafter on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, dayes of January, we travelled among the Indians, who were civil enough to us after their manner. At night, before we went to our Hammocks, we performed Public exercise of worship in their houses, in which they sate silently, devoutly, and reverently, as they do alwayes when they come to our Sermons. There might be some hope of doing good among them if we had the Language, or any Interpreter, and if our peoples Practise did not scandalize yem, by teaching them to swear and Curse, and by Stealing and robbing from them, which they frequently complain of, and for which they have threatened revenge. Some of your Instructions we find impracticable in our present Circumstances, as that of dividing the Inhabitants of the Colony into Paroches that each of us might have a particular Charge, that of holding Parochiall Sessions and Dyets of Presbytrie, that of Labouring among the Natives, having none that can speak either Indian or Spanish. Other things recommended to us we have delayed, upon the account of the Circumstances of the Colony. We have delivered a great many of the Commissions Printed Letters, both at Sea, and since our Arrival, but have delayed distributing the rest, until we see who shall go with the hired Ships, and who shall stay; as also the Constituting ourselves a presbytrie, and ordaining Elders, until the Colony be better formed, and we have some Accommodation made for our Meeting. But we fear when we have set it up, it will not stand long nor the Colony neither. Tuo things will ruine this Colony, Wickedness and Mismanagements. Their wickedness is insupportable, and incorrigible, tho' the Lord hath plagued us sore for it, and is still smiting, and threatening to make many Carcases fall in this wilderness; Above 130 are Sick a shoar, and about 40 or 50 are dead already: Occasioned by their sore working, bad victuals, ill Lying, some eating Manchinell Apples, and drinking too much unwholsome water, which finding near the Fort, they would not be at the pains to go a quarter of a mile, where there is very good water. Our Councellors are very slack in punishing and repressing abounding wickedness, excepting Theft, which hath come to a shameful hight among us; Some Gentlemen have been convict of it, and whipt for it by the hand of the Hangman. As for Drunkenness, (so long as we had strong Drink) Swearing &c. those that should punish others, cannot acquitt themselves. I need not give you a Character of C. G. He is the old man, and seldom or never comes near a Sermon. Maj. L. is more sober, but fitter to execute then give Lawes. Mr B. is intolerably Insolent and bitter: I never suffered so much contempt from any man; which I have taken the freedom to represent to Col. Areskin. The only encouragement we have, is

from C. V. who is both wise and honest, but cannot get things done alone. Their Managements I do not pretend to pass a judgment upon, nor can I give a good account of them, their Designs and Consults being kept very Close from me. But it seems very strange, that of all the things that I thought should have been principally promoted for settling a Colony, not one of them is touched: No Trade sought, either with Europeans or Indians: None sent to search the Country, for precious wood, or Gold, or Silver whereof there may be enough for any thing we know: No planting, or Clearing the Ground, for sowing and seting things, so much as aimed at: And no Reprisal attempted against the Spaniards; tho' they have still many of our prisoners, and two taken since we came here, and on the 15th of January Last, they sent a Sloup to the Mouth of our Bay, to reconnoitre our Posture and Strength, wch some think a Sign of an intended Attack upon us, and the Indians give frequent Alarms of it. Some of ourselves have proposed it again and again, And Capt. Ambrosio, Pedro and Corber, Indians, have pressed to send a party with their men, not to attack any place of Strength, but to Surprise Sta Maria, or Seize on some Spanish Priests: Yet all this was not regarded, but rejected in ridicule. In fine, Maj. L. and Mr B. ever since they found themselves disappointed at first, have been still fretting at the Settlement, and representing it, (as no doubt they will do in their Letters) as untenable, and not likely to come to any good account. But I humbly differ from their opinion, being perswaded, there is not a Settlement in ye West Indies more convenient for a Plantation, or that in a few years would yeeld a Richer Trade either for Suggars, Precious wood, or Minerals, or any Commodity that comes from this part of the world; if we had the Patience, and Resolution, Art, and Activity, that other men have. My heart is grieved to see things, tending to the Loss and Ruine of such an Interest. We are resolved to wait some Litle time, for Supplies of provisions from Scotland. But if they come not within two Moneths, I believe, before the Third be out, the Colony will break up and be gone. If supplies come in time, we may settle and maintain the Colony, if right Measures be followed: And in that Case, we that are Ministers are determined to stay out our year; tho' we had Difficulty to perswade Mr Stobo's wife to submitt to this. She was very uneasy, and addressed the Council for Liberty to return with her husband, with these Ships: They told they would keep none of us, that had a mind to go: But we refused to give him a Testimonial, till he had fulfilled his Mission, tho' acknowledging he deserves the best Testimonial, go when he will: Now she acquiesces, and we have all very Loving and peaceable Consortship together. We have written a joynt Letter to the Commission, advertising them, that if the Colony remain we will stay out our year, but no Longer: Resolving then, if the Lord preserve us, all three to go home. But we shall endeavour to admitt the young men, to preach to the people, before

we go; And to get yem put in some capacity to Learn the Indian Language. Pardon my tediousness, and help me with your Prayers, for we have great of them. Give my service and thankful respects to your Lady, and Children, And to the Ministers, and to Mr. John Loudoun: Please to tell him, his brother is not here, but gone with the rest before our Arrival, but I have seen them that knew him, and said he was weill when he went off.—I am, Rev. Sir, Your unworthy Brother and Servant in the Work of the Gospel,

ALEXANDER SHEILDS.

I can get no account of Mr Kelso, there were very many of them sick when they went off.

CALEDONIA Feb. 26 1700.

Rev. Sir,—This opportunity is offered by way of surprise and therefore obliges to brevity I have two Letters for you with Particular Accounts of all our Circumstances lying on board but dare not Venture them with this. Capt. Campbell of Balnabbe arrived here Feb. 11. with provisions. Immediately yereafter on Feb. 15. we entered in blood with the Spaniards beat up yeir Camp (fortified wt a brestwork) consisting of 300 or 400 with 200 of ours Feb. 23 Their Barievento fleet came on within our bay to an Anker within Golden Island about eleven Sail great and Small It is thought some of them are French We been expecting and preparing for their Attack ever since It seems they are not ready yet or design a Blockade We must depend on God for the Issue and are resolved to abide all extremities in his Strength I am in hast yrough mercy in health.—Rev. Sir, Ywr Bro: & Servant

ALEXANDER SHEILDS

This comes by Capt. Thomas Drummond who takes his life in his hands to venture out.

RECEIPT, AND MEMORANDUM, AMONG THE PRINCIPAL'S LETTERS.

For
MR WILLM DUNLOPE
principale of the Colledge of Glasgow,
at Edinburgh

I Mr Thomas Cadyon Student of Theologie Grante me to have received from Mr Wm Dunlop principall of the Colledge of Glasgou the sum of fourty shillings sterling in order to my equippment for my voyage to Caledonia wt the ships that are to sail thither at this time

Green-oak August 18 1699 THO: CADYON.

	Sterl
Supposeing 1000 men may be at Darien	
The Least can be allowed each man a week Is a peck of meal a week or yrby wich makes a litell mor as 3 bolls a year which Is 3000 bolls in all & at 8ⁿ bolls Is	2000 : 0 : 0
And If yis much were secured & sent away at severall tymes & by veshells dropt in on after another wold make it easie at hom & mor refreshfull to ym abrod. Bot in regard they at Darien may purchase pattatoes yams & other roots, & Indian corne I reckon upon a pinch & necessity 2900 bolls meall may serve 2000 men for a year	
next Its necessar now in the season to secure 1000 barells of Beaff at lest 6 or 800 qch at 25ˢ per Barell Is - - - -	£1200 : 0 : 0
3 To secure 200 or 300 bolls pees qch at 8ⁿ pr boll Is - -	£0200 : 0 : 0
&	

No. XV.

NOTES ON SCOTTISH COSTUME IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

ROBERT BRYDALL, F.S.A.Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 18th January, 1900.*)

For even a brief review of the subject of Mediæval Costume in Scotland, the authoritative or contemporaneous sources to be drawn upon are almost entirely limited to the recumbent monumental effigies of the country, many of which have long ago disappeared, while of those which still exist, a great number are so defaced that only portions of the details can be seen. In England, in addition to a larger quantity, including a much greater variety, of these interesting sculptures, there are very numerous examples of beautiful and well-preserved brasses, besides illuminated romances and such MSS. as those in the Royal and Harleian collections, in which the changes in costume can be followed tolerably clearly almost from the date of the Norman conquest. On that account we only have examples in Scotland representing the dresses of the higher class of the people, whose wealth and position were the means of causing their portraits to be perpetuated in commemorative sculpture, while the almost uniform custom of representing the male figures in armour, leaves the civil costumes of the period to be very much a matter of conjecture.

When we take into consideration the conditions existing between

Scotland and England at, and for some time after, the date of Queen Margaret, when the organisation of the church with its prelates, and its architecture, was very largely imported from England, it may be tolerably safe to assume that the costume of the upper classes at least was identical, or nearly so, with that of England. That the state dresses of the Scottish nobles were of great splendour, as well as those of England and France, we have evidence in the account of the marriage of Alexander III. at York, by Mathew Paris, in which he reprobates the richness of the dresses worn upon the occasion.

The seals of our early kings and the few Scottish effigies of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries have their prototypes in those of England. The great seal of Alexander I. shows the costume of that king corresponding very closely to that which is shown upon the Bayeaux tapestry; the differences on the seal consist of the absence of a nasal piece on the helmet, a skirt instead of short wide breeches, and rather longer sleeves. The mail is shown as rings sewn upon leather; the flag with its three pennons also appears in the same form on the tapestry, as well as the top, which is all that is visible, of the Norman-shaped shield. The seal of Alexander II. is in the costume of the period between Alexander I. and that of one or two of the effigies in the Temple Church in London; the shield shows a change of form between the kite and the heater shape, being only slightly rounded at the top, and the military sleeveless surcoat is worn over the close-fitting coat of mail. In the seal of John Baliol the surcoat is shorter; the shield has become quite angular at the top; the helmet completely encloses the head; and the trappings of the horse show how rapidly the display of heraldic decoration had developed.

Of about the period of the Bruce, the dress is illustrated by the effigies of Alan, Lord of Galloway, in Dundrennan Abbey, who was Constable of Scotland in 1233; Stewart of Menteith in the priory church of Inchmahome, the good Sir James of Douglas in Douglas Kirk, and two or three others. Showing that the Norman military costume had penetrated as far north as Dornoch, we have the effigy there of Sir Richard Moray who was slain in 1246.

As by far the greatest number of our effigies belong to the fifteenth century, it is during that period that we get the clearest idea of the form of the costumes worn by the ladies, nobles, knights, and ecclesiastics in Scotland. Brief notices in the *Exchequer Rolls* of the time give some idea of the materials used for dresses. Among these fine furs occupy an important place, and in the Middle Ages were more freely used in England than in France. Referring to the prehistoric fauna of Scotland, Dr. Munro in his recently published book quotes a Welsh document of the ninth century giving the prices of the skins of the martin, the otter, and beaver; and gives the evidence of Hector Boece to show that the beaver existed in Scotland in the fifteenth century; while Bellenden in his translation says that there were "mony martrikis, bevers, quhitredis, and toddis, the furrings and skynnis of thayme are coft with great price amang uncouth merchandis." Possibly the Scotch furs were not sufficient in quantity, or they were inferior in quality to those imported from the Continent, as such importations are frequently mentioned in the *Rolls* along with other fine materials for dress. Thus, in 1430 there were purchased in Flanders for the use of the king, two mantels—that is, a certain number of skins, usually sixty, from the German word *mandel*—of backs of martins, along with twenty-four ells of purple velvet at eighteen shillings the ell. Furs are mentioned in 1450 for the king, queen, and the queen's sister, consisting of beaver, budge, christigray, letys, and mennytvare (minniver); two mantles made of sable appear at an earlier date; while in 1458 other two of minniver, also for the king's use, were bought at a cost of six pounds, two shillings. In 1456 payment was made for cloth and fur for the Lady Mary, daughter of King James II. In 1450 the royal tailor was paid for supplying the king with garments of wool, linen, silk, etc.[1] About the same date Andrew Balfour was paid forty shillings and ten pence for furnishing the king with a robe or skirt and leggings. At the siege of Methven he had sent to him a doublet,

[1] "Pannis laneis, lineis, cericis, foderaturis, et aliis diversis rebus et bonis." In the thirteenth century more particularly, Bruges, from which many pieces of silk were imported for royal use in Scotland, was the principal mart for that fabric.

mantle, hood, shirt, a pair of leggings, and a pair of hose (?) at a cost of three pounds, two shillings and seven pence.[1] Other entries of course occur at various dates, such as fustian for a doublet for the king's gown at his marriage in 1447; grey cloth for a mantle; cloth of silk, of taretyr,[2] of silk damask, and black woollen cloth for his gown. Silk cloth was repeatedly bought in Flanders, and from the same place, also for the king's use, a gold collar with gems and pearls, a neck jewel called *ouche*, a gold chain, a piece of blue velvet, numerous pearls, a black silk girdle, and a gold signet ring, the latter at a cost of eight pounds. A curious entry occurs in the year 1447 of fifty-five shillings for grey cloth for a Minorite's habit to "Fratre Henrico Bowle," sold the next day for ready money; and fifty-three shillings and four pence were paid to Lachlan M'Gillane, Torkil M'Nele, Tarlan M'Archer, and Duncan Persoun, for a hood, coat, leggings, etc., for the Earl of Ross, the royal expenditure on account of the earl being thus one shilling and eight pence less than the value of the grey cloth for the Minorite's habit. White and grey were evidently what were worn by the poor who were recipients of the king's bounty, as in 1459 there is a sum of twelve pounds, nine shillings and seven pence, "*pro panno albo et gresio ad vestimenta pauperum.*"

Connected with the free use of furs in the early dresses, there are two allusions in the old romance of *Sir Tristram* attributed to Thomas the Rhymer; "a scarlet with riche skinne"—that is, a scarlet robe lined with fur—is mentioned; and further on is—

> "Ysonde of heighe priis,[3]
> The maiden bright of hewe
> That wered fow and griis[4]
> And scarlet that was new."

At the beginning of the sixteenth century in the *Chamberlain's Accounts* there are two curious entries; one of them referring to John Davidne,

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[1] "pro pannis laneis et lineis pro factura unius purponis, unius mantelli, unius capuccii, unius camisie, unius paris caligarum, et unius paris ocrearum." The lining of the hood was sometimes stitched into a pattern.

[2] Sometimes referred to as "cerica dicto taretyr," possibly Chinese or other eastern kind of silk.

[3] Praise. [4] Fur and grey.

Dunbar's *Fenyit Friar of Tungland*—is for "twenty one elne of red taffeta and blue, quhilk was sax dansing cotes in Maister John's dans, and three pounds ten shillings for five elne of blue taffeta to the woman's goune in the said dans." The other entry refers to the beard of King James IV., the length of which was remarked upon by the English herald at the King's marriage in 1503 with Margaret Tudor; and it suggests a merry pleasant picture of the fair young queen, who was then only fourteen years of age, superintending part of the king's toilette on the day after the marriage, when payment is entered "for twenty five elne cloth of gold to the Comitass of Surry of Ingland, quhen sche and her dochter, Lady Gray, clippit the King's berde, and for fifteen elne of damas gold by the King's commande to the said Lady Gray of Ingland."

That there was no lack of jewels and jewelled dresses at the Scottish Court, we have evidence in the inventory of the valuables of King James III. Among various articles which are enumerated, there may be noticed as being more closely connected with costume, "a collar of gold made with elephants and a grate hingur at it"; other collars of gold, chains, "ouches" of gold set with diamonds, and numerous jewelled rings. In the Queen's closet were "gottin a braid belt of blak damas, hernisset with gold; a frete of the quenis owne set with grete perle, set in fouris and fouris;[1] a ruf and pendiclis of purpir tarter; a pair of metingis[2] for hunting"; and collars of gold, jewelled and otherwise ornamented.

Of the royal dress of the fifteenth century we have a fine example in the very beautiful Trinity Church altar-piece now in Holyrood Palace. It was painted about the year 1480 by one of the masters of the early Flemish school, which was about that time at its highest point of excellence, and contains, with other figures, portraits of King James III. and his consort Margaret of Denmark. The queen is kneeling in front of a trestle desk draped with red, on which is placed a gold tasselled black cushion supporting a book of hours. She wears a close-fitting bodice of red cloth of silk and gold over a dark blue robe, with an ermine-lined mantle of a dark blue material similar to the robe, which, like

[1] Probably the fret or caul for enclosing the hair. [2] Mittens.

Margaret of Denmark, Queen of James III.

the bodice, is trimmed with ermine. Over the shoulders, and reaching in front as low as the waist, is a kind of yoke or pall of cloth with gems; The necklace has two rows of pearls connected by oval-shaped jewels, to which is attached a trefoil of gold set with rubies, having a large pear-shaped pendant; the thumb of the right hand crosses that of the left, and she wears no rings. The hair is tightly drawn back off the face, and is enclosed in a crespine richly embroidered with pearls, which is surmounted by a jewelled crown. The head-dress is an exceedingly beautiful example of the fashion prevailing at that time throughout Europe, and was variously termed a crepine, crespine, crespinette, creton, crestine, tresson, dorelet, fret, or caul, at different periods; it was usually formed of gold or silver lace or fine wire set with chased and jewelled ornaments, and within this the hair was tightly bandaged. With varying changes in the form it was in use during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the course of which it sometimes took the most extravagant shapes; after a short decadence in the reign of Henry IV. of England, it reappeared with crescent-like projections over the forehead, increasing in absurdity, till an enormous pair of horns developed on each side of the head. It is mentioned in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*:

"A fret of golde she had next her hair";

in a fourteenth century romance entitled *The King of Tars*, it is mentioned as "a comely calle"; and in the *Roman de la Rose*, Pygmalion, in trying the various dresses on his Galatea, is described as putting on "the crespine, with a most costly fastening, and over the crespinette a coronet of gold, richly beset with precious stones." Coming nearer home we have in the *King's Quhair* the beautiful description of Jane Beaufort with

"her lytill hound,
That with his belles, playit on the ground,"

she wearing

"her golden hair and rich atyre,
In fretwise couchit with the perllis quhite

And grete balas[1] lemying[2] as the fyre
With mony ane emerant and faire sapphire;
And on hir hede a chaplet fresch of hewe,
Of plumys partit rede, and quhite, and blewe.

. . . . . .

About hir nek, quhite as the fyre amaille,[3]
A gudely cheyne of smale orfeverye,
Quhareby there hung a ruby without faille,[4]
Lyke to ane hert schapen verily,
That as a sperk of lowe,[5] as wantonly
Semyt birnying upon hir quhite throte."

Dunbar in his *Garmond of Gude Ladies* gives a kind of inventory of the parts of the dress of a lady of his time. It enumerates a hood "upoun hir heid to weir"; a white "sark hir body next"; a kirtle[6] laced and adorned with "mailyhais" or spangles; her gown was to be "weil ribband," purfled, and trimmed with fur in "fyne fassoun"; a belt "about hir middle meit"; a mantle "to tholl baith wind and weit"; a hat, tippet, patelet,[7] and neck ribbon; gloves "to hyd hir fyngearis feir"; with shoes and hose.

In the figure of the Lady Beatrice Sinclair, wife of James "the Gross," seventh Earl of Douglas, one of the most beautiful and the best preserved of all our monumental effigies, we have a splendid example of the dress of a Scottish lady of high degree of the first half of the fifteenth century. It corresponds with the costume which was worn in England about the same period. The crespine is different in form from that of the queen, and is somewhat like one given by Stothard of about 1408; it also resembles one on an English brass of about 1407, but the

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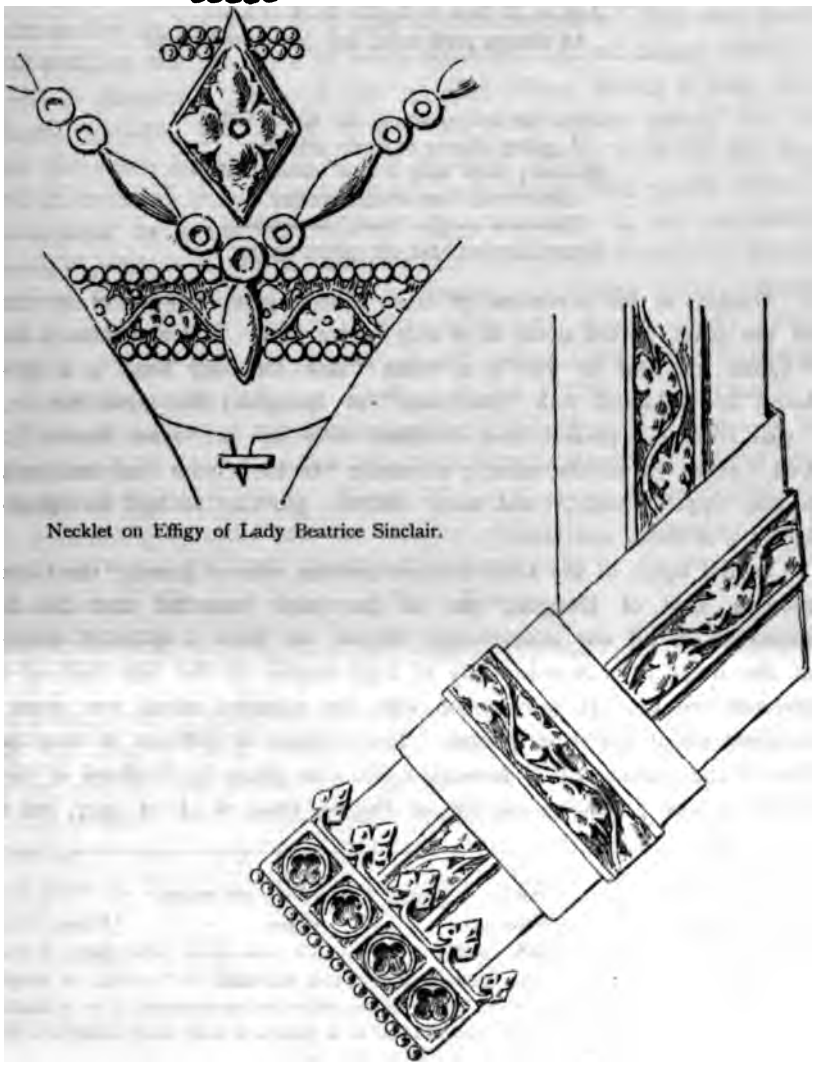
[1] *Baleris*, Latin; *balais*, French; a species of ruby of a red colour.

[2] Gleaming. [3] Enamel. [4] Flaw. [5] Flame.

[6] What is meant by the kirtle of this period has not been made quite clear; it seems to have been an under garment or dress often of as rich materials as the robes or mantles, which latter were sometimes put off by the ladies either for convenience or as a mark of humility. It seems also to have been applied to a jacket, a skirt, and sometimes both. See Planche's *Cyclopedia of Costume*.

[7] Supposed to mean a small ruff.



Necklet on Effigy of Lady Beatrice Sinclair.

End of girdle on Effigy of Lady Beatrice Sinclair.

latter has a broad gauze addition, as was the fashion of the time, supported by wires, and often taking extraordinary shapes. The mantle suspended from the shoulders was in use for as long a period as the head-dress; but the method of wearing it here is rather uncommon, as it is evidently kept in position by some underneath arrangement, the cords usually doing so being in this case rather ornamental than useful, not passing across the breast in the usual manner, but passing downwards in the form of an inverted triangle. The long skirted gowns were most frequently made of velvet; the waist girdle usually had a long pendant, and was made of silk, satin, or silk cord, embroidered as in this case, or jewelled; as is to be seen, pearls were very freely used, two double rows encircling the neck, and also appearing on the embroidered cuffs. She wears a ring on the second finger of her right hand.

Other Scottish effigies also of about the middle of the century, such as those at Renfrew and Houston, shew a considerable variation from this Douglas one. The head appears encircled by an embroidered roll or fillet with a slight fringe on the forehead, from which drapery falls down each side of the face over the shoulders; the gown, which is quite plain, is tolerably high up on the neck, and the tight, close-fitting sleeves are represented in accordance with the fashion then prevailing, as having been sewn after they were put upon the arm with a double row of pearls. Both the Houston and the Renfrew ladies wear the peculiar garment reaching to below the waist, without sleeves, which was retained in state dress in England, with variations in the form, for about a hundred and fifty years. For want of a better name, it has been called the sleeveless jacket, and it was always very richly trimmed. It appears on the figure of Blanche de la Tour, daughter of King Edward III. of England, in Westminster Abbey, the date of which is 1340; and among other examples it is seen on the effigy of Jacqueline de Grange, wife of Jean de Montague, of the year 1419.[1] Two effigies of ladies in the church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen may be mentioned as being dressed in a very much plainer manner, and without the sleeveless jacket; they are undated, but evidently belong to the second half of the fifteenth century.

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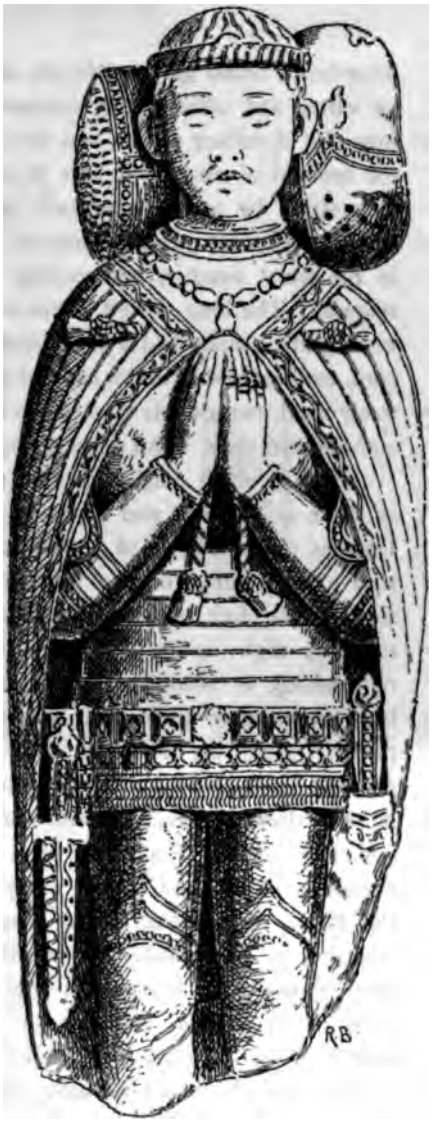
[1] See Planche's *History of Costume* and Fairholt's *Costume in England*.

Lady Beatrice Sinclair, Wife of 7th Earl of Douglas.



James the Gross, 7th Earl of Douglas.

1st Earl of Morton.

Joanna, Countess of Morton, Daughter of James I.

About the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the fantastic fashion of wearing party-coloured dresses was in vogue in England, where it was particularly obnoxious to the clergy and the satirists of the time. A figure from the *Roman de la Rose* given by Fairholt shows a gentleman on which the two sides of the coat and the right and left legs are of different colours, or, as a herald would put it, *party per pale*. We have a suggestion of the same fashion in the dress of the ladies in Henryson's *Testament of Cressid*, where Venus is described as being

> "Clad in ane nice array,
> The ane half greene, the other half sabill blak."

The effigy of Joanna, daughter of King James I. and wife of the first Earl of Morton, which lies along with that of her husband in the old church of Dalkeith, shows how completely the beautiful early costume of a noble lady had disappeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century; the earl died in 1498, and the form of the shields on the armorial parts of the monument suggests that it was erected by his widow. The head-dress, so far as some very faint suggestions of detail remain at the sides, seems to have been of the very simplest kind, but the form of the puffed sleeves, and the long outside sleeves of the mantle are quite perfect. In some examples of English costume of the period these long sleeves were distinct and separate parts of the dress, and were sometimes of a colour different from the garment to which they were attached.

Comparing these few and other illustrations of Scottish dress with the costumes of the ladies of France and England, one is apt to come to the conclusion that the Scottish dresses were less eccentric and not so extravagant in form, especially with regard to the head apparel; but it must be kept in mind that, as already remarked, the authoritative examples of mediæval costumes in Scotland are extremely few compared with those in England. Sumptuary laws, while describing what must not be worn by the middle classes, inversely tell us to some extent something of what was worn by the nobility and gentry. Thus in the year 1429 a law was passed on account of the increasing wealth and luxury of the commercial classes in Scotland, in which it was commanded that neither the wives nor

the servants of commoners should wear long trains, rich hoods or ruffs, purfled sleeves, or costly curches of lawn; and that all gentlemen's wives should take care that their array did not exceed the personal estate of their husbands. For the purpose, it was declared, of preventing the impoverishment of the realm it was ordered that "no man within burgh that lived by merchandise, except he be a person of dignity, as one of the aldermen, or bailies, or other worthy man of the Council of the town, should himself wear, or allow his wife to wear, clothes of silk or costly scarlet gowns, or furring of mertricks"; while all are directed to take especial care "to make their wives and daughters to be habited in a manner correspondent to their estate; that is to say, on their heads short curches, with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries; and as to the gowns, no woman should wear mertricks or letyis, or tails of unbefitting length, nor trimmed with furs except on holidays." Further, "poor gentlemen living in the country whose property was within forty pounds, of old extent, should regulate their dress according to the same standard; whilst among the lower classes, no labourers or husbandmen were to wear on their work days, any other stuff than grey or white cloth, and on holidays, light blue, green, or red, their wives dressing correspondingly and using curches of their own making. The stuff they wore was not to exceed the price of forty pence the ell. No woman was to come to the kirk with her face 'mussalit' or covered, so that she might not be known under the penalty of forfeiting the curch. And as to the clerks, no one was to wear gowns of scarlet, or furrings of mertricks, unless he were a distinguished officer in a cathedral or college church, or a nobleman, or doctor, or a person having an income of two hundred marks." "No person under the rank of a knight, or having less than two hundred marks yearly income, should wear clothes made of silk, adorned with the richer kinds of furs, or embroidered with gold or pearls. The eldest sons or heirs of all knights were permitted to dress as sumptuously as their fathers; and the aldermen, bailies, and town councillors to wear furred gowns, while all others were enjoined to dress themselves in such grave and honest apparel as befitted their station."

About the year 1456 a statute was issued by parliament declaring that "with regard to the dresses worn by earls, lords of parliament, commissaries of burghs, and advocates, at all parliaments and general councils, the earls should take care to use mantles of 'brown granyt,' open in the front, furred with ermine, and lined before with the same; surmounted by little hoods of the same cloth, to be used for the shoulders. The other lords of parliament were directed to have a mantle of red cloth, open in front, and lined with silk, or furred with 'Cristy gray, grece, or purray, with a hood furred in the same manner, and composed of the same cloth'; whilst all commissaries of burghs were commanded to have a pair of cloaks—such is the phrase made use of,—of blue cloth, made to open on the right shoulder, to be trimmed with fur, and having hoods of the same colours. If any earl, lord of parliament, or commissary appeared in parliament, or at the general council, without this dress, he was to pay a fine of ten pounds to the king. All men of law employed and paid as 'forespeakers,' were to wear a dress of green cloth, made after the fashion of a 'tunykill,' or little tunic, with the sleeves open like a tabard, under a penalty of five pounds to the king, if they appeared either in parliament or at general councils without it."[1]

Of the costumes of the early sixteenth century, we have some slight glimpses in the poems of Dunbar. In the *Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* is:

> "Kemmit was thair cleir hair, and curiouslie sched
> Attour thair schulderis doun schyre, schyning full bricht;
> With curches, cassin thame aboue, of krisp cleir and thin;
> Thair mantillis grein war as the gress that grew in May Sessoun."

In another place he speaks of "Sic fowill tailis, to sweip the calsay clene, the dust upskaillis"; and in *The Friars of Berwick*, which is attributed to the same poet, Dame Alison, in the absence of her husband, is described as having

> "clothed her in a gown of finest red,
> A fair white curch she placed upon her head,
> Her other garments like red gold did shine."

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[1] *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, quoted by Tytler.

The recurrence in the *Exchequer Rolls* of the term *purponis*—pourpoint or doublet—recalls Dunbar's address to the queen upon the keeper of her wardrobe, on account of the delay of that functionary in delivering to the poet a velvet doublet which he was ordered to do by her Majesty.

Making some little allowance, as a matter of course, for a certain amount of probable exaggeration in their language, the early satirists often give curious glimpses of the eccentric or fantastic details of the dress of their times. Although very much later than the period under consideration, a brief quotation from Sir David Lindsay may perhaps be permitted:

"Tho' their robe-royals be upborne,
I think it is a very scorn,
That every lady of the land
Should her side-tail sa trelland.[1]

. . . . . .

Where'er they go, it may be seen
How kirk and causeway they sweep clean."

As being connected with the subject, a line may be mentioned in the old ballad of *The Wife of Usher's Well*, in which the carlin wife's three sons "cam hame, and their hats were o' the birk." In an explanatory note to the ballad, Sir Walter Scott implies that this meant a kind of garland of leaves, and quotes a Rabbinical tradition in which a person reappearing on earth from paradise is described wearing a garland on the head. I have read somewhere that hats made of plaited twigs of the birch were worn in Scotland, and in *Peblis to the Play* a young man is mentioned as having, "Ane birkin hat upon his head." In connection with the dress of the peasantry of the first half of the sixteenth century, in *Christ's Kirk on the Green* are the lines:

Thair gluvis war of the raffell richt[2]
Thair schone war of the straitis,
Thair kirtillis war of the lincum licht,[3]
Well prest with mony plaitis."

The altar painting in Holyrood Palace already mentioned has a beautiful portrait of King James III. Like the Queen he kneels in front of a

[1] Should wear her long skirt so trailing. [2] Gloves of roe deer skin.
[3] Lincoln green in popular use.

King James III.

book of hours resting upon a black cushion which is supported by a desk covered with dark blue drapery. He wears a robe of red cloth of silk and gold with brown fur cuffs and a lilac-coloured mantle lined with ermine, over which is an ermine tippet sewn in narrow stripes, and fastened with a very beautiful triangular-shaped jewel from which depend three large pearls. The thumbs of this figure are also crossed.

From Seal of King James II.

The figure of King James II. on his seal gives an idea of the knightly equipment of the time. Of course chain or ringed mail had by this time been quite superseded by armour of plate, and was only seen sometimes at the neck and more frequently at the skirt below the girdle or waist armour. The helmet is barred, and supports a lion as crest; the close-fitting jupon laced tightly over the body bears the Scottish lion embroidered on the breast. The jupon in this form at this date was frequently worn without any armour except an under hauberk of mail;

and it was commonly made of velvet stiffly quilted and richly embroidered. The usual way was to lace it at the back, but there is a fine effigy in the parish church of Cupar in Fifeshire showing the lacing at the left side. The arms and legs would of course be covered with armour, and the tressured lion on the shield and the caparison of the horse show the importance which was then attached to heraldry. The absence of the stirrup must not lead to the assumption that it was not in use, as it was always an indispensable part of the horse furniture.

Behind the queen, and standing on the folds of her mantle, in the Holyrood pictures, is a fine example of a knight, fully armed, with the exception of the helmet. He represents St. George, but on account of his proximity to, and apparent patronage of the Danish princess, has sometimes been assumed to represent Saints Knut, Olaf, or Eric. He is heavily armed as if for the tournament, and wears suspended at his back a kind of pendant formed of leather shaped oak leaves sewn upon red cloth—an unusual and hitherto unexplained appendage. Another curious part is the attachment of two pairs of points, short laces, or tags—*aiguilettes*, as they were called—to the great elbow piece; such points were used for fastening on additional pieces of armour, but as no other piece of armour was used or could be attached at that place, it is probable that they were there used to partially support the shield, so as to allow the freer use of the left hand for governing the horse. There is a nimbus round his head, and at the end of the lance is a pennon *party per pale argent and azure*—being the colours of Our Lady—with the cross of St. George in chief. The great size of the shoulder plate is also to be noticed.

The numerous effigies of knights in armour give excellent illustrations of the military harness which was in use in Scotland; they do not show so great a variety in the form of armour which is seen on the English, French, and Flemish effigies and brasses; and the absence of the pieces of armour known as *tuilles* or *tuilettes*, which were suspended from the *taces* or waist skirt for the protection of the upper part of the legs is to be noticed. It may also be noted that in the Holyrood St. George just described the tuille is very short, and I know of only one effigy in Scot-

St. George (Holyrood Picture).

land on which there are mamillieres for the protection of the openings at the arm-pits. The splendid figure of a knight in the Cathedral of Dunkeld shows very distinctly the form of the *hausse-col* for the protection of the neck and chin; it appears in a similar shape on several others of our effigies, while in England it is less familiar in this form, and is depicted in the paintings of the time of the fourth Edward in a different shape, as a mentoniere.

The effigy of James "the Gross," seventh Earl of Douglas, is a fine example of the armour worn by a Scottish noble in the first half of the fifteenth century. The head rests upon the great jousting helmet; the breast-plate is globular and with the taces or waist-plates covers the hauberk of mail which is shown at the neck and skirt; the girdle is of the usual type, and was generally formed of leather or velvet, upon which were fastened square pieces of gold and silver often enamelled, richly chased, or jewelled; and the lowest of the taces—that below the girdle—is ornamented. There are several rings on the fingers of the left hand. From another Scottish figure closely resembling this we infer that on this example the sollerets on the feet would be slightly pointed.

Our early Scottish literature gives very little information as to details of the military harness. Barbour tells us that at Bannockburn, for instance, the Bruce

> "on his bassynet he bar
> An hat of tyre aboune ay quhair,"

which is explained in another passage further on,

> "And by the crowne that was set
> Alsua upon his bassynet."

Harry the Minstrel, in his description of the arraying of Wallace, gives an interesting picture of a period nearer to his own time than that of his hero:

> "Wallace gan him aray
> In his armour quhilk gudly was and gay.
> His schenand schoys[1] that burnyst was full beyn,
> His leg harnes he clappyt on so clene;

[1] Shining shoes or *sollerets*.

Pullane greis[1] he braissit on full fast;[2]
A close byrny[3] with mony sekyr clasp;
Breyst-plait, brasaris,[4] that worthy was in wer.
Besid him furth Jop couth his basnet[5] ber.
His glitterand glowis[6] grawin on athir sid,
He semyt weill in battaill till abid.
His gud gyrdill, and syne his burly brand."

Prominent in the pages of Scottish history is the figure of the royal favourite Cochrane in his riding doublet of black velvet and gilded armour as he strutted into Lauder Kirk in the year 1482, with "ane greate chain of gold about his neck to the value of five hundred crowns, and ane fair blowing horn in ane reckle[7] of gold, borne and tipped with fine gold at both ends, and ane precious stone called ane buriall[8] hanging at the ends thairof," with his page bearing in front of him his "howmont[9] all overgilt with gold, and swa was all the rest of his harnes." We have only to place the plumed cap on his head, and the rich girdle round his loins with an ornamented dagger at his side, to complete the figure with which the rough Scottish barons decorated the parapet of Lauder Bridge. According to some of our historians, James Hommel, his *vestiarius* or tailor, was hanged at the same time, but the *Exchequer Rolls* show that a "*Jacobo Hommyll, sertori domini regis,*" survived the date of Cochran's death.

Notwithstanding the remarks already made, it is highly probable, if not indeed certain, that the armour worn in Scotland corresponded with that which was worn in England: and there is an instance on record where some Scottish knights had their tilting armour purchased in London. The celebrity of the Continental armourers of Munich, Augsburg, Milan, and other cities created a great demand for their suits from all parts of the north of Europe, and we may assume that comparatively little of the finer class of armour was made in Scotland and England, and even that little was in

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[1] *Poleyn*—knee cap of armour; *greis*—greaves. [2] Firm.

[3] Birny, byrne, bruny, etc.—a species of body armour similar to the hauberk and worn under armour of plate.

[4] Brassarts—for the arms. [5] Bascinet—great head-piece. [6] Gauntlets.

[7] Chain. [8] Beryl. [9] Helmet.

all probability the work of Germans. So great indeed was the celebrity of the German smiths that there are a number of suits in the Armeria Real at Madrid, long credited as having been produced in Spain, which bear the marks of South German armourers. It is to be accepted that part, if not the whole, of a tilting suit was made in Scotland for King David I., and diligent search in the *Exchequer Rolls* might elicit some other entries such as one in the year 1455, in which six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence were paid to "*Johanni Moncure, fabro armorum—de mandato domini*"; but on the other hand we read that in the reign of James I. it was made incumbent upon all Scottish merchants trading with foreign ports, to bring home along with their other cargoes a good store of quilted armour, harness, spears, bows, bowstrings, and arrows. In illustration of the purchase of arms and armour, in the year 1449 twenty pounds were paid to Sir William Cranston, Master of the Stables to James I., for the purchase of bows, lances, and armour (*arcubus, lanceis, et armaturis*); and a further expenditure in the following year for the purchase in Flanders of armour and saddles for the King. The saddle was frequently highly decorated, and in 1445 five shillings were expended for silver for plating and silvering the royal saddle.

As having some bearing upon the subject, it may be of interest to refer to some of the laws of our early times which were passed for the better protection of the country, in which the different classes of the people were defined as to how they were expected to arm themselves. By the statute of King Robert the Bruce of 1318 every gentleman who owned land to the extent of ten pounds, or was possessor of moveable property of the same value, was to provide himself with an acton and steel basnet, gloves of plate, and a sword and spear; those of a lower rank were obliged to possess themselves of an iron jack or back and breastplate of iron, an iron headpiece or knapiskay, and gloves of plate; while every man who possessed the value of a cow was to have a bow and sheaf of twenty-four arrows and a spear. In 1385 an order was issued for every French and Scottish soldier to wear a white St. Andrew's cross on his breast and back. In 1429-30 all persons owning land affording an annual rent of twenty pounds, or possessing moveable goods of the value of one hundred pounds, were

to be well horsed, and armed from head to heel, as becoming their rank as gentlemen; whilst others whose means only amounted to ten pounds in rental, or fifty pounds of moveable goods, were bound to be armed with a gorget, rearbrace, vantbrace, greaves, and leg-splints, with gloves of plate or iron gauntlets. Every yeoman owning property to the value of twenty pounds in goods was commanded to arm himself with a good doublet of fence or a habergeon, iron hat or knapscull, bow and arrows, sword, buckler, and dagger; yeomen possessing only ten pounds in goods or property were to have a bow and arrows, sword, buckler, and dagger; while the lowest of all, who had no skill in archery, were to have a good "suir" hat, doublet of fence, with sword or buckler, and an axe, or at least a staff pointed with iron. Every citizen or burgess possessing fifty pounds in property was to arm himself in the same fashion as a gentleman; and every burgess yeoman of inferior rank possessing property worth twenty pounds was to have a doublet and habergeon, sword, buckler, bow, arrows, and a knife or dagger. In a parliament held in Edinburgh in 1456, for the defence of the country, it was ordered that all manner of men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, should join the muster on the approach of an English host, unless too poor to furnish themselves with weapons; that every yeoman worth twenty marks was to furnish himself at the least with a jack and sleeves to the waist, with a pair of splints, a sellat[1] or a prikit hat, sword, buckler, and bow and arrows. If not practised in archery, he was to have an axe with a targe of wood and leather.

The effigy of the first Earl of Morton is a fine example of the civil dress of a noble of the end of the fifteenth centary. The most noticeable feature is the long hanging sleeves with openings, so that the arms might be passed through either of them at the wearer's pleasure. The hanging sleeve prevailed in various forms during nearly all the sixteenth century in England and France, and presumably also in Scotland; they were worn by both sexes, sometimes with and at other times without a mantle. Slightly different from this example, they are seen on the headless fragment of the first Earl of Huntly, who died in 1470, in the Cathedral of Elgin;

[1] Foot soldier's head-piece.

somewhat like the latter and worn with, and as part of a furred gown, they appear on the figure of Thomas Noke, Yeoman of the Crown, who died in 1567, as given in Fairholt's *Costume in England*, and Planche's *History of Costume*; the latter also contains an example without a mantle from a tapestry belonging to the Church of St. Germain L'Auxerrois in Paris, also of the sixteenth century. Of the ceremonial or state dress of the nobility, we have a good example in the figure of Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas, which represents him in his robes of dignity as Marshal of France and Duke of Torraine; he wears a very simple dress, consisting of a gown with a girdle round the waist and a large mantle.

Coronetted hat, from effigy of Archibald, 5th Earl of Douglas.

If we allow perhaps for a little fanciful colouring, Henryson describes Æsop in a costume of his own period in the *Prologue to the Fables*:—

"His goune wes of ane claith als quhite as milk,
His chymeris[1] wes of chambelote[2] purpour broun;
His hude of scarlet, bordourit weill with silk,
On hekillit[3] wys untill his girdill doun;
His bonat round and of the auld fassoun:
His beard was quhite."

It is impossible to deal with ecclesiastical vestments in Scotland within the limits of this note, and it is hardly necessary, as the few good effigies of churchmen which we possess are very much like those in England. The costume, however, which was worn in the West Highlands and Islands may be very briefly referred to, as the subject is already so well known through the publications of the late Mr. Drummond and other

[1] Probably the *camise* or shirt, which was often decorated in the Middle Ages.
[2] Camelot, a kind of cloth.
[3] Heckled, like the feathers on the neck of a cock.

workers in the same field. In the Island districts, more especially, the chiefs alone wore defensive armour, their followers, as at the battle of Harlaw, wearing little more than a kilt, and armed with swords, pole-axes, sometimes with hooks, bows and arrows, short knives or dirks, and the well-known Highland targe of wood, covered with tough hide fastened with bosses of brass or iron. The island chief, partly from the remoteness of the district in which he lived, the conservatism of his nature, and probably also the scarcity of ready money, continued to wear the same kind of defensive dress, and to fight with the same kind of weapons, which his ancestors had done for generations before him, just as we find the chief of the MacLeans hewing down his opponents at Harlaw with the then old-fashioned Danish battle-axe, and clad in a shirt of mail. There are a few carved stones, however, all of about the year 1500, which show that the costumes of the Lowlands had at that time penetrated into the West Highlands. The carvings of the MacLeods in the church of Rodel, on the island of Harris, a small figure of MacIan of Ardnamurchan on a slab in Iona, and the stone matrix of a brass in the same place, are in the Lowland military costume of a rather earlier date; while on a beautiful and interesting slab in the priory church of Ardchattan on Loch Etive side,[1] dated 1500, there are represented a lady in Lowland dress, with, at her right-hand side, a knight in the long quilted tunic similar to the Iona, Islay, and other western effigies, and at her left a knight in armour similar to that shown upon monuments of about 1450 in the Lowlands and eastern districts of Scotland.

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[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1898-99.

No. XVI.

'HUCHOWN OF THE AWLE RYALE,' THE ALLITERATIVE POET.

BY

GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A.Scot., Vice-President.

(*Read at Meetings of the Society held on 19th April and 15th December, 1900 in two papers subsequently extended.*)

1. Identification Problems, Literary and Personal.

Once it was the fashion to regard Barbour's *Bruce* as the beginning of Scottish poetry. The sources from which it sprang were little if at all considered. One was content to pluck the bluebell without troubling over the soil in which it grew. If it did occur to anybody to ponder for a moment over the relation of Barbour to his time he was thought of as a somewhat artless but faithful chronicler of the deeds of Bruce. Always the estimate was of Barbour as historian. The conception of the literary craftsman had scarcely dawned. But he was a literary craftsman of no common order, well read in medieval Latinity and French. He was a facile and spirited translator as well as an admirable exponent in Scots of the manner of the French *chanson de geste*, and *The Bruce* has the rare distinction of being in the same breath an invaluable and veracious history and a triumph of Scottish literature.

Great though Barbour's merits are, however, they will not stand a moment's comparison with those of his lofty contemporary, 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale,' whose journey along the tangled pathway of verse probably began somewhat earlier than Barbour's, and the quality of whose poetic achievement far eclipses that of the Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

Huchown of the Awle Ryale probably soon after his poetic course began made translations, and there are many interesting analogies of theme to those believed to have been selected by Barbour, and known to have influenced his entire work. The most interesting contrast is that while the later poet selected an octosyllabic rime, the earlier adopted alliterative verse, depending for its music on those stresses of repeated letters, or 'cadences' which our wise King James VI. (translating 'cadence') was one day to classify as 'tumbling verse'—the '*rim ram rof*' system, designated as northern by Chaucer. A second contrast lies in the fact that as in the *Bruce*, Barbour left translation and betook himself to the facts of Bruce's life for his theme, Huchown went for his inspiration to history of another sort, to 'history' as recorded in the *Brut* or *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, making that the skeleton and frame for his *Morte Arthure*, which ranks so high among the contributions to the great Arthurian cycle.

The analysis of Huchown's work, and the determination of its chronological order or limits, of necessity involve the discussion of the intricate question of the poet's identity. Was Huchown of the Awle Ryale Sir Hew of Eglintoun? What is Sir Hew's biography? And what bearing has that biography on the understanding of the poetical work?

Not till the close of the eighteenth[1] century was it proposed to identify Sir Hew of Eglintoun with Huchown. The all-important words about the poet are those of Wyntoun, the chronicler, whose *Orygynale Cronykil* was written about 1420. In looking at the passage about Huchown it is needful to remember that it was no formal biographical sketch or regular bibliography, but a mere parenthesis in the question more engrossing to Wyntoun at the time, whether Lucius Iberius was Emperor or only Procurator.

> Syne Huchowne off the Awle Ryale
> In till his Gest Hystoryalle
> Cauld Lucius Hiberius empryoure
> Quhen King off Brettane was Arthoure.
>
> (*Wyntoun*, v. 4301.)

[1] Huchown was apparently not associated with Sir Hew by MacPherson editing *Wyntoun* in 1795 (*Wyntoun*, ed. Laing, iii. p. 225). See note to the Huchown passage in MacPherson's edition.

On the other hand, the *Brut*, Wyntoun said, styled him only Procurator. Therefore, he continues, he (Wyntoun) was free from blame in using the latter term:

And men off gud discretyowne
Suld excuse and love Huchowne,
That cunnand was in literature.
He made the *Gret Gest off Arthure*
And the *Awntyre off Gawane* [One MS. reads Aventuris.]
The Pystyll als *off Swete Swsane.*
He wes curyws in hys style
Fayre off facund and subtille
And ay to plesans and delyte
Made in metyre mete his dyte,
Lytill or nowcht nevyrtheles
Waverand fra the suthfastnes.
Had he cald Lucyus Procurature
Quhene that he cald hym Empyroure
That had mare grevyd the cadens[1]
Than had relevyd the sentens.

(*Wyntoun*, v. 4321-36, compare vol. iii. appx. to preface, pp. xxvi-vii.)

Nothing in this passage, having regard to the conditions evoking it, need incline us to suppose that the *Great Gest of Arthure*, the *Awntyre of Gawane*, and the *Pistil of Susan* were necessarily the entire volume of Huchown's work. The list, brief as it is, has proved of immense service as grouping three works of three sorts — historic, courtly-chivalric, and religious — in three metres. Critics are now tolerably well united in the identification of two of the poems named. The *Pistil*, a riming alliterative paraphrase of the story of Susanna and the Elders, is free from all dubiety, and maintains its existence still under the name ascribed to it by Huchown. The *Great Gest of Arthure* also is with a considerable measure of agreement, short of unanimity, accepted as the important alliterative romance-history,

[1] That Wyntoun by 'cadens' means alliteration as opposed to rime seems certain from *Rolle of Hampole*, ed. Horstman, ii. 345, where in a piece of mingled prose and rime largely alliterative it is said to be a 'tretys in Cadence after the begynninge gif hit beo riht poynted and Rymed in sum stude.' This important passage to which Prof. Carl Horstman kindly directed me is quite in keeping with the antithesis made by Gower, *Confessio Amantis* (ed. Macaulay, bk. iv., l. 2414) 'of rime and of cadence,' and by Chaucer's *House of Fame*, l. 623, 'In ryme or elles in cadence.' See note, chapter 14, sec. 1, below.

the *Morte Arthure*. Upon the third poem mentioned by Wyntoun, *The Awntyre of Gawane*, there are conflicting judgments. The great and learned scholar in record and romance, Sir Frederick Madden, editing his magnificent edition and study of *Syr Gawayne* for the Bannatyne Club, thought it was the poem *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. My eminent friend, M. Amours, editor of the admirable volume of *Scottish Alliterative Poems* (Scot. Text Soc., 1897) considers that the *Awntyre of Gawane* was the poem called the *Awntyrs of Arthur*, which contains powerful internal evidence of the hand that shaped *Morte Arthure*. I am in the happy position of at least accepting the completeness of M. Amours' proofs that the *Awntyrs of Arthur* was Huchown's, although unable to admit his argument against Sir Hew of Eglintoun having been Huchown of the Awle Ryale.

Points for this identification are briefly (1) that the poems fall naturally into Sir Hew's lifetime; (2) that as a brother-in-law of Robert the Steward, afterwards Robert II., and a court official under David II. and Robert II., he might well acquire the familiar surname 'of the Awle Ryale' (king's or royal hall); and (3) that the poetic renown of this Sir Hew, as well as the character of his work, is convincingly attested by Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*, which, after naming the Englishmen, Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, returns to tell of Hew of Eglintoun, Andrew of Wyntoun, and a third Scotsman as also among the victims of Death.

He has done petuously devour
The noble Chaucer of Makaris flouir
The Monk of Bery and Gower all thre
Timor mortis conturbat me.

The gude Sir Hew of Eglintoun
And eik Heryot and Wyntown
He has tane out of this countrie
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Various considerations have been advanced against the identification of the good Sir Hew with Huchown. It has been urged that the poems from their religious cast must have been written by an ecclesiastic. The reply appears in the adjective 'the gude,' which tradition had, according to Dunbar, associated with Sir Hew's name. Chiefly objection was taken that

been no end to the diversity of conclusions, critical, literary, and philological, on the precise dialect of Huchown, and his actual poetical performance. We are brought back to these problems to acknowledge as a first principle that the Huchown poems, although admittedly containing innumerable signs of northern diction and influence, are yet assuredly not in any known and normal Scottish dialect. On the other hand it has been pertinently asked who knows what was the dialect of English used in the courtly circles of Scotland under Robert the Bruce? Such a consideration is perhaps of itself enough to show that the dialect is not the obstacle to Sir Hew of Eglintoun which some have too hastily deemed. History, moreover, points with pikestaff plainness to a Scot. Philologists despairingly point the other way. When the philologist stands up against history he has a habit of going to the wall.

To identify the poet is one problem, to settle what were his works is another. Purely alliterative pieces claimed, directly and indirectly, for Huchown before the present enquiry began, included

Morte Arthure (4346 lines), edited for the Early English Text Society, 1865; also by Mrs. M. M. Banks (Longmans), 1900:

Destruction of Troy (14,044 lines), also edited E.E.T.S., 1869-74:

Cleanness (1812 lines), *Patience* (531 lines), also edited (E.E.T.S.) in *Early English Alliterative Poems*, 1864.

Pieces combining alliteration and rime, which also have been similarly claimed, include

Gawayne and the Green Knight (2530 lines), edited for the Bannatyne Club in Sir Frederick Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, re-edited E.E.T.S., 1864, and reprinted 1869, 1893, and 1897.

Awntyrs of Arthure (715 lines), *Pistill of Susan* (364 lines), both last edited by M. Amours in *Scottish Alliterative Poems* for the Scottish Text Society, 1897.

The Pearl (1212 lines), edited E.E.T.S., in *Early English Alliterative Poems*, 1864; also by Mr. Israel Gollancz (Nutt, 1891).

Other purely alliterative poems discussed in the following pages include these:—

The Wars of Alexander (5677 lines), edited E.E.T.S., 1886:

Titus and Vespasian or *The Sege of Jerusalem* (1332 lines), edited by Gustav Steffler (Marburg, 1891), usually cited within as *Titus*:

The Parlement of the Thre Ages (665 lines), *Wynnere and Wastoure* (503 lines), both edited for the Roxburghe Club, 1897:

Erkenwald (352 lines) edited in Prof. Carl Horstman's *Altenglische Legenden*, neue folge, Heilbronn, 1881.

Three or four other pieces, all short, should have been discussed also. Only where the evidences appear direct and absolute have conclusions on authorship been advanced here.

2. Huchown and Sir Hew.

There having been elsewhere[1] worked out a biographical calendar of the life of Sir Hew of Eglintoun in detail, with full references, no more need now be repeated than serves to present the salient outlines of the 'good Sir Hew's' career. Sprung from an Ayrshire family, his nearest known ancestor (supposed to have been his father, but possibly his grandfather), Ralf of Eglintoun, owner of an estate near Irvine, submitted to Edward I. at the outbreak of the war of Independence, but from 1297 until 1342 absolutely nothing has been found recorded of the laird of Eglintoun, or of the youth of Hew. A relationship with the More family, specially connected with the monastery of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, has been treated as suggestive of a possible education in England, a feature of the first half of fourteenth century Scotland far from uncommon. Of such an education there is no direct evidence in Hew's case, but in the course of the present researches[2] there has emerged, in fourteenth century manuscript, believed to have been from Huchown's pen, not only the fact that the author of the Huchown poems was deeply interested in hostages, but the remarkable hint that he may himself have been a hostage in England and learned 'their language and their manners'—*linguam eorum et mores*—there. At no time between 1279 and 1340 was such a thing in the least improbable, and if the

[1] In *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* above mentioned.

[2] See chapter 11 below. This minor point for Huchown's problems was discovered after *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* was in print.

inference from the manuscript could be demonstrated to be historically a fact, the long silence about Hew's parents and himself in childhood would be accounted for, while at the same time the difficulty occasioned by the English-ness of the Huchown poems in dialect and tone would simply disappear. As it is, the hostage hypothesis can adduce for itself no single ascertained fact, and its documentary base though most interesting, will carry historically a quite different structure.

Of Hew's youth nothing is certain. His birth must have been prior to 1321, as he was not knighted until 1342, so that in the latter year he must have attained at least twenty-one, the years of knighthood. But as Ralf of Eglintoun, his ancestor, was not a knight, so that Hew did not inherit his rank, he may well have been considerably over one and twenty when he was dubbed by the hand of David II. while on the eve of setting out on an ill-starred expedition into England.

Already in that year David had invaded England and burnt Penrith, passing, no doubt, the poetic Tarn Wadling in course of his march. Subsequently, a second time crossing the border, one of his invading squadrons, including the newly made knights, fell into an ambush laid by Robert of Ogle, with the result that amongst others the knight of Eglintoun was captured.

> On bathe the halffis slane war men;
> Bot the knychtis the wers had then
> For thare folk vencust ware ilkane,
> And fyve knychtis in fycht ware tane,
> Stwart, Eglyntown and Cragy,
> Boyde and Fowlartown. Thir worthy
> Ogill has had till his presowne,
> And syne delyveryd thame for rawnsoune.
>
> (*Wyntoun*, viii. 6003-10.)

Sir Hew makes his first appearance in the business records of Scotland in 1347, when he received a grant of a 'relief' (a feudal casualty or perquisite) from Robert the Steward, nephew of the King and grandson of Robert the Bruce. In 1348 a charter shews that he was then married to Agnes More, daughter of the late Chamberlain of Scotland, Sir Reginald More. Throughout his whole public career Sir Hew (always styled 'Hugo' in Latin deeds relative to him, and once 'Mons. Hugh' in a document in

French) was associated with the Steward. The chief house of that family was at Dundonald, and Eglintoun was the adjoining manor. Constantly Sir Hew is found acting as a witness to charters and similar public writings by the Steward. Both the Steward and Sir Hew are found in very frequent attendance on the King. They of course followed the court.

Sir Hew not only does not appear to have been either a prisoner or a hostage during the captivity of David II. after 1346, but public documentary references in 1347 and 1348 prove him to have been in Scotland during that captivity. In 1358 he received safe conduct to go to England, as he did again in the beginning of 1359. Associates of his from this time onward were Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Archibald of Douglas, best known as Archibald the Grim, who, though usually thought of as a soldier, was probably better known to his own time as a diplomatist and judge. At London, in February 1359, Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Hew appended their signets in the absence of the Great Seal of Scotland to an agreement relative to the liberation and ransom of David II., a prisoner in England from 1346, when he had been captured at Durham.

In 1360 Sir Hew makes his appearance[1] as a Justiciar of Scotland along with Sir Robert of Erskine effecting an agreement of assythment for slaughter in a feud between the Drummonds and Menteiths.

Meanwhile Sir Hew's first wife must have died, and about 1360 he is found married a second time—to Dame Egidia, a half-sister of Robert the Steward, who granted to him and her an annual-rent of wax.

The year 1363 was eventful in the intrigue of Anglo-Scottish policy. Towards the end of April Sir Hew had safe conduct to England and Canterbury, and it is suggested that this visit had to do with the great tiltings held during the first five days of May in connection with St. George's Festival and the Round Table of Edward III These celebrations of the Order of the Garter were held at that time. There were also later in the year special celebrations in honour of the fiftieth birthday of Edward III., and Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Hew were both in London. David II. himself was there also, and on 27th November an agreement

[1] *Book of Menteith*, ii. 239.

was reached between the two kings that, failing heirs-male of the body of David, the King of England should succeed to the kingdom of Scotland. Erskine was a party to this agreement: Sir Hew's position towards it is not clear, but his knowledge of it must be assumed. The Scottish Parliament, on 4th March, 1364, refused to sanction the agreement. Erskine was sent back to London to negotiate better terms, and a revised provisional agreement was drawn up whereby, failing heirs-male of the body of David II., the throne of Scotland was to pass to a son of the King of England other than the heir-apparent. The prince in view was Lionel, second son of Edward III. David II., a pleasure-loving king, was from about 1358 onwards hand and glove with his brother-in-law, the English King. He did all in his power in 1363 and 1364 to set aside the rights of the Steward of Scotland as heir to the Scottish throne and to substitute Edward or one of his children. Wyntoun naïvely hits off the situation:

> The Kyng Davy in Yngland raid,
> As offt tym in oys he had,
> And at Lundoun play him wald he;
> For thare was rycht great specialte
> Betwen hym and the Kyng Edward.
>
> —*Wyntoun*, viii. 7047.

English policy and Scottish intrigue—for Scotland itself was reluctant—were at work to effect a union in the future, for David II. had no lawful child, and his second wife, Margaret of Logie, was no longer young. In July, 1365, parliament at Perth sanctioned a treaty whereby Scotland should aid England (if invaded) with 1000 men and England should aid Scotland with 500.

Sir Hew from about 1366 held various offices as Bailie of Cunningham and Chamberlain of Irvine—judgeships as deputy of the feudal lord, with functions of administration accompanying—under the Steward, of whom he was the trusted adviser. These offices were partly judicial, partly financial. The burgh of Irvine lay near to both Dundonald and Eglintoun; it was a leading seaport of the West at that time, and the Steward is known to have been a yachtsman fond of cruising on the Clyde.

Border treaty negotiation occupied Sir Hew in 1367. Early in 1368

he went to London. That summer he was legislating for the 'Out Isles' and inspecting royal castles, as well as probably assisting the king in judicial appeals. David II., in 1369, raised an action of divorce against Queen Margaret, in connection with which Sir Hew's passage to France—and probably to Rome or Avignon—between June, 1369, and January, 1370, probably took place. A normal route to Rome in the fourteenth century passed through Lucerne across Mount 'Godard' into Lombardy, through Como, Milan, Pontremoli, Pietrasanta, Pisa, and Viterbo. (So Adam of Usk[1] travelled, and so journeyed King Arthur's invading army in *Morte Arthure.*) Soon after Sir Hew's return the divorce was granted in Scotland —in Lent, 1370. Margaret was maintaining her appeal in 1371 when David II. died.

Under Queen Margaret's influence the Steward had been thrust back from his rights. When she fell out with her husband the Steward was restored to his uncle's friendship. On the death of David—though not without a struggle, in which the promptness of success was due to Sir Robert of Erskine—the Steward succeeded to the throne under the title of Robert II. Huchown's life-long patron, friend, and kinsman by marriage now reigned, and his possession of the royal confidence and regard was thenceforward in constant evidence. After the coronation Sir Hew acted as one of a very special privy council[2] *de statu seu modo vivendi ipsius Regis et etiam Regine*, concerning the management of the royal household—a function from which a particular association of his name with the 'Awle Ryale,' or royal palace, may readily have arisen.

The age was the heyday of chivalry, and a thousand signs shew that the movement which had produced the Round Table in England was active in Scotland too.[3] If Edward III. was fond of hawking,[4] Robert II. was historically no less devoted to the chase[5] and fond of the sea.[6] Perhaps it may be lawful to argue 'Like king, like courtier.'

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[1] *Adam of Usk*, 72-73. From London to Rome the journey occupied 41 days.

[2] *Acts Parl. Scot.*, i. 547. [3] This is shewn in *Trial by Combat*, part vi.

[4] Adam Murimuth's *Chronicon* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 226.

[5] *Liber Pluscardensis*, i. 311. [6] *Exchequer Rolls*, iii. 667, etc.

Financially Sir Hew repeatedly appears as a man of means, from whom his royal brother-in-law did not disdain to borrow. His capacity in money matters, as well as his relationship to the king, no doubt influenced his selection as an Auditor in Exchequer. And it is of peculiar interest to find Archdeacon John Barbour as his colleague. The Stewart influence favoured literature. Sir Hew and Barbour were called to Exchequer office at one time. Barbour in 1373 was an auditor, and in 1374 clerk of audit. *The Bruce*, written in 1376, contains alliterative quotations[1] from *The Destruction of Troy*, one of the supposed Huchown poems.

Now, Sir Hew's day was drawing to its close. In June, 1376, he received from Robert a grant of annual-rents in Ayrshire, with special license of mortmain, that is, leave to settle them for religious purposes. There is reason to believe that he made a will providing for masses to be said for his soul in the Abbey of Kilwinning, an establishment adjacent to Eglintoun. Between 30th November, 1376, and 3rd February, 1377, Sir Hew died, and probably was laid to rest in Kilwinning Abbey Choir, where at any rate masses are recorded to have been long celebrated for the weal of his soul.

3. 'Off the Awle Ryale.'

The briefest recapitulation[2] must suffice to enunciate the proposition that 'the Awle Ryale' of Wyntoun's odd reference is a vernacular shape of *Aula Regis*, *Regia*, or *Regalis*, and that it was the *Aula Regis* or king's hall of Scotland, which conferred the personal epithet in question. *Aule*, a hall, appears in old law-French, and in the Huchown poems themselves such phrases as 'roy reall,' 'dese riall,' and 'sete riall' are in common use.

On the Continent, in England, and in Scotland the *Aula Regis* was from an early date the great place of law, subdividing later into a variety of

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[1] See my *John Barbour, Poet and Translator* (Kegan, Paul & Co., 1900), pp. 10, 11.

[2] For details and proofs see my *Sir Hew of Eglintoun*, above referred to, chap. v. The great importance in Scotland attached to the court institutions is strikingly brought out by a document discovered by my friend Miss Mary Bateson in a Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS. (C.C.C.C. 37) containing much regarding offices and functions. It will shortly be edited by her.

administrative, financial, and legal jurisdictions. The High Steward held lofty ceremonial authority there, and the Justiciars' place of session was by metaphor of English law, 'as the king's hall'—*sicut aulam regiam*. The king sat in judgment there, and the king's justiciars sat for him. In *Morte Arthure* (ll. 524-5) the hall is 'the most royal place' of the Round Table. In fourteenth and fifteenth century public documents of Scotland 'Aula Regis,' 'Aula Regia,' 'Kingis Haw,' 'Kingis Hall' has varied currency as a place of royal dignity and law, with courtly and exchequer as well as judicial functions. With each of these Sir Hew was in direct and sustained connection. To each of these also the Huchown poems show a similarly sustained series of relations.[1] To conjoin Huchown with Sir Hew and the Awle Ryale with the Court of Scotland appears therefore not merely reasonable; the facts constrain it.

4. Huchown's Poems: The Lines of Correlation.

Far nobler even than the fine problem of the poet's personal identification is that of determining what his actual achievement was—what poems are truly the product of his single superbly appointed pen. To prove unity and correlation where others have failed, or denied, is the purpose of the ensuing chapters. Others before now have argued on the question, but despite the labours of many scholars the real power of the case for the unity of Huchown's poetry has never been perceived, perhaps could not be perceived so long as certain manuscript evidences remained unknown. Resemblances of style and spirit, coincidences of line and phrase, and analogies of alliteration have certainly received attention, but inquiry has not developed a convincing critical basis of approach. For the first time a process of colligation will be applied which claims (1) to associate these

[1] For instance, *Morte Arthure* shews the ceremonial side, ll. 156, 208-9, 268, 3186-7; the exchequer side, ll. 425, 660-3; and the legal side, 113, 443-64, 665-72, 3140. *Gawayne* is through and through a court poem. The *Awntyrs of Arthure* has both ceremonial—ll. 440, 491, 635, 649-51—and law—ll. 339, 350, 387, 465-7, 597, 635, 646, 675-85 (cf. *Sir Hew of Eglintoun*, ch. v.). The *Pistill*, was it chosen because its theme was a trial with a cross-examination? A number of points in other poems are brought out incidentally in course of this paper.

resemblances and coincidences and analogies, with absolute proofs of relation and indebtedness of substance and plot, of incident and phrase, between poem and poem; (2) to establish the sequence of certain members of the series; (3) to illustrate the repeated use of the same sources in different parts; (4) to trace the origins of many passages to the actual manuscript the poet used; and (5) even to point out in the poet's own handwriting on the margins of his manuscript the primal adumbration of future poetical concepts.

The argument affirms a clear sequence in four of the five poems first dealt with, based not only on numberless passages of parallel, but on passages which equally involve reminiscence and necessitate conclusions of priority in production. To put an A B C case—let A be a certain manuscript; B C D E F and G be poems of the first set; H be another manuscript; and I J K L M and N be poems of the second set. E and G are historically assigned to Huchown: the rest are anonymous. The argument affirms connection not only of D as directly dependent from C and of E as directly dependent from D, but also of D E and F as clearly related to C and B and to each other, as well as of F particularly with G. It affirms that B and C were translations probably both made from manuscript A, and that indubitably F rose directly out of C.

A in this diagrammatic statement is MS. T. 4. 1: B, *Alexander*: C, *Troy*: D, *Titus*: E, *Morte Arthure*: F, *Parlement*: G, *Gawayne*: H, MS. U. 7. 25: I, *Wynnere and Wastoure*: J, *Erkenwald*: K, *Awntyrs*: L, *Pearl*: M, *Cleanness*: N, *Patience*.

Of the second set the argument affirms manuscript H with marginal notes to be the centre. It affirms that C, D, E, F, and G of the first set have direct relation to the margins of H. It affirms that of the second set I, J, K, L, M, and N show numerous cross-relations with each other and with the first set. It affirms that the plot of I, not a little of J, and intimations in M are all explained by the margins of H. It affirms other cross-links also, including the indebtedness of J, K, and L to the same legend for their plots.

Such is the outline of the process of colligation to be seen detailed in the following chapters. The numberless parallels impossible as mere coincidences are equally impossible as plagiarisms by one or more poets from

others. Again and again the grouping of sources and plots demonstrates unity. A thousand threads start and meet and cross and unite again in the mighty network, which is the proof of one man's authorship of these twelve poems.

The bold suggestion to prove a sequence in certain of those poems must begin with the admission that serious difficulty attaches to certain of them. Huchown's performances fall into the categories of (1) sheer translation, (2) biblical stories expanded, (3) other religious and allegorical pieces, and (4) historical or quasi-historical poems which are partially adaptations of Latin and French originals added to and combined with each other, but blending into what in sum is essentially new creative effort. Let it not be thought that these four categories represent a chronological process. Yet it will be maintained that two works falling into the first category indubitably preceded two of the fourth, and that these again were followed by one of the third. The two sheer translations in question, which stand at the threshold of the interpretation of Huchown, are the *Wars of Alexander* and the *Destruction of Troy*, and our scrutiny must begin with the probable source of these.

5. Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1.

In the Hunterian Library of Glasgow University is contained a royal octavo volume of about 340 folios of parchment written in one hand (probably soon after 1356), and containing text filling 7 in. by 4½ in. per page of thirty-six lines. The scribe's name is indicated on fo. 126ᵇ by a red ink note—*Nomen Scriptoris Ricardus plenus amoris*: *fframpton*. The scribe himself wrote a table of contents on the verso of the fly-leaf:

In hoc volumine continentur libri qui subsequenter intitulantur videlicet

¶ Liber de historia destruccionis Trojane urbis editus per magistrum Guidonem Iudicem de Columpna Messana folio primo

¶ Liber de gestis magni Regis Alexandri tocius orbis Conquestoris folio Cxxvij°

¶ Liber qui intitulatur Itinerarium domini Turpini Archiepiscopi Rauensis de gestis magni Regis Karoli folio Clxxj°

¶ Liber domini Marci Pauli de Veneciis de condicionibus & consuetudinibus orientalium regionum fol Ciiij^{xx} xvij° Qui distinguitur in tres libellos quorum primus sic incipit Tempore quo Baldewynus &c. folio Ciiij^{xx} xviij° Secundus sic incipit In huius libri continencia &c. folio CCxix° Tercius libellus sic Pars tercia libri nostri &c. folio CCxliiij^{to}

¶ Liber fratris Odorici de foro Julij de ritubus & condicionibus Turcorum & Tartarorum folio CClx°

¶ Liber qui intitulatur Itinerarium Johannis Maundeuille militis de sancto Albano in Comitatu hertford. de mirabilibus diversarum provinciarum regionum & insularum Aceciam de diuersis legibus & condicionibus sectis & linguis earundem folio CCiiij^{xx} j°

The copy of Guido de Columpna's *Historia destructionis Trojane Urbis* bears to be a version or edition of 1354. The Maundeville's *Itinerarium* contains in its text the date 1356. The *Liber de gestis magni regis Alexandri* is a copy of the *De Preliis Alexandri* of the Archpriest Leo. Between ff. 29^{b} and 30 a quaternion of six folios is missing from the MS.

A series of remarkable correspondences, of which the chief will be set forth in future sections, led to the publication in the *Athenaeum*, on 12th May and 16th June, 1900, of an essay on 'Huchown's (?) Codex,' in which numerous proofs were advanced for the belief indicated by the title of the paper. To that essay reference may be made for other particulars of a manuscript which is assuredly of profound importance for the study of certain alliterative poems.

6. 'The Wars of Alexander.'

Telling the wonderful tale of Alexander the Great—the story not of authentic history, but of Egyptian romance—the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* was a Greek work full of marvels. It put into definite literary shape a mass of the matter floating about in legend concerning a career which had much to astonish and perplex the oriental mind. Afterwards the name of *Julius Valerius* became attached to a translation of that work into Latin, and yet later a third work called the *De Preliis Alexandri* gained wide currency.

Fo.	Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1.	'Wars of Alex.'	Line.
131b	Zachora	Zacora	2179
131b	Cetus	Sechus	2215
131b	Cicisterus	Sicistrus	2234
131b	Hismon	Hismon	2237
132	Clitomacus	Cletomachus	2251
132	Satrassageras	Strasageras	2298
132b	Eschilus	Eschilus	2348
132b	Domesten	Domystyne	2352
132b	Serxes	Sexes	2361
134	Sicilie	Sycile (for Cilicia)	2487
134	Oriater	Oriathire	2512
134	Elandam	Elanda (for Hellada)	2514
134b	Appolomades	Appolomados	2529
134b	Maciana	Mocian (for Ocean)	2540
136b	Puphagonie	Siphagoyne	2759
136b	Nostandi	Nostanda	2773
137	Rodogoris	Rodogars	2819
137b	Emulus	Emynelaus	2875
137b	Struma	Strama	2884
138	Anapo	Anepo	2955
138b	Serxeri	Sexeres	2994
140b	Cusis	Cusys (for Cyrus)	3219
141b	Cusis	Cusus	3326
142b	Byson	Besan	3428
142b	Anabrasades	Anabras	3428
145b	Butrianca	Batriane	3782
145b	Zephilus	Zephall	3800
147	Battriancis	Bactry	3950
147	Addontrucay	Adanttrocay	3927
147	mures magni et (read *ut* as in sentence just following) vulpes	[mys] as any mayn foxes	3932
	aves magni ut vultures	as vowtres	3945
148	Exidraces	Exidraces	4020
148b	Hemaur	Eumare	4103
152	Cerenon, Cernoni [This capital C is easily misread for S.]	Serenon (for Ceres)	4510
154	Acrea	Acrea	4720
157	Prescioca	Preciosa (for Prasiaca)	5080
158	Rex Bebricorum	King of Bebrike	5151
157	Seraptus	Caraptos (for Caratros)	5094
159, 159b	Carator	Caratros	5337, 5343
162	Nabuzanda	Nabizanda	5613

Similarly the list of two-and-twenty kings whom Alexander walled up with Gog and Magog coincides with the Hunterian MS. almost absolutely. Here is the collection giving, first, the name in the MS., and, second, that in the poem: 1. Gog, Gogg; 2. Magog, Magogg; 3. Agethani, Agekany; 4. Mageen, Magen; 5. Camaranani, Camour; 6. Chaconi, Cacany; 7. Cleathar, Olaathere; 8. Appodinari, Appedanere; 9. Lumi, Limy; 10. Rarisei, Raryfey; 11. Bedeni, Bedwyn; 12. Camante de bello, Clambert; 13. Almade, Almade; 14. Gamardi, Gamarody; 15. Anaffragi, Anafrage; 16. (probably an *alias* for the fifteenth king) qui dicitur Rinocephali, Ser Naþy (?); 17. Tarbo, Tarbyn; 18. Alanis, Alane; 19. Phileys, Filies; 20. Artinei, Arteneus; 21. Martinei, Marthyney; 21. Saltarir, Saltary.

There are twenty-seven *passus* in the alliterative poem, nineteen of which correspond to divisions at the same points in the Hunterian MS. Not least curious is the list of Alexander's conquests found in the Hunterian MS., fo. 162-162b, though wanting in normal versions. It accounts for thirty names of provinces found in the catalogue of tributary realms at the end of the alliterative poem—those so indicated being here printed in italics:

Panthus et *Medus Indus* michi servit et *Arabs*
Asinus Cilicus quoque *Mesopotania Persa*
Italus Ebreus gens aspera *Camaneorum:*
Ethiopum gentes *Macedonia Grecia* Cyprum:
ffemineum regnum Libinus liberrimus Ysaurus
Affricus et *Sardus* Smuraus (?) *Pamphilia* Landus:
Effesim Curux locus simul et Philadelphus:
Maurus immundus populus ditissimus Monthoch'
Anglicus et Scotus *Britonum* quoque super caterina:
Islandus *Flandrus Corueali*s et quoque *Norguey:*
Theodomicus *ffrancus* Guandalia Gallia tota
Ispannus sponte michi flexit nunc sua colla
Romanus populus ferax et doctus in armis
Se michi supponunt [*blank*] sine crimine *Rusci*
Apulus et *Colaber* simul michi munera donat
Sinchus Yrtinus *Hermenia* barbarus ordo
Bulga[r]us Albanus venostus Dalmacus Ystir
Hungarus et *Frigius* Bacynt servicia Bosus.
Cun[c]ta michi subsunt, michi Jupiter imperat unus.[1]

[1] The foregoing list of peoples is not in the fifteenth century prints of the *De Preliis*, nor is it in the edition of 1885 by Dr. Gustav Landgraf. Since first printing the list in

Comparison with the poem reveals one striking fact, viz., that of the alliterative groups or pairs: (1) Flanders and France, (2) Guienne [Garnad] and Greece, (3) Norway and Naverne, (4) Bayonne and Bordeaux, (5) Turkey and Tartary, and (6) Pers and Pamphilia, all in the poem (ll. 5656-77), only the first and the last have both their members in the list. The other four are in varying degree intrusions, not translations, thereby giving piquancy to the recurrence of the whole six groups in the *Morte Arthure* (ll. 30-46 and 572-604). Thus, equally when he was truly translating and when he was amplifying his text, the alliterative poet hit on combinations also found in the *Morte Arthure*. Moreover, although one line in the Alexander poem reads

> Ingland Itaile and Ynde and Ireland costis,

there is no mention of Scotland. The alliterative translator chose to retain England in, thrust Ireland into, and exclude Scotland from the catalogue of realms owing tribute to Alexander.

Finally, and perhaps of the most significant note, is an intrusion into the text of the *Alexander*, perspicuously commented upon by Professor Skeat. The normal Latin text of the *De Preliis* mentions certain rocks of adamant, but the alliterative translation adds a feature of its own, viz., two lines descriptive of the quality ascribed to those rocks of drawing nails out of ship's bottoms.

> If any Nave to it neȝe[1] that naylid is with iryn
> Then clevys it ay to the clife carryg and othyre.

This proposition, as the learned professor acutely noted, though absent from the Latin text of the *De Preliis*, was in Maundeville's *Itinerarium*. The value of Professor Skeat's annotation was greatly enhanced when it was pointed out that although in the Hunterian MS. of the *De Preliis* the passage about the danger to ships from adamant rocks was absent also, the Hunterian MS. included a copy of Maundeville's *Itinerarium*. These and other

identical MS. used by the poet, more especially as further correspondences scarcely less extraordinary were found when the copy, which the MS. contained of the *De Excidio Troje*, was compared with the alliterative poem, the *Destruction of Troy*.

7. 'The Destruction of Troy.'

Like the *Alexander*, the alliterative *Destruction of Troy* (henceforth cited as the *Troy*) is a direct and ordinarily faithful translation. Just as in the East there arose away from history altogether a legendary life of Alexander, so in the East arose also[1] a story of Troy different from Homer's. The blind father of bards had of course told the deathless story from the Greek standpoint. This did not satisfy the craving of some minds for the other side, and the strange books of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis were produced which in some degree redressed the balance, and so far traversed Homer's path as to exalt Hector at the expense of Achilles, and attribute the stratagem of the horse and the fall of Troy directly or indirectly to the treason of Antenor and Aeneas. These Latin and revised versions passed widely forth: Homer was unknown or forgotten. A French trouvère, Benoît de Sainte More, wrote his *Roman de Troie* from the Latin sources, and from that romance Guido de Columpna, in the year 1287, made his Latin prose version which at once became a popular history book in the literature of Europe. There was poetic vigour in the prose unquestionably, and its rendering of that picturesque theme,

> The batayle of Troy that was so stought,

took hold of Europe as even Dares and Dictys had never done. Thus it came that Huchown's *Troy* was a product of Guido's *Troja*, the same work as John Barbour also was soon to be translating, and as John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, was to translate.

Guido's tale of Troy is fully rehearsed in the 14,044 lines of the alliterative translation. There are a good many signs of carelessness, perhaps

[1] An excellent sketch of the Troy Cycle in medieval literature is given by Dr. C. H. A. Wager in his introduction to *The Seege of Troye* (New York, 1899), edited from MS. Harl. 525, by him.

to be allotted equally to the translator and the scribes. Myrion, for instance, is killed no fewer than four times in the course of the interminable battles. The narrative rises and falls, at points showing full of sustained vigour, elsewhere marching somewhat mechanically, but assuredly it has many noble passages, and in general power of language and deftness of epithet is on the merits[1] an entirely dignified and worthy rendering.

The rubrics or subdivisions of the poem proved in a striking proportion of cases to be directly associated with the rubrics of the *De Excidio Troje* contained in the Hunterian MS. These rubrics are, many of them, very special, for an examination of a great number of copies of Guido's book in the MSS. of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library failed to disclose any single one which displayed any such measure of consonance as that exhibited by the Hunterian MS.[2]

The correspondences are of the most thorough character, and the following comparison of a large body of them will enable the critic to note the differences as well as the resemblances. First, however, it is to be said that the rendering of Guido used by the scribe was an Italian edition or version by Johannulus de Borrezio in 1354, as appears from a colophon on fo. 126.

"Et ego Johannolus [*o* expuncted and *u* substituted] de Borrezio Cancellarius ecclesie Sancti Victoris de Arsizate Mediolanen. dioc. hoc presens opus in Beate Agnetis festo finivi Anno domini millesimo tricentesimo quinquagesimo quarto pontificatus sanctissimi patris et domini nostri domini Innocencii Pape vi. anno secundo Et cicius enim complevissem nisi quia in Reverendissimi in Xpo. patris et domini mei domini Guill'mi de Pusterla permissione divina sancte sedis Constantinopolitan. patriarche cujus familiaris minimus existo negociis plurimum vacavi utpote sibi nec inmerito perpetim obligatus.

This text has very many rubrics of its own. Some of those quoted below are common to other manuscripts as well. Many of them are believed to be peculiar to Borrezio's version, of which meantime no other copy appears to be known.

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[1] I gladly pay homage to the critical taste of my friend, Mr. J. T. T. Brown, in long ago directing me to this alliterative work as containing much high-class poetry despite the adverse verdicts of critics, and as being Huchown's handiwork.

[2] Further particulars are given in 'Huchown's (?) Codex,' *Athenaeum*, 16th June, 1900.

Folio.	HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1.	*Alliterative* 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.'	Line.
1	Incipit prologus . . .	Prologue.	1
1b	Explicit prologus. Incipit liber de casu Troje primo de Peleo rege Thessalie inducente Jasonem . . . ad vellus aureum adquirendum.	Explicit Prologue.	98
		Here begynnes the ffirst Boke. How Kyng Pelleus exit Jason to get the ffles of Golde.	99
4	Incipit liber secundus de . . . Grecis applicatis in pertinenciis Troje. . . .	[Lost in text, but supplied from contents, p. v.] The ii[d] boke how the Grekes toke lond upon Troy. Cawse of the first debate.	
6	[Passage corresponding to l. 373.] Qualiter Rex Oetes honorifice Jasonem . . . recepit et qualiter Medea . . . amore Jasonis fuit capta.	Jason.	373
		The crafte of Medea.	402
		The soden hote love of Medea.	449
8	Sicut primo loquitur Jasoni Medea.	Medea.	521
8	Responsio Jasonis ad verba Medee.	The onsuare of Jason to Medea.	551
8b	Alia verba Medee ad Jasonem.	Medea.	560
8b	Alia responsio Jasonis ad Medeam.	The onsuare of Jason to Medea.	577
9	Qualiter Jason et Medea. . . .	Medea.	637
9	Incipit liber tercius. . . .	Third Boke: how Medea enformed Jason to get the fflese of golde.	665
11	Res et ipsarum series date Jasoni per Medeam pro aureo vellere acquirendo. . . .		
14b	Incipit liber quartus.	Here begynneth the fourth boke. Of the dystrucion of the first Troy by Ercules and Jason.	1010
15	Qualiter Grecorum exercitus Jasonis et Herculis Troje . . . civitatem illam primo diruerunt.		
15b	Verba Herculis. . . .	Ercules.	1121
18	Qualiter Greci . . . intrant ipsam urbem.	The takyng of the towne.	1353
18b	. . . Exionam Regis Laumedonte filiam. . . .	Exiona the Kinges doughter Lamydon.	1385
19b	De Priamo . . . & filiis. . . .	Off King Pryam and his children.	1461
21b	De constructione mirabili magni Ylion. . . .	The makyng of Ylion.	1629
22b	Qualiter Rex Priamus misit Anthenorum legatum ad Grecos pro Exiona. . . .	How Antenor went on message to the Grekys.	1780
24b	. . . Incipit liber vj[us]	Here begynnes the Sext Boke: How Kyng Priam toke counsell to Werre on the Grekys.	2047
25	Qualiter rex Priamus . . . consulit suam mittere gentem . . . pro . . . Grecorum offensione (l. 2095).		
25b	Quomodo Priamus hortatur . . . filios.	Off counsell of the Kynges childsen.	2157

Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1. Folio.		*Alliterative* 'Destruction of Troy.	Line.
26	Responsio Hectoris ad Priamum patrem suum et quomodo prudenter suum dedit consilium.	The onsuare and the counsell of Ector to Priam his ffader.	2207
27	Consilium Paridis. . . .	The counsell of Paris Alexaunder.	2306
28	Consilium Deyphobi. . . .	The counsell of Deffebus.	2449
28b	Consilium Eleni. . . .	The counsell of Elinus the Bysshop.	2478
28b	. . . Quid consulit Troiolus. . . .	The counsell of Troylus.	2523
29	Quomodo Rex Priamus jubet Paridi . . . ut pergat . . . in Grecia. . . .	The ordinaunse for Paris into Grese.	2561
29b	Sicut loquitur Pethiteus. [This name is corrupt in many MSS.]	The counsell of Protheus.	2619
30	Qualiter Cassandra regis Priami filia condolet. . . .	The sorow of Cassandra the Kyngys doughter.	2676
32	Qualiter Paris primo vidit Helenam . . .	The fairnes of Elan.	3019
35b	Qualiter Helena. . . .	Elan.	3385
36b	De Grecis inchoantibus inire consilia . . . de raptu Helene . . . incipit liber viij^{us}	Eght Boke. Of the counsell of the Grekys ffor recoveryng of Elayne.	3532
37	Qualiter Agamenon consolatur Menelaum. . . .	The counsell of Agamynon to Menelay.	3584
37b	. . . Pollux et Castor paraverunt naufragium. . . .	The drownyng of Pollux and Castor.	3673
38	Descripcio Grecorum qui fuerunt super Trojam (l. 3732).	The shape and colour of the Kynges of Grece.	3741
40b	De numero navium quas Greci duxerunt . . . liber viiij^{us}	Neynt Boke. Of the Nowmber of Shippes and the Navy of the Grekes.	4029
41	Exhortacio Agamenonis contra Grecos et primo voluit habere responsum a deo Appollinis in insula Delphon liber x^{us}	Tent Boke. How the Grekes sent unto Delphon to have onsware of a God of thayre Journay.	4140
42b	Qualiter ydolatria in mundo primo venit.	Off Beall the god and Belsabub.	4332
44b	Responsum datum Achilli.	The answare of Appollo to Achilles.	4475
47b	Qualiter Agamenon Rex locutus est Grecis de mittendo nuncios Regi Priamo antequam plus procedant Li. xij^{us}	xiith Boke. How the Grekys sent two Kinges in message to Kyng Priam for restitucion of thaire harme.	4783
50b	De Grecis mittentibus Achillem et Thelaphum pro victualibus eorum exercitui opportunis. Li. xiij^{us}	xiij Boke. How the Grekys sent Achilles and Thelefon for vitaill for the Ost into Messam.	5152

Folio.	HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1.	*Alliterative* 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.'	Line.
53	Descripcio illorum qui in subsidium venere Trojanorum.	Of the Kynges that come to Troy for socur of Priam.	5432
54b	Quomodo Diomedes quedam discreta verba profudit de processu.	The Counsell of Dyamede to stirre to the cite.	5590
58b	De secundo bello. . . . Li. xv^{us}	xv Boke. Of the Ordinaunce of the Troiens to the secund batell.	6065
66b	De tercio bello . . . Lib. xvi^{us}	xvi Boke. Of a trew takyn two moneths, and of the third batell.	7125
68b	De quarto bello . . . Li. xvij^{us}	xvij Boke. Of the Counsell of the Grekes for the Dethe of Ector and the iiij^{rt} batell.	7346
70b	De quinto bello. . . . Li. xviij^{us}	xviij^{t} Boke of the fyvet batell in the felde.	7553
72	De sexto bello . . . Li. xviiij^{us}	xix Boke. Of the vi. batell.	7811
74	Nota de inconstancia mulierum. [This does not seem to be in the scribe's hand, but is a coeval owner's ejaculation.]	[Ll. 8055-67, paragraph on female fickleness.]	
75b	De septimo bello . . . liber vicesimus.	The xx Boke. Of the vij^{nt} Batell and Skarmiches. . . .	8183
77b	Hic fuit preliatum per xij dies continue sequentes.	Here thai faght twelve dayes togedur. [This is an exceedingly special subrubric.]	8403
78	De viij° bello. [This is not numbered as a book, and a failure, probably due to this, occurs in the consecutiveness, there being no number xxij in the Latin.]	The xxi Boke. Of the viij Batell. [From this point the numbering of the translation and the Latin ceases to correspond.]	8421
81	Qualiter Agamenon mortuo Hectore jussit majores Grecorum ad se venire et quomodo loquitur eisdem.	The counsall of Agamenon after the dethe of Ector.	8826
82	De nono bello . . . liber xxiij^{us}	Here begynneth the xxij Boke: the ellevynt Batell of the Cite.	8971
83	Qualiter ille metuendus Achilles fuit allaqueatus amore.	The solempnite of the obit of Ector and how Achilles fell in the momurdotes for luff.	9089
86	De decimo bello . . . Li. xxvj^{us} [begins *Induciis igitur datis*].	Here begynnys the xxiij Boke: of the xij and xiij batell.	9400
87b	De undecimo bello [begins *Sequenti vero die Trojane*].	xxiiij Boke: Of the xiiij and xv batell of the Cite.	9628

Folio.	Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1.	*Alliterative* 'Destruction of Troy.'	Line.
88	De duodecimo bello [begins *Sequenti vero die inter.*]	The answare of Achilles to Ulyxes the Kyng.	9743
88b	Qualiter Achilles respondit Ulixi.		
89b	De tercio decimo bello . . . Lib. xxvij^{us}	xxv Boke: Off the Sextene and the xvij batell.	9864
89b	De quarto decimo bello.		
90b	De quinto decimo bello.	Of xviij and the xix batell.	9675
	[The Latin rubrics skip from the fifteenth to the eighteenth battle. The translating poet therefore is somewhat nonplussed.]	Here thai faght vij dayes togedur, that ys not recont: no batell.	10116
91b	De xviij^{o} bello [begins *Hiis igitur diebus elapsis letate.*]	The xxvi Boke. Of the xviij batell of the Cite.	10133
		[In this important rubric the editors of the poem have, as they explain in a marginal note, printed "(xx)" as the number of the battle. Their note is, however, distinct (and accords with the fact of the MS. of the *Destruction*) in stating that the "MS. has xviii."]	
92b	De xviiij bello . . . [begins *Belli tempus hiis*].	The dethe of Troilus by Achilles trayturly slayne in the xxj batell.	10252
95	De xx^{o} bello [begins *Sextodecimo igitur die.*]	Off the xx^{ti} batell.	10629
		[Again editors print '(xxii)' but note 'MS. has xx^{ti}.']	
96b	. . . liber xxviij^{us} (l. 10790).	The xxvij Boke. Of xxj Batell . . .	10788
97	De vicesimo primo bello (l. 10863) [begins *Ad jussum*].		
97b	De vicesimo secundo bello (l. 10913) [begins *Pantasilea*].	The xxij and xxiij batell of the Cite.	10950
98b	De vicesimo tercio bello et de morte Pantasilee per Pirrum interfecte (l. 11079) [begins *Supervenientibus*].	Here they faght a monethe.	11079
		The deth of Pantasilia by Pirrus.	11103
99	De tractatu seu prodicione Civitatis Troje Incipit liber xxviiij^{us}	The xxviij Boke: Of the Counsell of Eneas and Antenor. Of the treason of the Cite.	
104	De capcione et destruccione Troje et de morte Regis Priami et Polisene ejus filie. Li. xxx^{us}	The ordinaunce of the trybute.	11717
107	Qualiter Agamenon loquitur Grecis . . .	The counsell of the Grekes.	12015

Folio.	HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1.	*Alliterative* 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.'	Line.
108b	Qualiter destructa urbe Troje Thelamonius Ajax loquitur contra Vlixem occasione Paladii liber tricesimus primus.	The xxx Boke: Of stryfe of Thelamon and Ulixes and of the dethe of Thelamon.	12165
112	Sequitur quomodo mortuus est Agamenon liber xxxij^{us}	The xxxij Boke: Of the Lesyng that was made to Kyng Nawle, and of dethe of his son Palomydon.	12552
	[Numbering of books tallies once more. As to a confusion in the numbering of the books in the alliterative poem, see note by editors (pref. liii-iv) on displacement of two sets of folios of the MS.].	Off the dethe of Agamynon and the exile of Dyamede by there wyvys for this lettur.	12727
115b	Qualiter Horrestes . . . patris . . . necem . . . vindicavit Liber tricesimus tercius.	Here begynnes the xxxiij Boke. How Oreste toke vengianse for his fader dethe.	12937
117	Sequitur narracio de reditu Ulixis et quid ei in redeundo contingit.	The xxxiiij Boke. How hit happit Ulixes aftur the sege.	13106
119b	De reditu Pirri et ejus prospero successu ac de morte sua sequitur narracio Lib. xxxiiij^{us}	The xxxv Boke: Of Pyrrus and of his passyng from Troy.	13388
		Off the coronyng of Pyrrus and of his dethé.	13635
122b	Qualiter Ulixes mortuus est subsequenter enarratur: liber xxxv^{us}	The xxxvi Boke. Of the dethe of Ulixes by his son.	13802

Textually, as the various versions of Guido's *Historia* exhibit few crucial tests for identification of their distinctions, it is not easy to devise methods of decisive collation. Yet a few very cogent instances can be adduced. Besides the mere facts of agreement in so many rubrics, not found in any print or MS. of Guido accessible to me, there is specially the agreement in the numbering of the books above illustrated—a matter on which there is considerable divergence in different texts. In the list of kings whom Hector slew, the poem put 'Archilocus' (or Arcesilaus) first. All the prints, and the greater number of the manuscripts of Guido, put him fourth or fifth in the list, which comes ultimately from Dares Phrygius (Teubner, 1873, praef. ix.). But the Hunterian Guido (fo. 125), like the poem (l. 14,008) places Archilocus first. There are, on the other hand, such elements as the presence of 'Beelzebub' (l. 4357) in the poem, where the Hunterian MS. (fo. 43) has *Beelin Aback Bel i. deus Zabuch i. musca hoc*

deus muscarum—though printed editions have 'Beelzebub'—which make it possible that the poet-translator had access to more copies than one of this widely current work. Although the very extraordinary correspondences exhibited might not suffice to constitute the proof single-handed, they yet when placed in conjunction with the similar and still more striking correspondences of the *Alexander* with the same Hunterian MS. enable us to start with a presumption little short of absolute that the translator of the *Alexander* and the translator of the *Troy*, whether the same person or not, at any rate used the same manuscript—a manuscript the earliest possible date of which is 1356, the year in which the *Itinerarium* of Maundeville is, in the text of the MS. itself,[1] declared to have been written.

How the presumption of two translations from the same manuscript stands the test of being carried a degree further to the inference that the user of the MS. was the maker of both translations will best appear from the analysis now to be undertaken of certain poems with the primary view of determining their relation and order of date.[2] The *Troy*, there is good reason to maintain,[3] was quoted in Scotland by Barbour in 1376.

8. 'Titus and Vespasian,' Its Story, Sources, and Date.

(1) *The Story and General Sources.*

Indications, which may be left to the critic to accept or reject as he pleases, suggest with some distinctness that the *Troy* was not written till after the *Alexander*. While wishing to be taken as comparatively tentative my opinion of the priority of the *Alexander* to the *Troy*, I advance as

[1] A great mystery hangs over Maundeville. This must have been an early copy: it differs from other texts, and will reward study by some lover of the charming *Itinerary*. Sir Hew of Eglintoun was in London in 1358. His getting the MS. in that year is not beyond the bounds of legitimate speculation.

[2] It is proper to recall the fact that in editing the *Troy* Mr. Panton and Mr. David Donaldson argued very forcefully that its translator and the author of *Morte Arthure* were one.

[3] Cf. *Troy*, 12969-74, 2734-8, 1056-64, and Barbour's *Bruce*, v. 1-13, xvi. 63-71, and *Buik of Alexander*, p. 107, ll. 1-12, p. 248, ll. 16-26. See *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, 9-13.

an absolute and unhesitating conclusion the view that the *Troy* was followed by a poem variously known as the *Titus and Vespasian* or as *The Sege of Jerusalem*, or as the *Warris of the Jewis*—henceforward cited as *Titus*.

Although critics heretofore have busied themselves with the question of the authorship of the *Troy*, while some have supposed it to date after *Morte Arthure*, while some have given the *Troy* to Huchown, and while others have refused it, no one has yet set forward[1] the great fact of the connection between these two alliterative poems constituted by a third alliterative poem, the *Titus*, whose authorship till now has not been claimed. It is the key to *Morte Arthure*, the link which binds it in indissoluble association with the *Troy*, and determines finally the order of production.

The *Titus* found in one MS. in company with a poem in the precise metre of the *Pistill of Susan* contains in the only available printed text 1332 lines, not rimed but alliterative, and has for its theme the miraculous cures of Titus and Vespasian and the siege and overthrow of Jerusalem. Founded as regards its earlier incidents in some degree on blended features of early versions of the singular legend of St. Veronica, such as the Latin *Vindicta Salvatoris* and the French *Destruction de Jerusalem*, but largely striking out new lines for itself, the poem soon discloses its direct connection with the *Legenda Aurea*, many passages of which it freely adapts, though with insertions from undiscovered sources and contributions evidently quite original. Another work clearly drawn upon was the *Bellum Iudaicum* of Josephus, no doubt, as Herr F. Kopka has shown,[2] in the version of Hegesippus. The story tells, at the opening, how Titus is afflicted with a cancer and his father with a settlement of wasps in his nose, from which he took his name Waspasian! Titus, eager in his inquiry after physicians, is told by Nathan, a Jew, of the wondrous life of a prophet born in Bethlehem who wrought many a miracle, and who at last, betrayed by Judas, was put to death by Pilate, the provost of Rome. Titus, touched

[1] The proposition was made in my article '*Huchown*' (part I.) in *Athenaeum*, 1 June 1901

[2] *The Destruction of Jerusalem: ein mittelenglisches alliterierendes Gedicht. Einleitung. Inaugural Dissertation.* Breslau 1887.

by what he hears, breaks out with a sudden expression of sympathy for Christ and censure of His condemnation. Before the words are wholly said the cancer vanishes. The gratefully joyous Titus turns Christian and is baptised. Vespasian learns of the miraculous healing, and vows that if he too shall be cured he will give his life for Christ. Messengers are sent 'that time Peter was Pope and preachéd in Rome,' and from Palestine there comes Saint Veronica with the veil on which the Saviour's face had left its sacred imprint. When this precious relic reaches the temple at Rome the idols of the heathen faith yet prevalent there crash in pieces. Saint Peter touched with the veil the person of the illustrious patient, 'the wasps went away and all the woe after,' and the glad Vespasian christens the veil after Veronica and calls it the Vernacle. The scene now shifts: Romans set sail to make war on the Jews; the holy city is besieged; surrender is demanded in vain, and Vespasian, foiled to some extent by the warlike ingenuity of Josephus, strives long and unsuccessfully to take Jerusalem. Meanwhile Nero dies; after Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, at last Vespasian is chosen successor. He departs for Rome and leaves the siege to be prosecuted by Titus. Famine and distress accelerate that task; eleven hundred thousand Jews die by sword and hunger; the walls are stormed; and the stubborn defenders starved till their stomachs, as the poet expressively puts it, are 'no greater than a greyhound,' lay down their arms, and doffing their armour, yield their gates 'in their bare shirts.' The jewelled splendours of Solomon's sanctuary are carried away, and as a Jew had sold Christ 'for thirty pennies in a poke,' now the prisoners of Titus, bound together with ropes, were sold—'thirty Jews in a thrum'—at a penny for thirty. And then the long siege was raised, and the victors 'went singing away' homeward to Rome, as ends our poet—'Now rede us our Lord.'

(2) *The 'Titus,' the 'Troy,' and the 'Alexander.'*

This remarkable *Titus*, in parts of it not taken from any of the Latin or French sources above named, includes more than one passage and not a few single lines which it owes directly to the *Troy*. Not only so; in some of those passages and lines there is a double association, for they

connect with the *Alexander* also. In particular the language descriptive of the fall and destruction of Jerusalem in the *Titus* will be shewn to be in part derived from an episode of destruction in the *Troy*, and more remotely from certain siege descriptions in the *Alexander*. Premising that the primary thesis is that the *Titus* is deeply indebted to the *Troy* let us proceed to the scrutiny of parallels.

				Titus.
Alex.	555	Cloudis clenly to-cleve clatird unfaire.	54	Cloudes clateren gon as they cleve wolde.
Troy	5787	Cloudis with the clamour claterit above.		
Troy	1984	A rak and a royde wynde rose in hor saile.	54	The racke myde a rede wynde roos in the myddel.
Troy	4312	Both mawhounus and maumettes myrtild in peces. Latin has *ydolum . . . esset in minutatim abscissum.*	233	The mahomid and the mametes tomortled to peces.
Troy	8719	Of wepyng and wayle and wryngyng of hondes.	245-6	Than was wepyng and wo and wryngyng of hondis With loude dyn and dit for doil of hym one.
	8679	. . . wringyng of hond: The dit and the dyn was dole to behold.		
	1347	Of the dite and the dyn was dole to beholde.		
	9611	Myche weping and waile wringyng of hond.		
Troy	1902	Hade bir at his bake and the bankes levyt.	288	Hadde byr at the bake and the bonke lefte.
	12490	Hadyn bir at there backe and the bonke levyt.		
Alex.	1151	Tilded full of torretes and toures of defence.	310	With many a toret and tour that toun to defende.
Troy	1551	Mony toures up tild the toune to defende.		
Troy	5825	. . . the might and the mayn . . .	505	Bothe the myght and the mayn.
Troy	7619	A thondir with a thicke rayn thrublit in the skewes.	530	As thonder and thicke rayn throwaland in skyes.
	12496	A thoner and a thicke rayne thrublet in the skewes. Latin has *in multa copia pluviarum ether in tonitruorum aggregacionibus.*		

To interrupt a little the monotony of parallel will serve a good purpose if it accentuates the next pair of passages. In the *Troy* the Greek camp by night is pictured in words which alike in their modicum of adherence to the Latin text they follow, and in their more notable deviations from it, evince a mastery of poetic art and natural description. One feels that the translator's night was more real than Guido's: yet the passage as a whole is not the alliterative poet's: it gives us Guido *plus* his translator. Accordingly, when we find the same description in the *Titus*, and at the end of it a further line from another part of the *Troy*, where that line is indubitably translation, it ceases to be a matter of argument and establishes itself as ascertained fact that without the previous *Troy* we could have had no *Titus*.

Troy 7348-57.	*Titus* 722-31.
When the day ouerdrogh and the derk entrid,	By that was the day done, dymned the skyes,
The sternes full stithly starand oloft,	Merked montaynes and mores aboute,
All merknet the mountens and mores aboute,	
The fowles there fethers foldyn togedur,	Foules fallen to fote and her fethres ruisken,
Nightwacche for to wake, waits to blow;	The nyght wacche to the walles and waytes to blowe,
Tore fyres in the tenttes tendlis oloft.	Bryght fures aboute betyn abrode in the oste;
All the gret of the Grekes gedrit hom somyn,	Chosen chyventayns out and chiden no mor,
Kynges and knyghtes clennest of wit,	Bot charged the chek-wecche and to chambr wenten,
Dukes and derffe erles droghen to counsell; In Agamynon gret tent gedrit were all.	Kynges and knyghtes to cacchen hem rest.
They had met in counsel how to compass the death of Hector. Later in the poem Achilles, scheming revenge on Troilus, found no rest in his bed.	Waspasian lyth in his logge, litel he slepith.
Troy 10096 And lay in his loge litill he sleppit.	

Guido's Latin of these two *Troy* passages is

Aspectibus igitur hominum crepusculo succedente stellis per celi spacium undique patefactis quibus nox que nocet oculis intuencium in aspectibus ceterorum propter sue

tenebras cecitatis aperte vulgavit. Omnes Reges Grecorum duces et principes in ipsius noctis conticinio in Regis Agamenonis tentorio conveniunt.

[Achilles] inquietus sua non appetit claudere lumina in dormicionis consueta quiete.

The effect of this group of lines common to the sieges of Troy and Jerusalem—the alliterative sieges—stands in little need of enforcement. The canon of comparison to which appeal is made is this. Given two passages, one of which must be due to the other; given that one of them is known translation, although expanded somewhat; given that the other is not translation; then if the points in common include things which are real translation, every presumption leads to the conclusion that the translation is the source, and therefore the earlier. It seems axiomatic that the *Troy* lent its night-scene to the *Titus*. And there are yet other parallels to follow. Elsewhere in a discussion of the same sort the proposition was advanced that a poet who repeated the same line more than once in a poem might not unnaturally be found repeating it in another. In this connection, therefore, it is worthy of observation that one of the lines above quoted occurs in another part of the *Troy* as well.

Troy 7809. Merkit the mountayns and mores aboute.

In both instances the darkening of hill and moorland at nightfall is a touch of the translator's own—is exegetic and not literal translation. It is the recurrence of this fact which imports so much more significance into such recurrent lines. Will it not appear strange if from a verse-translation containing 14,000 lines, the borrowings in other poems should so often prove to be not of Guido's matter, but of the translator's? Now we return to our parallels.

			Titus.	
Troy	10287	Fell was the fight foyning of spears.	815	Fought right felly foyned with speres.
Troy	4753	Fell was the feght. . . .		
Troy	5795	. . . felly . . . foghtyn . . .		
			835	See under 664 above
Troy	11956	When the derke was done and the day sprange.	850	When the derk was doun and the day spryngen.
Alex.	1489	. . . bodworde of blis. . . .	965	. . . bodeword of blys. . . .
Alex.	1324	And makez a way wyde enogh waynez for to mete.	998	Made weys throw for wenes and cartes.

			Titus.	
Alex.	2264	And thai als fayne alle the flote as fowelle of the day.	1005	Fayn as the foul of day was the freke than.
Alex.	75	. . . oute in the wale stremys.	1017	. . . over wale stremys.
Troy	6064	. . . Lord giffe us joye. [End of book xiv.]	1104	. . . and God gyve us joy. [End of one of the four divisions of the poem.]
Troy	4751-2	Layn ladders alenght and aloft wonnen At yche cornell of the castell was crusshyng of weppon.	1186 1189	At eche kernel was cry and quasschyng of wepne. Leythe a ladder to the wal and a lofte clymyth.
Latin has *bellicis scalis appositis letaliter impetunt et dura debellacione Trojanes terimunt.*				
Troy	11090	Kene was the crie with crusshyng of weppyn.		
Troy	6924	That the blod out brast. . . .	1194-5	That the brayn out brast at both nose thrylles And Sabyn ded of the dynt into the diche falleth.
Troy	4755-6	Till thai lept of the ladder light in the dyke. The brayne oute brast and the brethe levyt.		[Sabyn had mounted the ladder.]
Latin has *sternuntur a scalis et volubiliter ruinosi prevenientes in terra fractis cervicibus vitam exalant.*			1203	Wer ded of that dynt and in the diche lyghten.
Alex.	2153	. . . fey for defaute enfamyshyd hys oste.	1240	. . . enfamyed for defaute whan hem fode wanted.
Troy	3169	Bassons of bright gold and other brode vessell.	1261	Bassynes of brend gold and other bryght ger.
Troy	4774	Mynours then mightely the moldes did serche.	1274 1279	Now masons and mynours hav the molde soughte. Till alle the cyte was serched and sought al aboute.
Troy	4695	Betyne doune the buyldynges to the bare erthe.	1257	Doun bete the bilde brenne hit in to grounde.
Troy	4777	Betyn doun the buyldynges and brent into erthe.	1285	Bot doun betyn and brent into blake erth.
Latin has *in facie terre dejectis tam deiciencium studio quam ignium flammis voracibus.*				
Alex.	3642	Thretti dais on a throme. . . .	1314	Thrytty Jewes in a thrum. . . .

From these citations an interesting induction comes. Lines of the *Titus*, containing part of the narrative of the detailed overthrow and desolation of the Holy City, reproduce almost verbatim lines of the *Troy*,

may point to 1349, but is better interpreted to refer to the visitation of 1361-2. In 1361 it crossed the channel:

> That ilk yere in til Yngland
> The Secund Dede was fast wedand (*Wyntoun*, viii., 7135-6).

It did havoc in Scotland in 1362. There is yet another element making for a date about that time. The Black Prince's conquest of Aquitaine, ratified by the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, may account for a freshened interest in the legend of St. Veronica, whom Frenchmen still designate as 'the Apostle of Aquitaine.'[1] The locality of her cult was in Gascony and Guienne and Bordeaux, all then English possessions, and all playing a part in the legend and in our poem (ll. 26, 70, 190). We can hardly date *Titus* earlier than 1363. In any view the sequence established between *Alexander*, *Troy*, *and Titus* will perhaps help us when from the *Titus*—a poem known to Scotland in the fifteenth century[2]—we pass at last to *Morte Arthure*, believing that we have possessed ourselves of its secret.

9. 'Morte Arthure,' its Sources, Contents, and Parallels.

(1) *The 'Brut' as General Source.*

A chivalric Arthurian poem, not improbably known to Barbour[3] and certainly quoted by Wyntoun[4] (*circa* 1420), this story is a free rendering of the tale first enshrined in Geoffrey of Monmouth's reliquary, that *Brut* or *Historia Britonum* to which for ill and for good British history and British literature stand in so profound a debt.[5] The 'Emperor' Lucius Iberius sends to

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[1] *Sainte Véronique, Apotre de l'Aquitaine.* 2nd ed. Toulouse, 1877.

[2] The opening line of *Titus*—'In Tiberius's tyme the trewe Emperour'—is, as John Leyden had observed, *verbatim* the opening line of *The Gyre-Carling* printed in *Early Popular Scottish Poetry*, ed. Laing and Hazlitt, 1895, ii. p. 19; also as number cxlviii. in the Hunterian Club print of the *Bannatyne MS.*

[3] *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, p. 12. Besides the facts associating Barbour with the Knight of Eglintoun, the concurrence of sources used by Barbour and Huchown has to be considered. See below, ch. 15 sec. 4.

[4] *Wyntoun*, bk. v., ll. 4271-4366; *Morte Arthure*, ll. 34-47, etc.

[5] Some discussion of this and other sources occurs in P. Branscheid's elaborate essay *Quellen des Morte Arthure* in *Anglia*, viii., *Anzeiger*, pp. 178-336; Dr. Moritz Trautmann's

England demanding homage and tribute. In response to the insulting embassy, King Arthur crosses the channel, and, after slaying a giant, fights a great battle with Lucius, who falls, and whose body Arthur causes to be conveyed to Rome as the only tribute he is prepared to pay. He then advances into Italy, and is anticipating coronation at Rome when bad news from England constrain him to turn. Mordred, his nephew, left in charge of the realm, has played false, and the king's landing is only effected after a great sea fight in which he is victorious over Mordred and his foreign allies. The battle is continued ashore, and to the great grief of the king, Sir Gawayne falls by Mordred's hand. The traitor then flees to Cornwall, with Arthur in vengeful pursuit. Again there is battle, and all the great names of the Round Table are reckoned on the list of dead. Arthur strikes Mordred a terrible blow which cuts off his sword-hand, and Mordred dies from a thrust of Caliburn driven 'to the bright hilts.' Arthur himself, however, is wounded mortally in the encounter, and the powerful historical alliterative romance ends with the Requiem sung over the hero buried at Glastonbury—*Rex quondam rexque futurus.*

In this outline there is little deviation from the vulgate story of Arthur. The poem glorifies Arthur and the knights of his Round Table, most of all perhaps dwelling on the exploits and devotion of his nephew, Sir Gawayne, whose death is the occasion of a passionate lament by the hero-king. This is one of the many insertions made by the poet, although his framework as a whole is a fairly literal translation of the version of Arthur's later career given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, however, was not the sole Arthurian authority he employed. The English *Brut*[1] was known in Scotland soon after the middle of the fourteenth century. But the Latin *Brut* was that used by Huchown. There was, however, a considerable levy made on other works besides the *Brut* and its offshoots.

At numerous points dramatic episodes are woven into the plainer thread of

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Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke in *Anglia*, i., 109-49; Dr. Oskar Sommer's *Le Morte Darthur*, vol. iii. 148-175; Mrs. M. M. Banks's edition of *Morte Arthur*, p. 128; and the preface to the *Destruction of Troy*. These references give no clue to the sources (except the *Brut* and the *Troy*) now to be dealt with.

[1] The *Bruyt en Engles* is quoted by the *Scalacronica*, p. 3.

the *Brut*, and the *Great Gest of Arthure* is presented with high and viv colouring, and with a dignity and stateliness due to the monarch-elect chivalric romance. It is no detraction from the constructive power of t poet that even at this remote distance of time we can so far enter into l work as to determine with some certainty some at least of his sources.

It is hardly necessary to particularise the parts of *Morte Arthure* whi come from its stock source, the *Brut*. What is taken is freely handled, chang are deliberately made, expansion is everywhere, and there are inserted not few things which are in no sense really exegetical of the *Brut*. From book i chapter 15 of Geoffrey, wherein Lucius sends his letter, to book xi., chapter wherein Arthur, wounded to death, is carried to Avalon, the *Brut* is t centre and substance of the poem. The particular manuscript of the *Br* employed in the making of the poem will be considered by and bye. T value of *Morte Arthure* as a piece of literary history and as literature turn however, to no small extent upon its incidental indebtedness to certain oth sources which English and German editors and commentators have ove looked. The first of these is one which we may remember as of prove connection with the alliterative *Alexander*.

(2) *Maundeville's Itinerary*.

We therefore renew our acquaintance with Maundeville. In *Mor Arthure*, when Sir Priamus, badly wounded, becomes the prisoner Gawayne,

> A foyle of fyne golde they fande at his gyrdill,
> That es full of the flour of the fouur well
> That flowes owte of Paradice when the flode ryses.—(ll. 2704-6.)

Of the terrestrial Paradise Maundeville knew that it contained a well wi four streams carrying precious stones, and lignum aloes, and golden san The terrestrial Paradise he knew, too, was so high that Noah's flood cou not reach it.[1]

(3) *Fleta or Bracton*.

Sir Hew of Eglintoun was a Justiciar of Scotland. That he should ha been acquainted with one or other or both of the classical English leg

[1] *Maundeville* (Wright), ch. xxx.: MS. T. 4, 1, fo. 266+69b.

treatises must be as little surprising as would be his making the personal acquaintance of an English Chief-Justice, say, for example Scharshill, during a visit to or sojourn in London. There is in *Morte Arthure* an episode in connection with the ambassadors of Lucius which argues unmistakably a knowledge of the English law of sanctuary as set forth in Bracton's *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, written before 1259, or with the *Fleta seu Commentarius Juris Anglicani*, which—largely drawn from the former work—a judge of the time of Edward I. composed in the Fleet Prison. The episode in question is a supplement of the poet's devising to anything he could have found in the original, for the *Brut* contains nothing that corresponds. Arthur, after giving the embassy right royal entertainment, changes the tune when the time arrives for diplomatic business. Then he gives haughty answer to be carried back to the Emperor by the embassy. The claim of homage and tribute is contemptuously rejected; threats are met with threats still more stern; and finally the 'Senatour' is ordered home in uncompromising terms.[1] From Carlisle he is to go to the port of Sandwich; seven days are allowed him for the journey (sixty miles a day is the computation); he is to keep by Watling Street all the way, or leave it on pain of death; he must lodge for the night where his day's journey ends; and if after undern of the eighth day he is found in England, unless within the floodmark at Sandwich, he will be beheaded, drawn, and hanged. There can be no disputing the inference that the poet had in his view the text of sanctuary law whereby a criminal who had taken sanctuary and chosen to abjure the realm made his departure from the land. His port of embarcation being chosen, 'there ought to be computed for him,' says Bracton (fo. 135b-136) 'reasonable days' journeys to that port, and he ought to be forbidden to quit the king's highway, and he should tarry nowhere for two nights . . . but should ever hold on by the direct road to the port, so that he may be there by his given day. . . . If he do otherwise he shall be in peril.' In *Fleta* (ff. 45-46) the doctrine of Bracton is carried to further detail. The grithman is to pass on his way 'without girdle, unshod, and bare-headed[2] in

[1] *Morte Arthure*, 445-63.

[2] Discinctus et discalceatus capite discooperto in pura tunica tanquam in patibulo suspendendus.

kirtle alone like one about to be hanged on the gallows,' and if he stray from the highway he is liable to decapitation if caught.[1]

These texts of law are the best gloss we can desire for the grim direction by Arthur to the senator, whose departure is thus ingeniously conditioned with ignominy by the prescription of exit in the manner of a fugitive criminal. The element of the 'kirtle alone' was familiar to the 14th century; it was used in the *Titus* repeatedly; in the *Morte Arthure* we shall find it too with a context which settles beyond dispute its immediate source now to be brought forward.

(3) *Voeux du Paon.*

This French poem,[2] after a very entertaining and courtly series of events, gets to its real business in the vows made on the peacock by the various knights of Alexander the Great. Chivalry from the 13th to the 15th century laid great store by vows, often of extravagant valour, made on choice or royal dishes at great festivals—vows on the Swan, the Peacock, the Pheasant, or the Heron. Has not La Curne de Sainte-Palaye in the *Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie* (ed. Nodier, 1826; i., pp. 157, etc., ii., 1-132, etc.) told and quoted and explained so fully as to supersede the need for repetition here? History remembers the vow of Edward I. made on the Swan[3] at Westminster in 1306 at that feast which a contemporary describes as so noble that Britain had never seen its like except that feast at Caerleon in Arthur's time.[4] It remembers also the vow of the Heron made by Edward III. and Robert d'Artois in 1338, a vow which happily found its metrical chronicler so that it lives in the old French *Voeu du Héron*.[5] It has forgotten, perhaps, that not John Barbour merely but history itself most curiously associated Robert the

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[1] My first note on this sanctuary passage appeared in the Dr. Furnivall Festschrift, *An English Miscellany*, 1901, p. 384.

[2] Students of romance await with very great interest the publication of M. Charles Bonnier's edition of the French text which is urgently necessary for purposes of collation.

[3] *Flores Historiarum*, sub anno 1306. Trivet's *Annales* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 408.

[4] *Robert of Brunne*, ed. Hearne, p. 332. Caerleon became Carlisle in *Morte Arthure*.

[5] La Curne, i., 95.

Bruce with the vow of the peacock, for one of our chroniclers tells that in 1307, after Edward I.'s death, his son's newly created knights made similar vows to conquer King Robert to those made the year before—'emitted,' says he,[1] 'new vows to the peacock.' But it is time to return from the vow historical to the vow poetic. It was this chivalrous usage that Jacques de Longuyon enshrined in the *Voeux du Paon* to enrich the Alexander saga, making the various paladins of the great Alexander pledge themselves to perform their several feats of outstanding bravery in the approaching battle with King Clarus of India. One, for instance, swore 'to discomfit the great battale,' another to take a distinguished prisoner, another to strike down the standard of the Indian king. Thus the vows were made, and after much intervening action the poet conducts his readers to the battlefield, where knight after knight goes forward to redeem his undertaking. The 'great battale' is discomfited, the prisoner is taken, the standard is hewn down. All the vows are fulfilled to the letter. 'As they deemed to do they did full even' is the apt statement of one[2] who made an abstract and brief chronicle of the poem.

The French text of the poem is only now in course of being edited, but an early Scottish translator, who, as I believe myself to have demonstrated, was none other than John Barbour, gave this French poem vigorous and admirable rendering into the Scottish vernacular as *The Avowes of Alexander* and *The Great Battell of Effesoun*—these forming the second and third parts of the composite poem of which the first part is *The Forray of Gadderis*, and of which the general title is *The Buik of the most noble and vailzeand Conqueror Alexander the Great*, reprinted in 1831 for the Bannatyne Club in a very limited edition now grown scarce. That the French poem was well known to Barbour's contemporary and colleague, Sir Hew (if Sir Hew was Huchown), becomes evident from the use to which it is put in *Morte Arthure*. In the *Brut* there is no machinery of 'avows' made either by Arthur or his knights; no mention of any particular form of surrender or submission by the rebellious vassal

[1] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodal, ii., 240, Novo rege Angliae creato tirones et novi milites de subjectione regis Roberti nova vota emittunt pavoni.

[2] *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, l. 567.

or vanquished enemy; no mention of any ceremonial by way of amends to satiate the blood-feud or avert future hostility; no mention of the Nine Worthies. All these features occur in the *Voeux du Paon*, and are transferred to and made part of the framework of *Morte Arthure*.

Arthur himself and knight after knight of the Table Round with him make their avows. Arthur will by Lammas pass to Lorraine and Lombardy, mine down the walls of Milan, and sojourn six weeks at Viterbo. King Aungers of Scotland will bring 50,000 men at his own charges, the Baron of Britain the Less will bring 30,000 within a month, the Welsh king will fight with 2000 in the vanguard. Sir Lancelot will tilt with the Emperor and strike him from his steed. Sir Lottez will cleave his way through the enemies' ranks. Sir Ewayne will touch the eagle of the Emperor and dash down his golden banner. All which avows are perfectly accomplished; 'as they deemed to do they did full even.'

In the *Voeux* a powerful dramatic situation is presented by the amends and satisfaction which the leading paladins of Alexander offer to the younger Gadifer. In the battle which closes the *Forray of Gaderis* (*Fuerre de Gadres*) the valiant Gadifer had fallen under the spear of Emenydus. Subsequently Cassamus the Auld conducts Gadifer the Young, eldest son of the slain Gadifer, to the camp of Alexander, where he becomes the ally of the Macedonian. But when he discovers the exact position he is somewhat taken aback, and a conflict is imminent between his sense of the duty of revenge on the one hand and the requirements of his new environment on the other. Emenydus generously resolves to remove the last obstacle to harmony in the camp. To the surprise of Alexander, Emenydus and twelve companions march, barefoot, bareheaded, beltless, and in their shirts, to the presence of the young Gadifer, making submission to him by kneeling before him, tendering their swords, which they hold by the points, and reaching the hilts to the man whose blood-feud they thus hope to appease. This submission, which was gratefully accepted by Gadifer, quite evidently supplied the idea which more than once appears in *Morte Arthure*. There are minor examples, but the chief instance is that in which, after the fall of the 'Emperour' Lucius, senators and knights of Rome beg for mercy.

Twa senatours ther come and certayne knyghttes,
Hodles fro the bethe ouer the holte eyves,
Barefote ouer the bente with brondes so ryche,
Bowes to the bolde kynge and biddis hym the hiltes,
Whethire he will hang theym or hedde or halde theym on lyfe,
Knelyde before the conquerour in kyrtills allone.[1]

Where could this have come from unless from the *Voeux*? If it should be answered that the usage was one not ill-known to chivalric courts-martial,[2] and that its very presence in the *Voeux* comes from that fact, it will only be necessary to recall the existence of other points of contact. Of these a third and most prominent instance of borrowing is the account of the Nine Worthies—three pagans, Hector, Alexander, and Caesar; three Jews, Joshua, David, and Judas Machabeus; and three Christians, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon—whose fates are so aptly introduced in connection with Fortune's wheel in Arthur's vision.

(4) *Titus and Vespasian.*

Unmistakable are the proofs of the use of the *Titus* in *Morte Arthure*—a use which is of the greatest moment in the line of chronological proofs. Sundry questions have to be asked, and the answers to them set forward and examined.[3]

Why in *Morte Arthure* (297, 309, 348, 386) are the vows of Arthur and his knights made not (as in the French romance they echo) on the peacock, but on the Holy Vernacle?[4]

Because, as we have seen, the story of the Vernacle plays so great a part in the *Titus*. As the Vernacle was an integral element of the Titus,

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[1] *Hodles*, hoodless; *holte eyves*, skirts of the wood; *brondes*, brands, swords; *biddis*, offer.

[2] See my article on 'The Submission of the Lord of the Isles,' in *Scottish Antiquary*, xv., 113, and add a Glasgow example, since pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Robert Renwick, in *Records of Burgh of Glasgow* (Burgh Records Soc.), 1573-1642, p. 293. Note also Du Guesclin's reference to this form of penitential surrender as recorded in Cuvelier's *Vie Vaillant Bertran du Guesclin*, ll. 2457-9.

[3] Most of these points were set forth in 'Huchown' (part I.), *Athenæum*, 1st June, 1901.

[4] Because, says Mr. Henry Bradley (*Athenæum*, 15th June, 1901), the 'words *avowe* and *vernacle* alliterate in *v*.' It is indeed a notable reason, the publication of which evinces Mr. Bradley's penetration!

Vespasian, and Veronica legend, it goes without saying that the *Titus* d not borrow the Vernacle from *Morte Arthure*.

Why in *Morte Arthure* (2331-35) is it that Arthur by way of doi shame to Rome shaves the senators who came as ambassadors submission to him after the death of Lucius?

Because in the *Titus* (355-378) ambassadors of Rome demanding su render of Jerusalem are sent back shaven, 'scorned and shent upon sham wise,' by the indignant garrison. This is not Roman, for with the Roma shaving was a symbol of manumission; it does not seem to occur in eith the ancient or medieval stories of the fall of Jerusalem; but it is an incide so oriental in character as to be as natural and as much in keeping wi the story of Titus and the Jews as at first it seems out of keeping wi Arthur and the Romans. *Ogier Danois* with its shaven ambassado supplies an exact enough precedent for both poems.

How comes it that in *Morte Arthure* (1252, 2026, 2057) there such insistence on the significance of the dragon banner?

There is the same insistence in the *Titus* (278, 325, 387-8, 396-40 concerning it. Perhaps the hint for it in both *Titus* and *Morte Arthu* came partly from Geoffrey of Monmouth (vii., chaps. 3 and 4) and part from fourteenth century life or literature, but the allusion of *Titus* (397) the dragon as an indication of the royal presence in person and (398-400) its menace as precluding any terms short of absolute surrender, harmonis remarkably with the *Morte Arthure* allusions to the dragon[1] raised threaten only when Lucius is himself in the field.

Whence came into *Morte Arthure* (3353-62) the 'pome' symbol sovereignty of the earth with the sword as its companion toke

It came from the same quarter as produced the four-bladed falchic and the ball of burning gold betokening conquest of 'al the world rich in *Titus* (390-395).

Whence came into *Morte Arthure* (900-919) the suggestion of t fine picture of Arthur arming himself for the fight with the dragon

[1] On this see further my article on 'Raising Dragon' in *Scottish Antiquary*, xii. 14 But see also chap. 12, sec. 1, below.

In the *Titus* (734-762) there is a closely analogous picture of Vespasian arming himself, a picture not occurring in the original Latin sources. The two pictures have, moreover, features and alliterations in common.

Titus.	*Morte Arthure.*
735 ['Leverockes' sing].	925-30 [Birds sing].[1]
738 [Vespasian] busked hym fayr.	917 [Arthur] sterys hym faire.
741 brynye browded . . . . brest.	1858 brenys browden brestez . . . .
741-2 [Vespasian has a breast-plate of steel and gold.]	902 [Arthur has an 'acton with orfraeez.']
748 A brod schynand scheld on scholdir he hongith.	914 He bracez a brade schelde.
750 The glowes of gray steel that wer with gold hemyd.	912 His gloues gaylyche gilte and grauen at the hemmez. (This is repeated at l. 3462.)
751 . . . . and his hors asketh.	914 . . . . and his brande aschez.
752 The gold hewen helme haspeth he blyve With viser and with avental devysed for the nones A croune of clene gold was closed upon lofte · Rybande umbe the rounde helm ful of riche stones, Pyght prudely with perles into the pur corners.	908 The creste and the coronall enclosed so faire Wyth clasppis of clere golde couched wyth stones The vesare the aventaile enarmede so faire. [3462 pighte was full faire With perry of the oryent and precyous stones.]
758 He strideth on a stif stede and striketh over the bente. [521 Stith men in stiropys striden alofte]. *Gawayne and Green Knight*, 435: Steppez into stelbawe and strydès alofte. *Alex.* 778 Striden to stelebowe startyn upon lofte.	915-6 Bounede hym a broun stede and on the bente hovys He sterte till his sterepe and stridez on lofte.
760 His segges sewen hym alle	919 . . . hys knyghtes hyme kepede . . .

How comes it that whilst, as we have seen, there are so many lines and phrases common to *Titus* and *Troy*, and whilst, as we shall see, there are so many common to *Morte Arthure* and *Troy*, there are also so many common to *Morte Arthure* and *Titus*?

[1] An accompaniment perhaps suggested by *Perceval le Gallois*, ll. 19056-84, M. Amours, *Sc. Allit. Poems*, pp. 276-7.

and Sommer's introduction to Malory may be consulted, as well as Mrs. Banks's introduction.

Two sources not brought forward in any of these discussions may be suggested as possible. The noble and impassioned outburst of Arthur over the body of the slain Gawayne, which he lifts and clasps to his breast, (l. 3952) may be compared with the passage in the Itinerary of the Pseudo-Turpin (*Itinerarium domini Turpini*) found in the Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1, where (fo. 184) Charlemagne mourns over the fallen Roland. '*Karolus Rothlandum exanimatum jacentem eversum brachiis positis super pectus in effigie crucis, et irruens super eum cepit lacrimis gemitibus et singultibus . . . lugere*,' etc. Not the words of Charlemagne are followed by Arthur, but the echo of their spirit is very close. A second possible and quite subsidiary source is *Generydes*, to which reference may be made in its late English version (E.E.T.S., 1873), for several points of contact with the Huchown set of poems. Thus the temptation in ll. 477-483 suggests the recurrent machinery of *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. The steed of Generydes, 'Grisselle,' is the steed[1] of Gawayne in the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, just as in another poem Hector's steed, 'Galathe,' appears to have given name[2] to Gawayne's sword, 'Galuth.' The sword of Generydes, 'Claryet,' suggests[3] Arthur's weapon, 'Clarent.' And in one of the battles of Generydes there are 'boustous folk' 'on camelys' who look very like[4] the 'boustous churlles' on 'camellez' who are ranged among the enemies of King Arthur in the army of the 'Emperour. The probability of *Generydes* being indeed a source is vastly heightened by a direct reference to it in another of the Huchown poems, to be afterwards noticed,[5] which is in part a derivative of *Morte Arthure*. That there are other French sources, as for instance, for the Priamus and Gawayne encounter, is certain. *Ogier Danois*, we have seen, probably accounts for the four shaven ambassadors. Not less probably it accounts for the incident of the curative ointment carried by Priamus, which, taken from his girdle after

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[1] *Generydes*, 3301—*Awntyrs*, 547.

[2] *Troy*, 7780—*Morte*, 1387.

[3] *Generydes*, 3481—*Morte*, 4202.

[4] *Generydes*, 2152-7; *Morte*, 615-6; 'Bioustious,' the same adjective, occurs in *Troy*, 4116.

[5] See ch. 10, sec. 2, below.

Gawayne has wounded and captured him, makes all the injured knights 'fischehalle' within four hours (ll. 2705-13). In *Ogier Danois* the giant Brehus has in the buckle of his shield an ointment similarly effective, whereby he at once makes himself, says the romance, 'more sound than a swimming fish.' The victorious Ogier and Gawayne alike possess themselves of the vanquished enemy's ointment. Hence, therefore, seems to have come the suggestion of the encounter of Priamus and Gawayne. Other French sources may be taken to include some version of *Ferumbras*, the allusion to the relics, the crown of thorns, the lance, the cross, and the nails[1] being in all likelihood brought from that romance.

(6) *The 'Troy' and the 'Alexander.'*

Approaching now a series of extensive parallels between *Morte Arthure* and the *Troy* one finds it simplest to deal with the *Alexander* also in the same connection as a subsidiary source connected with the *Troy* in *Morte Arthure* passages as we have already seen it in *Titus* passages.

One group of parallels to the *Alexander* is geographical, and has been commented upon by Professor Skeat. At the end of the *Alexander* there is a singular list of provinces subject to the rule of Alexander the Great. The Latin original has been reprinted above. While this list gives the key to at least thirty-two of the names in the alliterative rendering, it also makes clear the inference that a number of the alliterative names were not in the original Latin. The further comparison of a similar list of names in *Morte Arthure* with that in the *Alexander* poems reveals (1) that the former contains pairs occurring in the latter; (2) that these pairs embrace names not in the Latin source of the *Alexander*; and (3) that thus such combinations and coincidences as 'Gyane and Grece,' 'Bayone and Burdeux, or 'Naverne and Norway' are rendered doubly significant.

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[1] *Morte*, 3427-29. In Scottish chronicle of 1360 there is mention of these 'tresnoblis precious reliqes.' *Scalacronica*, 195. There is, however, no list of what they were, and it is observable that, while the lists differ in the *Ferumbras* romances the version used by Barbour (*Bruce*, iii., 459-61) also mentions the crown, the spear, the cross, and the nails. *The Sowdan of Babylon* does not name the spear.

			Morte Arthure.	
Alex.	5674	*Flandres* and *France* . . .	34	Flaundrez and Fraunce.
[*Awntyrs of Arthure* 276. *Bretane* and Burgoyne.]			36	Burgoyne and Brabane and Bretayne the lesse.
			(1018	Burgoyne or Bretayne.)
Alex.	5667	Gyane Garnad and *Grece* and Gascony.	37	Gyane and Gothelande and Grece.
[*Titus*	26	Gascoyne gat and Gyan.]		
Alex.	5668	Bayone and Burdeux.	38	Bayone and Burdeux.
Alex.	5672	*Norway* thire Navernes alle.	44	Naverne and Norwaye and Normaundye.
Alex.	5669	*Capidos.*	580	Capados.
Alex.	5665	*Turke*, Tuscane, Troy, and Tartary.	582	Tartary and Turky.
	2190	*Thebea.*	583	Thebay. [The next line (584) refers to the Amazons, thus showing the Alexander connection. Line 586 too speaks of Babylon, also referable to the Alexander story.]
	5657	Pers and *Pamphalie.*	588	Perce and Pamphile.

The above *italicised* names from the *Alexander* occur in the Latin, the others do not, thus making the recurrence of the same pairs in another poem so much the more indicative of a single hand. How this indication gains from extended collation of certain identities of line and alliteration between the poems as undernoted will be too plain to need much argument.

			Morte Arthure.	
Troy	2683	Warpet out wordes . . .	9	. . . werpe owte some worde . . .
Troy	207	. . . with daintes ynogh.	199	With darielles endordede and daynteez ynewe.
Awntyrs	459	With iiche daynteths endorrede . . .		
Awntyrs	14	Sir Gawane the gay dame Gayenour he ledis.	233	Sir Gaywayne the worthye Dame Waynour he hledys.
Troy	2140	To venge of our velany.	298	Of this grett velany I salle be vengede ones.
Titus	20	. . . the vyleny to venge.		
Troy	6537	With thre thousand thro men thrivond in armys.	317	Thyrtty thousande be tale thryftye in armes.
Troy	7733	Sparit for no spurse, speddyn to the flight.	449	. . . spede at the spurs and spare not . . .

				Morte Arthure.
				[See entry preceding.]
Troy	9433	Shot thurgh the sheld and the shene mayle. [Same, 6401.]		
Troy	81	. . . torfer and tene.	1956	. . . tene and torfere. . . .
Troy	1197	All dynnet the dyn and dales aboute.	2031	Alle dynned fore dyne that in the dale hovede.
Troy	6407	. . . braid out a brond. . . .	2069	Braydez owte his brande. . . .
Troy	7458	How stith men and stedes were strikon to ground.	2079	The stede and the steryne man strykes to the grownd.
Troy	6789	Mony lyve of lept. . . .	2084	. . . somme leppe fro the lyfe. . . .
Awntyrs	502	So jolyly those gentille mene justede one were.	2088	Jolyly this gentille forjusted . . . another.
Troy	7400	. . . bowmen . . . bykirit.	2095-6	. . . bowmene . . . bekerde.
Troy	5285	. . . dede and done out of lyve.	2178	That he was dede of the dynte and done owte of lyfe.
Awntyrs	25	On a mule as the mylke.	2287	Moyllez mylke whitte. . . .
Troy	1089	Skairen out skoute wacche. . .	2468	Skayres thaire skottefers and theire skowtte waches.
Alex.	2175	He pight doun his pavilion. . .	2478	Pyghte pavyllyons of palle. . . .
Alex.	4178	. . . pavillions of pall. . . .		
Alex.		Als fast was he fyschehale . . . Cf. 4282.	2709	. . . freke schalle be fischehalle within foure houres.
Troy	5939	Slit hym doun sleghly thurghe the slote evyn.	2976	Sleyghly in at the slotte slyttes hyme thorowe.
Troy	6409	Slit him full slighly to the slote evyn.		
Troy	6955	Miche slaght in that slade of tho slegh knightes. Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 481.	2978	Sixty slongene in a slade of sleghe men of armes.
Troy	5250	Mony doughty were ded thurgh dynt of his hond. Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 501, also lines.	3025	Many doughty es dede by dynt of his hondes. Cf. 1073, 1277, 4228.
Troy.	7795	And mony deghit that day thurgh dynt of his hond.		
Awntyrs	318	. . . the dawngere and the dole that I in duelle.	3068	To duelle in dawngere and dole
Titus	1108	Up a buschment brake. . . .	3125	Thane brekes oure buschement. . . .
Awntyrs	340	Undir a seloure of sylke . . .	3195	Undyre a sylure of sylke.
Awntyrs	135	. . . whedir that thou salle.	3232	That I ne wiste no waye whedire that I scholde.
Pistil	11-12	Of Erberi and Alees Of alle Maner of trees.	3245	Enhorilde with arborye and alkyns trees.

				Morte Arthure.
Troy	7997	. . . dew dankit . . .	3249	. . . downkynge of dewe. . . .
Awntyrs	16	Withe riche rebanes reversede.	3256	And alle redily reversside with rebanes of golde.
Titus	637	Byes, broches, besauntes. . .	3257	Bruchez and besauntez and other bryghte stonys.
Awntyrs	17	Raylede with rubes one royalle arraye.	3264	Raylide with reched and rubyes inewe.
Troy	9038	Slogh hom doun sleghly with sleght of his hond. [Same, 9451.]	3419	For he slewe with a slynge be sleyghte of his handis.
Titus	472	. . . sawters seten . . . psalmys.	3422-3	. . . psalmes That in the sawtire ere sette. . . .
Alex.	4960	Pesan pancere and platis.	3459	A pesane and a paunsone. . . .
Titus	509	Plate ne pesan.		
Awntyrs	151	And nowe am I cachede owte of kyth in carys so colde.	3514	Now am I cachede owtt of kyth with kare at my herte.
Alex.	24	The wysest wies of this werd.	3554	Of all the wyes of this worlde.
Troy	10706	. . . and his ble chaungit.	3559	. . . alle his ble chaungide.
Titus	1088	. . . and all hir blode chaungeth.	4214	. . . and alle his ble chaunges.
Troy	2758	And shope hom to ship.	3600-1	And thane he schoupe hyme to chippe. . . .
	2744	. . . on the shyre water.		. . . over the schyre waters.
Troy	13730	And schunt for no schame but hit schope faire. Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 474.	3716	He ne schownttes for no schame but schewes fulle heghe.
Troy	943	Shott thurgh the sheld and the shene mayle.	3747-9	Thourghe the scheldys so schene schalkes thay towche
Troy	1264	His shafte all to sheverit the shalke was unhurt.		With schaftes scheverid schorte of thas schene launces
Alex.	2091	Derfe dintes and dreghe delt and taken.		Derfe dynthys they dalte. . . .
Troy	5810	Launsit as a lyoun. Cf. *Troy*, 10985.	3832	. . . alles a lyone he lawnches theme thorowe.
Awntyrs	617	The swerde sleppis on slante and one the mayle slydys.	3855	His hand sleppid and slode oslante one the mayles.
Titus	1014	Wende wepande away.	3889	Went wepand awaye . . .
Troy	1328	. . . blody beronyn. Cf. *Troy*, 10424, 11141.	3947	. . . al blody bero[n]ene.
			3972	. . . blody berowne.
Troy	10757	Ne hope of hor hele in hor hert thoght.	3959-60	. . . the hope of my hele . . . my herte.

				Morte Arthure.
Troy	1516	Soche sikyng and sorow sanke in his hert.	3984	Was never sorowe so softe that sanke to my herte.
Awntyrs	230	To mene me with messes grete menske nowe it were.	4019	Menskede with messes for mede of the saule.
Troy	3239	Thai shotte into shippe the scheltrun.	4116	Schotte to the schiltrones. . . .
Troy	313-5	The mighty Massidon King master of all. . . . He wan all the world and at his wille aght.	4161	Of alle that Alexander aughte qwhilles he in erthe lengede.
Titus	720	. . . tresoun and trey. . . .	4193	. . . tresone and trayne. . . .
Troy	1248	The bourder of his basnet brestes in sonder.	4212	The bordoure of his bacenett he bristes in sondire.
Awntyrs	521-2	He kervet of the cantel that covurt the knyghte. Thro his shild and his shildur a schaftmun he share.	4232-3	The cantelle of the clere schelde he kerfes in sondyre Into the schuldyre of the schalke a schaftmonde large.
Alex.	4961	Jopone and jesserand. . . .	4239	Thorowe jopowne and jesserawnte. . .

The arguments about dissimilarities in style and vocabulary between *Morte Arthure*, the *Troy*, the *Alexander*, and other poems are so completely undermined by the great facts of connection now for the first time established, that the tedious and invidious task of replying in detail to so many scholars and personal friends is happily unnecessary. That entirely mistaken stress was laid upon divergences of vocabulary, and that supposed distinctions of alliterative system were unwarrantably believed to make unity impossible—these seem now to be self-evident propositions, with every presumption in favour of unity. The earlier arguments were brought forward under conditions now enormously modified and reversed—a body of new positive fact having practically superseded the anterior basis of Huchown's case.

For Huchown, especially considered as a postulate of unity, the claim now rests not on general or special resemblances of lines or style—always the most slippery of grounds—but on a long and firm series of proved and interlocked connections uniting four poems, *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*.

(7) *Events of* 1346-64 *as sources.*

Taking as proved the influence of the French wars on the fabric of *Titus* one finds a ready test for the chronology of *Morte Arthure.*[1] Full of chivalry, must there not emerge in it points of special contact as regards the art of war itself? Let us therefore examine the dispositions of his troops made by King Arthur in his great battle with the 'Emperour.' In Geoffrey the king has eight squadrons besides his own, and he has no archers. In *Morte Arthure* the array is quite altered. There are three battalions. The king appoints Sir Valiant

> Cheftayne of the cheeke with chevalrous knyghttez,
> And sythyne meles with mouthe that he moste traystez,
> Demenys the medylward menskfully hymeselfene,
> Ffittes his fotemen alles hym faire thynkkes,
> On fronnte the forebreste, the flour of his knyghtez.
> His archers on aythere halfe he ordaynede theraftyre
> To schake in a sheltrone to shotte whene theme lykes:
> He arrayed in the rerewarde fulle rialle knyghtez,
> With renkkes renownd of the rounde table.[2]
>
> *Morte Arthure*, 1986-94.

The best possible commentary on this is the battle of Crecy.[3] There were three 'battles,' two forming the front line, the third the reserve. 'The men at arms' (says Mr. Oman)[4] 'all on foot, were formed in a solid line—perhaps six or eight deep—in the centre of the 'battle.' The archers stood in two equal divisions to the right and left of the men at arms.' Edward's array and Arthur's are thus essentially the same—(1) three 'battles,' *i.e.* the 'cheeke' or 'fronnt,' the middleward, and the rearguard; (2) the flower of the knights on foot in the battlefront; and (3) the archers on each side of (4) the dismounted men at arms. One may not press such things too far, yet must it be noticed how the bowmen of Britain overbore the 'bregaundez' of the enemy[5] just as the archers of

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[1] The chief heads of this section, with additional details, are set forth in my article on the subject about to be published in *The Antiquary*.

[2] *Cheeke*, the 'front' or vanguard; *meles*, addresses; *demenys*, arrays; *menskfully*, becomingly; *halfe*, side; *sheltrone*, arrayed body; *renkes*, men.

[3] See Murimuth (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 165-7; Galfridus le Baker (ed. Giles), 164-7.

[4] *Art of War* (Middle Ages), 605.

[5] *Morte Arthure*, 2095-107.

Edward drove back the cross-bowmen of Genoa, who were armed in 'brigandines' of mail.[1] In the poem[2] a great charge of horse followed, in which many men were trodden down. This sequence was historical at Crecy also.[3] Nor are there wanting analogies for the threats of no quarter, characteristic of both the battle poetic[4] and the battle real.[5] Surely the test of Crecy is well sustained.

The 'brigands' introduce themselves to us in Froissart under the year 1358—the infantry of the freebooting mercenary class produced by the English wars in France. The word itself carries a general indication of date corroborated by so many companion facts.

Turn from land to sea and the same test stands. Consider certain of the characteristics of the great sea fight between Arthur and the allies of Mordred, and place this engagement in its entirety over against the historical sea-fight off Winchelsea, between the English and the 'Espagnols,' on 29th August, 1350. And note how every point of the historic battle, (now to be gleaned from divers chronicles, etc., Minot, Murimuth's continuator, Walsingham, Galfridus le Baker, and Froissart) comes blazing into the wonderful poem—the topcastles with the stones and gads of iron, the 'hurdace,' the 'beaver' of Edward and then his helm, the cutting of head ropes, the English archers outshooting the enemy, the storming of the ships, the gay cabins hacked with arrows and bespattered with men's brains, and then the grim end of all when—a momentary lapse of the poet dubbing the Danish enemies of Arthur the 'Spanyolis'—he tells how to a man they sprang into the sea or stubbornly died upon their decks; exactly, as the historians assure us, did the Spaniards off Winchelsea, refusing the summons to

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[1] Oman's *Art of War*, 611. The 'brigandine' is figured in Demmin's *Die Kriegswaffen* (ed. Leipzig, 1886), 457-8. The word 'brigand,' originally denoting a footsoldier, was introduced into French in the 14th century (Brachet's *Dict.*). I find it in a letter to King John just before the battle of Poitiers, in 1356. Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir*, ed. Michel, 1883, p. 333. See also Cuvelier's *Du Guesclin*, l. 1584. It is used by Froissart relative to the 'companies' in 1358; also under same year in *Scalacronica*, p. 186, and earlier on p. 108.

[2] *Morte*, 2140-52. [3] Galf. le Baker, 165. [4] *Morte*, 2007, 2203.

[5] Galf. le Baker, 164-5

surrender, and meeting death with invincible disdain. This will be made fully apparent from the collation[1] exhibited here.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES.	*Morte Arthure* (ll. 3600-700).
Saxis volantibus a turriculis malorum et pilis vibrantibus . . . classica armatura. (Baker.)	The King prepares his ships for battle. 'Drawing up stones' for projectiles as they lie at anchor, 'the topcastles he stuffed with toyelys,' and with 'gads of steel.' There is a 'hurdace on height' with helmed knights. The King is bareheaded 'with beveryne lokkes,' his headpiece, however, at hand, and when the anchors are weighed and the engagement begins he dons 'his comely helm.'
Gros barriaus de fer forgiés et fais tous faitis pour lancier et pour effondrer nefs en lançant de pières et de calliaus sans nombre. (Froissart.)	
Thaire hurdis thaire ankers hanged thai on here. (Minot. x. 14.)	
Si se tenoit li rois d'Engleterre ou chief de sa nef vestis d'un noir jake de velviel et portoit sus son chief un noir chapelet de beveres qui moult bien li sevit. (Froissart.)	
Et puis mist li rois le bacinet en la tieste et aussi fissent tout le aultre. (Froissart.)	
'With trompes and taburns.' (Minot x. 8.) 'Tubis lituis et musæ cornibus suos ad arma concitantes. (Baker.)	Signal of battle comes when the crews 'bragged in trompes.' The wind rises out of the west.
'When thai sailed westward.' (Minot x. 13.)	
S'encontrerent de tel ravine que ce sembla uns tempestes que là fust cheus. Et dou rebombe qu'il fisent li chastiaus de la nef dou roy d'Engletene consievi le chastiel de la nef Espagnole par tel maniere que li force dou mas le rompi amont sus le mas ou il seoit et le reversa en le mer. (Froissart.)	Ships sail into each other with a crash. 'Sways the mastys; over falls in the first'; men bicker with 'gads of irons.'
Si acrokièrent a cros de fer et de kainnes. (Froissart.)	As the ships grapple the seamen 'castys crepers one cross.'
Hanekin . . . copa le cable qui porte le voile par quoi li voiles chei . . . il copa quatre cordes souverainnes qui gouvrenoient le mas et le voille. (Froissart.)	'Thane was hede-rapys hewene that helde up the mastes.' (l. 3668.)

[1] Works cited are *Poems of Laurence Minot*, ed. Hall, pp. 33-4. *Galfridus le Baker*, ed. Giles, pp. 204-5. *Froissart*, ed. Luce, tome iv., pp. 88-96 (livre premier, §§ 323-7). *Murimuth*, (Eng. Hist. Soc.) p. 180. *Walsingham*, *sub anno*, 1350 In examining Froissart I have had the benefit of notes on Lettenhove's text from my friend Mr. J. T. T. Brown.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES.	*Morte Arthure* (ll. 3690-700).
Terebrarunt tandem sagittarii longiore jactu sagittarum illorum balistarios . . . E turribus saxa fulminabant. (Baker.)	'Archers of England full eagerly shoot' 'till all the Danes were dead and in the deep thrown.' (l. 3694.)
Tunc scalas conscensi nostri in Hesperias naves irruerunt gladiis et securibus obvios truncantes. (Baker.)	Arthur's men then board and storm the ships 'leaping in upon loft.'
Ibi vidisses sanguine et cerebro naves pictas demiono sagittas in malis velis temonibus et castris infixas. (Baker.)	Mony kaban clevede cabills destroyede Knyghtes and kene men killide the braynes Kidd castells were corven with all theire kene wapen. (ll. 3671-3.)
Hispani . . . quia se reddere noluerant jussu regis Edwardi omnes miserabiliter perierunt. (Murimuth's continuator.) Hispani . . . omnes miserabiliter perierunt alii ferro cæsi alii aquis submersi. (Walsingham.)	Spanyolis spedily sprentyde over burdez Alle the kene men of kampe knyghtes and other Killyd are colde dede and castyne over burdez. (ll. 3700-2.) [The 'Spanyolis' of l. 3700 are Danes in all the other allusions to them. ll. 3528, 3610, 3694.]
In brevi vasa plena Hispanis vacuabant. (Baker.)	
Inopes Hispanos mortuos et languidos in mare projicientes. (Baker.)	

From these passages what follows? That there is more of live chronicle of the fight of Winchelsea in the little finger of *Morte Arthure* than there is in the entire body of Laurence Minot's song of *Les Espagnols sur Mer*: That the poet who in *Titus* drew upon the surrender of Calais in 1347 for poetic colouring, similarly drew in *Morte Arthure* on the battle of Crecy in 1346, and the Spanish sea fight of 1350: That the Arthur of *Morte Arthure* is not indirectly Edward III.: That every presumption therefore points to the poem as a contemporary and chivalric tribute to the founder of the Table Round.

Crecy, as already shewn, supplied much for Arthur's great battle with Lucius, but it fails entirely to clear away an editorial difficulty and determine the site of the field. What lacks in 1346 we may chance to find in 1359. The romance-battle was fought in the 'vale' of 'Sessoyne,' which has been supposed to be Saxony, but the true understanding of which has long been a problem[1] owing to the topographical impossibilities Saxony involves.

[1] Mrs. Banks's notes to *Morte Arthure*, ll. 1964, 1977. That 'Sessoyne' is sometimes Saxony is clear enough, being the French 'Sassoigne,' but not so here.

Prior to the battle Arthur had been in Normandy advancing eastward; Lucius, too, was sojourning not far away by the Seine and Rouen and Paris (ll. 1336-40); and after the battle Arthur is again found at Cotentin, still in Normandy. Saxony is not a 'vale,' and is a good seven hundred miles from Normandy. Moreover, the poet's 'vale' has a city; and Arthur's army just before being arranged in order of battle

'Forsette them the cite appon sere halfez' (l. 1979).

Now in the year 1359, according to an English author,[1] an English 'company' did this very thing. *Un compaigny dez Engles enforcerent la vile de Veillye en la vale de Sessoun.* French chronicle[2] of the same fact calls the place 'Sissone,' and Sissonne still lives as a township in the department of Aisne in Picardy. Huchown's 'vale' therefore we may assume, after a glance at the map, was here.[3]

The term 'chartire of pes'[4] belongs to the same period, having, according to Froissart, been applied to the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360, and having probably become current shortly after. In *Morte Arthure*, in the great sea fight against Mordred and his allies, the king arrays his ships 'alle ryally in rede' (l. 3614). From 1361 we hear of a war vessel[5] of Edward III. called 'le Reade Cogge.' 'The genatours of Genne,' and 'bregaundez,' who change sides[6] with such promptitude and fight forthwith against their dilatory Roman paymasters, reflect the period of

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[1] *Scalacronica*, 185. [2] *Jehan le Bel*, ii., 239.

[3] It is curious to note the existence of a Crecy (Crecy sur Serre) within a few miles of Sissonne. This was not Edward III.'s Crecy, which is in the adjoining department of Somme, nearer the sea.

[4] *Morte Arthure*, 1542, 3059. Compare with Froissart's reference concerning 1360, that of the *Grandes Chroniques de Saint Denis*, to *toutes les chartes de la paix* in 1368 Zeller, *Charles V. et Du Guesclin*, 105.

[5] *Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 172.

[6] *Morte Arthure*, ll. 2096, 2897, 2909, 2920. The 'genatours of Genne' (Gênes, Genoa) are thus described in Cuvelier's *Du Guesclin*, ll. 11144-5:

XX. mile Genevois sur genes chevauchant
Qui portoient les dars de coi on va lançant.

Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir* (l. 3105) calls them

Geneteurs hommes a chival.

the Spanish campaigns of the Black Prince; they are 'true to the life of 1360 or thereabout.'[1] Certain of the historical personages and places introduced enable a closer date-approximation. The King of Cyprus[2] is one; he visited England in 1363, and was royally entertained, the King of Scotland visiting Edward III. at the same time. Such things are the political atmosphere of the poem.

In 1359 the talk of knightly circles, expressed in a well-known chronicle (written in Anglo-French), had been of the passage to France by 'Sandwiche,' of 'Barflu,' of 'Sessoun,' of 'Vien,' of 'Millein,' of 'Costentyn,' of 'Paiters,' of 'le markeis of Mise,' of the 'Allemaunz,' of 'Lorrein,' and of 'Reyns,' of 'Troies,' of 'Turry.' In 1360 we hear further of 'Chartres and 'Tullous,' 'Roan,' 'Came,' and 'Provynce.' The brief annals of 1361 mention 'Henaw' and 'Holand' and 'Denemark,' especially recording that the Danish king had made war on the Easterlings and reconquered much of 'Swetherik' from the king of 'Norway,' while the king of 'Lettow' had been made captive by the lords of 'Spruce.' Besides, 'le roy de Cypre' had taken a town in 'Turky' by assault. In 1362 we hear of 'Spayn,' 'Gascoigne,' 'Gyene,' 'Normandy,' and 'Burgoyne.' All these, culled from about a dozen consecutive pages of the *Scalacronica*,[3] begun in the castle of Edinburgh in 1355, tally with the names which Huchown, supplementing his original, made place for in *Morte Arthure*. They shew to a marvel that his geographical embroidery of Arthur's story was taken from the topography of 1359-63, just as we have already seen[4] that the stations on Arthur's march Romewards were borrowed from the itinerary of the time.

Indefinite additions to these evidences might be made from annals of the period, but it is proper to emphasise one or two names which appear

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[1] I steal these words from a letter of Prof. W. P. Ker.

[2] *Morte Arthure*, 596; *Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 199; *Walsingham*, sub anno 1363.

[3] *Scalacronica*, 185-202. It is unnecessary to quote the corresponding names in *Morte Arthure*, but Sandwich (l. 635) may be noted as a point of Huchown's divergence from Geoffrey, who makes Southampton the port of embarkation. 'Paiters' (Poitiers) is 'Peyters' in *Morte* (l. 40). 'The Marche of Meyes' in *Morte* (2417) is well vouched by *Scalacronica*.

[4] Ch. 2 above.

to make it certain that *Morte Arthure* can hardly have been finished before the beginning of 1365. Among the 'Sowdanes and Sarezenes' summoned to his banner by Lucius[1] are

> Of Babyloyn and Baldake the burlyche knyghtes,

as well as those of 'Tartary,' and 'Turkey,' and 'Lettow,' while the 'Kynge of Cyprys' with 'all the realls of Roodes'—evidently Arthur's ally—on shipboard in the Mediterranean, lies in wait for the Saracen enemy.

> The Kynge of Cyprys on the see the Sowdane habydes
> With all the realls of Roodes arayede with him one.

So much for poetry: for history we have a great victory over the Turks, gained in November, 1364, when the Grand Master of the Hospitallers of Rhodes and many of his knights were counted among the 5000 Christian dead, while the princes of the other side (as Capgrave translates[2] Murimuth's continuator) 'were these: The Soudan of Babilony; the Kyng of Turkye; the Kyng of Baldak; the Kyng Belmaryn; the Kyng of Tartare; the Kyng of Lettow—of which iii were slayn.' The king of Cyprus, who had in 1361 captured Satalie by a sea-expedition, was in the end of 1364 getting ready a fleet at Venice for a similar exploit against the Sultan of Alexandria.[3] There is neither Baldak, nor Lettow, nor Rhodes, nor Cyprus, nor Sultan, in Geoffrey of Monmouth (or in the translations by Layamon and Wace). The grouping, therefore, is a powerful item in the proofs[4] for a date soon after the close of 1364 (in which connection it will not be amiss to recall Sir Hew of Eglintoun's presence in London[5] in May, 1365), before the Cyprian swoop on Alexandria was known.

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[1] *Morte*, 582-607.

[2] *Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 201. Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 223.

[3] Machaut's *Prise d'Alexandrie*, ll. 640-660, 1540-1620. Note also Cuvelier's line stating that the king 'Satalie conquist et occist le soudant,' *Du Guesclin*, l. 7443.

[4] Sir Hew of Eglintoun's father-in-law and brother-in-law both held high position among the Scottish Hospitallers.—Mr. John Edwards in *Transac. Glasg. Archaeological Society*, new series, vol. iii., pp. 322, 326.

[5] Safe conduct, dated 20th May, 1365. *Rot. Scot.*, i., 893[b].

10. 'The Parlement of the Thre Ages.'

(1) *Tests to be applied.*

The sequence of the four poems already dealt with, and the significance of their mutual relation, will not appear of less account when the quartet is made a quintet—when the series closes in the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*,[1] with an outline of its story, an analysis of its textual affinities, and a discussion of a source, little suspected, for its plot. Tests of each of the preceding four poems have been found in the evidence of each in succession of the use and influence of the poem before, the occurrence of entire lines as well as poetical figures and phrases in each found in one or more of the others, and features not well admitting classification, which bring out as a kind of *résumé* in the later work certain aspects of paraphrase or retrospect of the earlier performances. As applied to *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (a poem found in one of Robert of Thornton's priceless manuscripts conjoined with the *Titus* and with the beautiful *Lay of the Truelove*[2]), the tests already seen in operation might not be satisfied by proofs of (*a*) identity of versification, supplemented by (*b*) the occurrence of detached lines and phrases held in common by (*c*) more than one of the antecedent suite. These alone might not serve; an exacting critic might demand demonstration that concurrently with these things there are in reasonable clearness signs (*d*) that the author was familiar with the authorities employed in the previous books, (*e*) that the characteristics and poetical method of the works compared should be analogous, and (*f*) that the collation should furnish instances not of general merely but of intimate suggestion of unity of authorship. A tolerably heavy load of responsibility to undertake—a load, be it said, under which the attempt to prove by internal evidence the common authorship of many

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[1] *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, edited by Israel Gollancz, M.A. (Roxburghe Club, 1897). To my friend, Prof. W. P. Ker, for introducing me to this book, and lending me his copy, I can hardly be grateful enough.

[2] Edited from the MSS. by Mr. Gollancz—in the Dr. Furnivall birthday volume, *An English Miscellany*, 1900, under the unsatisfactory title, 'The Quatrefoil of Love.'

great pieces of English literature by their acknowledged authors woul hopelessly break down! But he who takes this responsibility of maintainir the claim of Huchown to the *Parlement* can with a light heart challeng all the tests combined. The *Parlement* itself supplies all the arms i champions need. It is an alliterative poem (*a*) of the same measure a the antecedent four, (*b*) containing whole lines and very many identic phrases, not commonplace, found (*c*) in various members of the precedir quartet, while (*d*) it cites or shows close knowledge of *Alexander* and *Troy*, of the *Brut* and of the *Voeux du Paon*, and at the same time quotes *Titus* and *Morte Arthure*, and presents clear analogies not onl with the *Pistill of Sweet Susan*, but also—it is of grave moment to remar it—with *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. The analogy of (*e*) poetical mod among the five poems is fairly absolute, passing through a phase of shee and simple translation to one of expanded paraphrase and narrative, partl independent, resting at many points upon authority, but with constar deviations into originality. Finally, (*f*) the *Parlement* binds together th whole range of the work of Huchown in a manner at once intimate an explicit.

These be large assertions; and now—after the plot of the story itse —there come the proofs.

(2) *The Plot of the 'Parlement.'*

The *Parlement* is a work accessible only in a very limited club editior The story it tells, therefore, may becomingly be told here in fuller outlin than was thought necessary in any other item of the quartet. It open with a magnificent hunting picture of the stalking of a deer, "In the mont of May when mirthes been fele," in which the hero, waiting beside a tre in the woods, caught sight of a hart. Creeping under a crabtree he wa about to shoot when a buck that was with the hart sounded the alarm and the sportsman had to lie low for a while in spite of the gnats whic greatly him grieved and gnawed his 'eghne.' Soon as the opportunit came he drew his bow and shot, hitting the hart behind the left shoulde Then he flayed and disembowelled the prize after the approved rules c venery, which done, he sat down in the warm sunshine and fell asleep

As natural in the romance period, the sleep was not wasted, the inevitable dream came—the dream which is the remainder of the poem.

'And what I saw in my soul, the sooth I shall tell.'

He saw three men quarrel. The first was a gallant young noble on horseback clad in green, decked with a chaplet of flowers, his collar and sleeves set with jewels.

'The price of that perry were worth pounds full many.'

He was thirty years of age, he was young and 'yape,' says our poet, and YOUTH was his name.

The second man was a sober personage in grey sitting full of thought about his money, his lands, his rent, and his cattle. He was sixty, and men called him MIDDLE ELDE.

The third had a hundred years. All in black, bald, blind, white-bearded, crooked, toothless, and pious, he mumbled the Creed and invoked the saints. This was the last of the trio whom the poet made interlocutors in his 'parlement,' and ELDE was his name.

Youth reveals himself carolling in his saddle as he goes, making to his absent lady love a 'high avow.' Middle Elde reproaches him for his extravagance. Youth will none of Middle Elde's worldly wisdom. He will, he retorts, rather make and perform his high avow than own all the gold ever Middle Elde got. Then would he go a-hawking, and he describes in glowing terms the falcon soaring like heaven's angel, to swoop on mallard and heron, which fall beneath the stroke. Next the falconers treat the quarry as the code of falconry requires, and the episode closes when the hoods are put on the hawks, and Youth figures himself on the way home—

'With ladies full lovely to lappen in mine arms.'

The man in russet-grey has just begun angrily to expostulate when the old worthy in black strikes in between to preach a sermon which lasts till nearly the very end of the poem—a sermon which, as one listens to it, grows ever more and more nobly eloquent of the Middle Ages, eloquent of its literature and literary standards, eloquent of the culture of the Scottish Court under the Bruces and the Stewarts, eloquent above all of the majestic poetic stature

Gawayne.		*Parlement.*	
1455	Haled to hym of her arewez, hitten hym oft.	53-4	And I halled to the hokes. . . . And happenyd that I hitt hym. . .
1609-10	Braydez out the boweles . . . his braches rewardez.	69	Brayde out his bowells my berselett to fede.
1328-9	Serched him at the assay summe that ther were, Two fyngeres thay fonde. . . .	70-71	And I sisilte hym at the assay to see how me semyde And he was floreschede full faire of two fyngere brode.
1330	. . . sesed the erber.	73-82	And ritte doun at a rase reght to the tayle And than the herbere anone aftir I makede.
1332	Sythen rytte thay the foure lymmes and rent off the hyde.		I raughte the righte legge before, ritt it ther aftir And so fro legge to legge I lepe thaym aboute And the felle fro the fete fayre I departede And flewe it doun with my fiste faste to the rigge.
1337	Then scher thay out the schulderez with her sharp knyvez.		I tighte owte my trenchore and toke of the scholdirs
1355	And the corbeles fee thay kest in a greve.		Cuttede corbyns bone and kest it awaye.
1330	. . . thay slyt the slot. . . .		I slitte hym full sleghely and slyppede in my fyngere
1339	[Object aimed at] to have hole sydes.		Lesse the poynte scholde perche the pawnche or the guttys.
1335	. . . thay gryped . . . and graythely departed.	85-87	I grippede owte the guttes and graythede theym besyde,
1347	And that thay neme for the noumbles. . . .		And than the nombles anone name I there aftire
1341	Ryvez hit up radly ryght to the byght.		Rent up fro the rigge reghte to the myddis.
1608	. . . rendez him . . . bi the rygge. . . .		
1357	. . . the fourchez. . . .	88	. . . the fourches. . . .
1353-4	Bothe the hede and the hals thay hwen of thenne And sythen sunder thay the sydez swyft fro the chyne.	89-90	And chynnede hym chefely and choppede of the nekke And the hede and the haulse homelyde in sondree
1346	And heven hit up al hole.	92	And hevede alle into ane hole.
1628	Of the were of the wylde swyn. . .	99	To wayte it frome wylde swyne. . . .

Gawayne.	*Parlement.*
2175 The knyght kachez his caple.	189 And thu hafe caughte thi kaple.
1158 The hindez were halden in with 'hay' and 'war.'	223 With 'hoo' and 'howghe' to the heron. . . .
1445 . . . halowed . . . 'hay' 'hay.'	
1655 As coundutes of krystmasse and carolez newe.	254 With coundythes and carolles.
2525 After the segge and the asaute [of Troy].	303 [Troy] cite asseged and sayled.
1584 Braydez out a bryght bront. . . .	371 And brayde owte the brighte brande. . . .
1901 And braydez out the bryght bronde. . . .	
2419 . . . Barsabe that much bale tholed.	453 For Bersabee . . . was alle that bale rerede.
2448 The maystres of Merlyn. . . .	469 That Merlyn with his maystries made. . . .
1928 He were a bleaunt. . . .	482 He made a blyot. . . .
2446 Thurgh myght of Morgne la Faye.	511 . . . Morgn la fay that myche couthe of sleghte.

Lest anybody should urge that these are chance coincidences, I append a brief list of others which connect *Gawayne* equally with some poems of which we have heard a good deal in this essay.

Alexander.	*Gawayne.*
[*Exordium*] 15 And I forwith yow alle ettillis to schewe.	[*Exordium*] 27 Forthi an aunter in erde I attle to schawe.
Alex. 3020 Was never sene I suppoyse sen the seyge of Troye.	1 Sithen the sege and the assaut watz sesed at Troye.
778 Stridis into stele bowe stertis apon loft.	435 Steppez in to stel bawe and strydez alofte.
	Cf. 2060 Steppez he into stirop and strydez alofte.
1540 . . . wodwose and other wylde bestes.	721-2 . . . wodwos . . . bullez and berez and borez.
2617 The cry of the clarions the clodez it persyd.	1166 . . . kry as klyffez haden brusten.

Titus.	*Gawayne.*
1244 . . . gretter than a grehounde . . .	1171 . . . grehoundez so grete . . .
54 Cloudes clateren gon as they cleve wolde.	2201 . . . clatered in the clyff as it cleve schulde,

Titus.	*Gawayne.*
849-50 . . . with dynnyng of pipis And the nakerer noyse . . .	118 Nwe nakryn noise with the noble pipes.

Morte Arthure.	*Gawayne.*
3151 Into Tuskane he tournez . . .	11 Ticius [turnes] to Tuskan.
532-3 For whyeseste and worthyest and wyghteste of haundez. Of all . . . this werlde ryche.	261 The wyzest and the worthyest of the worldes kynde.
451 . . . one nyghte nedez moste thou lenge.	693 . . . alone he lengez on nyghtez.

Having now left in no doubt the intimate relation between the *Parlement* and *Gawayne*, we may turn to a general grouping of certain other parallels, reminding ourselves before we begin that the *Parlement* has only 665 lines, thus offering numerically a much smaller area of comparison than the greater pieces do.

			Parlement.	
Troy	12969	Hit was the moneth of May when mirthes begyn.	1	In the moneth of Maye when mirthes bene fele.
Morte	3249	Downkynge of dewe. . . .	10	The dewe . . . donkede. . . .
Troy	2736	Burjons of bowes brethit full swete.	11	Burgons and blossomes and braunches full swete.
Morte	930	They threpide with the throstills. . . .	14	. . . the throstills full tholy threpen. . . .
Alex.	2264	. . . fayne . . . as fowelle of the day.	15-6	And iche foule in that frythe faynere than other That the derke was done and the day lightenede.
Titus	1005	Fayn as the foul of day . . .		
Titus	850	Whan the derk was doun and the day spryngen.		
Troy	1079	Wen the derke was done and the day sprange.		
Troy	2378	. . . sleghly on slepe. . . .	36	. . . sleghe . . . slepe. . . .
Morte	3467	. . . stalkis . . . stille . . .	41	. . . stalkede full stilly. . . .
Morte	3468	. . . stotays . . . studyande.	51	. . . stotayde and stelkett.
Troy	8045	That the blode out brast . . .	55	That the blode braste owte appon both the sydes.
Troy	10424	. . . bent blody be-ronnen.	62	. . . brakans were blody by-ronnen.
Titus	1070	Ded as a dore nayle. . . .	65	Dede als a door nayle. . . .
Troy	524	. . . thro men in threpe and thretyms. . . .	104	. . . thre thro men threpden. . . .
Titus	269	A bold burne on a blonk . . .	110	A bolde beryn on a blonke bowne for to ryde.

				Parlement.
Alex.	792	Than strenys he hys steropes and streght up sittes.	116	He streghte hym in his steropis and stode up rightes.
Awntyrs	510	. . . with trayfoles and trewluffes bytwene.	120	With trayfoyles and trewloves of full triede perles.
Alex.	1538	With riche rabies of golde railed bi the hemmes.	128	With full rich rubyes raylede by the hemmes.
Morte	3264	Raylide with reched and rubyes inewe.		
Awntyrs	17	Raylede with rubes . . .		
Morte	3964	My wele and my wirchipe of alle this werlde riche.	175	My wele and my wirchipe in werlde where thou dwellys.
Morte	3959-60	Here es the hope of my hele my happyge of armes. My herte. . . .	177	Alle my hope and my hele myn herte is thyn owen.
Titus	969	I have heylych heyght. . . .	178	I behete the a hest and heghely I avowe.
Troy	13824	Had a glaive, a full grym grippit in honde.	202	With a grym grownden glayfe graythely in my honde.
Morte	3762-3	. . . gryme launce That the growndene glayfe graythes in sondyre.		
Titus	883	Ride to the rever and rer up the foules.	208	And ryde to a revere.[1] . . .
			217	To the revere with thaire roddes to rere up the fowlis.
Morte	6	. . . kayre till his courte. . . .	246	. . . kayre to the courte. . . .
Morte	3293	And ladys me lovede to lappe in theyre armes.	247	With ladys full lovely to lappyn in myn armes.
Troy	10097	. . . wandrit and woke for woo. . . .	257	. . . with wandrynge and wo schalte wake. . . .
Morte	2370	. . . wakkens wandrethe and werre. . . .		
Morte	975	. . . dolvene and dede. . . .	258	. . . dolven and dede. . . .
Morte	2216	Threppede . . . thryttene sythis.	262	. . . threpid this thirtene wyntir.
Morte	2770	And alle dysfegoures his face . . .	284	And all disfeguride my face and fadide my hewe.
			Cf. 155	Alle disfygured was his face and fadit his hewe.

[1] This in its hawking connexion is *riparia* in medieval Latinity. *Juxta quandam ripariam falconum aucupio se exerceret*—is written of Edward III. in Trivet's *Annales* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 282.

				Parlement.
Alex.	5655	Now sall I nevyne yow the names. . . .	297	And I schall nevyn yow the names of nyne of the beste.
Morte	3440	Alles nynne of the nobilleste namede in erthe.		
Morte	3496	Ne for no wy of this werlde that wroghte es one erthe.	298	That ever wy in this werlde wiste appon erthe.
Awntyrs	639	. . . no wy in this werlde. . . .		[Lines 297-8 are almost exactly repeated 580-1.]
Morte	3408	That were conquerours kydde and crownnede in erthe.	299.	That were conquerours full kene and kiddeste of other.
		[Both passages referring to the Nine Worthies.]		
Troy	14031	. . . Ector the honourable oddist of knightes.	300	. . . Sir Ector and aldeste of tyme.
	3879	. . . Ector the eldest.		
Alex.	1114	The mody kyng. . . .	302	. . . the mody kynge. . . .
Titus	1039	. . . the mody kyng. . . .		
Gawayne	1	. . . the sege and the assault [Troy].	303	. . . assegede and sayled it [Troy].
Troy	9506	Paris the prise knight.	305	Paresche the proude knyghte.
Troy	14006	(rubric) Thies Ector slough with hond of kynges.	307-8	And as clerkes in the cronycle cownten the sothe Nowmbren thaym to xix and ix mo by tale Of kynges with crounes he killede with his handes.
		[The list "all of du kynges," lines 14006-14021, has eighteen names.]		
Alex.	1814	. . . as mervale ware ellis	310	. . . als ferly wer ellis.
Troy	668	Thurghe wyles of woman. . .	315	With the wyles of a woman. . . .
Gawayne	2415	. . . thurg wyles of wymmen. . . .		
Troy	1377-8	. . . girdyn doun the wallys Prowde pales of prise puttyn to grounde.	318-9	And with the Gregeis of Grece he girde over the walles The prowde paleys dide he pulle doun to the erthe.
Troy	2067	. . . lure that was light. . . .	323	. . . lure at the last lighte. . . .
Morte	2596	. . . Syr Priamus, a prince is my fadyre.	324	. . . Sir Priamus the prynce. . . .
Morte	4345	Syr Pryamous the prynce.		
Troy	1487	Was Troylus the true tristy in wer.	326	Sir Troylus a trewe knyghte that tristyly hade foughten.
Troy	9991	Troiell the tru knight. . . .		
Troy	3818	Neptolon nobill.	327	Neptolemus a noble knyghte.

			Parlement.	
Troy	5892	Palomedon the prise king.	328	Palamedes a prise knyghte.
[*Troy*	55-65	Reference to Dares and Dytes].	331	As Dittes and Dares demeden togedir.
Alex.	18	[Alexander] aghte . . . alle the wer[l]d ovire.		
Troy	315	[Alexander] wan all the world.	332	After this sir Alysaunder alle the worlde wanne.
Troy	312	[The pillars of Hercules.]	334	Ercules boundes [Referring to the pillars of Hercules.]
Troy	881	(rubric) How Jason wan the flese of golde.	338	. . . gentille Jazon the Jewe wane the flese of golde.
Troy	867	Jason . . . gentill knight.		
Morte	2606	Judas and Josue thise gentille knyghtes.		
Titus	782	. . . a Jew Josophus the gentyl clerke		
Alex.	3972	Quen Sir Porus saghe his princes in the prese faile.	365	Sir Porus and his prynces.
Alex.	3998	Porrus as a prince. . . .	368	For there Sir Porus the prynce into the presse thrynges.
Morte	4216	He braydes owte a brand bryghte. . . .	371	And brayde owte the bright brande. . .
Gawayne	1584	Braydez out a bryght bront. . .		
Gawayne	1901	And braydez out the bryght bronde. . . .		
Alex.	1831	Sire Alexander athille kyng.	384	Alexandere oure athell kyng.
			Cf. 484	Arthure oure athell kynge.
Alex.	5399	[Alexander styled] *oure* mode kyng.		
[Alexander styled Emperor constantly in the *Alexander*.]				
Alex.	2395	Than amed thai to ser Alexander. . . .	394	Sir Alexander oure Emperour ames hym to ryde.
Troy	314	The Emperour Alexander. . . .		
Alex.	5611	Now bowis furth this baratour and Babyloyn he wynnis. [Said of Alexander.]	395	And bewes towardes Babyloyne. . . [Said of Alexander.]
Titus	971	And me the ȝates ben ȝet and ȝolden the keyes.	398	While hym the ȝatis were ȝete and ȝolden the keyes. [Repeated 575.]
Titus	1233	Bot up ȝeden her ȝates and ȝelden hem alle.	Cf. 535	While hym his ȝernynge was ȝett and the ȝates opynede.

				Parlement.
Morte	4172	. . . drynkles they dye dole was the more.	400	Thare he was dede of a drynke as dole es to here.
	4241	That derfe dynt was his dede and dole was the more.		
Titus	1093	. . . that doil was to hure.	Cf. 452	There he was dede at that dede as dole es to here.
Alex.	1608	The welder of all the werld and worthiest under wylde.	404	And thus the worthieste of this werlde wente to his ende.
		[Said of Alexander.]		
Alex.	18	That aghte evyn as his awynn alle the wer[l]d ovire.	406	Alle Inglande be aughte at his awnn will. [Said of Caesar.] Cf. same line repeated (465) concerning Arthur.
Morte	576	Araby and Egipt. . . .	418	Arraby and Egipt. . . .
Morte	2658	Sessoyne and Surylande.	419	Surry and Sessoyne. . . .
Morte	2606	. . . Josue . . . gentille. . . .	426	. . . gentil Josue that was a Jewe noble.
Pistill	2	. . . Jezu gentil.		
Titus	1283	Mortar ne made walle. . .	433	. . . mode walle that made were. . .
Morte	2935	. . . the develle have your bones.	438	. . . Sathanas unsele have theire bones.
Titus	473	Of doughty David the king.	441	Than David the doughty . . .
Morte	3419-20	For he slewe with a slynge be sleyght of his hands Golyas the grette gome grymmeste in erthe.	444-5	The grete grym Golyas he to grounde broghte And sloghe hym with his slynge and with no sleghte elles.
Cf. *Troy*	1296	Slogh hom downe sleghly and slaunge hom to grounde.		
Troy	9038	Slogh hom down sleghly with sleght of his hond.		
[See also Mr. Donaldson's note in *Troy*, page 481.]				
Titus	1203	Wer ded of that dynt . . .	447	And he was dede of that dynt the devyll hafe that reche.
Titus	779	. . . the devel have that recche.		
Morte	3413	. . . Judas a justere fulle nobille.	459	...Jeues full joly and justers full noble.
Morte	3415	. . . Josue that joly mane of armes.		

			Parlement.	
Morte	17	Off the ryealle renkys of the rowunde table.	468	With renkes full ryalle of his rowunde table.
Morte	3707	Thane syr Gawayne the gude he has the gree wonnene.	473	Bot Sir Galade the gude that the gree wanne.
Morte	1368	Thane syr Gawayne the gude . . .	475	And sir Gawayne the gude . . .
Morte	1152	Thenne sir Kayous the kene . . .	477	And sir Kay the kene . . .
Titus	767	. . . thogh ye fey worthe.	485	. . . till he was fey worthen.
Troy	929	. . . drepitt the dragon . . .	488	. . . a dragon he dreped . . .
Morte	304	. . . beryne of Bretayne . . .	490	. . . beryns of Bretayne . . .
Titus	26	. . . alle Gascoyne gat and Gyan . . .	491	Gascoyne and Gyane gat he . . .
Morte	4309	And graythes to Glasschenbery the gate at the gayneste.	494	The gates towardes Glassthenbery full graythely he rydes.
Morte	541	. . . this werlde bot wyrchipe . . .	519	. . . wirchupe of this werlde . . .
Troy	10306	Slough him . . . with sleght of his hond.	533	. . . he sloghe with his handis.
Alex.	1232	Bot with a swyng of a swerde swappez of hys heved.	551	And one swyftely with a swerde swapped of his hede.
Troy	13024	And with the swing of a swerde swappit hir to dethe.		
Morte	2982	And with a swerde swiftly he swappes him thorowe.		
Morte	3427-9	. . . the crowne that Crist bare hymselfene And that lifeliche launce that lepe to his herte When he was crucyfiede on crose and alle the kene naylis.	553-4	. . . the corownne that criste had one hede And the nayles anone naytly there aftire.
Titus	8	Throw Pylat pyned he was and put on the rode.	555	When he with passyoun and pyne was naylede on the rode.
Titus	497-9	. . . . . Crist one That this peple to pyne . . . That preveth his passioun.		
Alex.	48	Than was hym bodword unblyth broght . . .	558	And than bodworde . . . full boldly . . .
Troy	8315	And the bodword broght to the bold kyng.		

			Parlement.	
Morte	1979	Forsette them the cite appon sere halfez.	574	And that cite he assegede appone sere halfves.
Troy	2416	To have and to hold . . .	577	To kepe it and to hold it to hym and to his ayers. [A well-known legal phrase answering to the form in Latin deeds, *Habendum et tenendum.*]
Morte	3440, 3496.		580-81	[These almost repeat 297-8.]
Morte	3443-4	in my days . . . for dedis of armes For the doughtyeste that ever was duelland in erthe.	582	And the doghtyeste of dedis in thaire dayes tyme.
Alex.	24	The wysest wees of the wer[l]de.	585	Of wyghes that were wysest . . . [Introducing Aristotle of 'Alexander's time.']
Alex.	247	The wysest wees in this wer[l]d.	Cf. 610	Theis were the wysest in the worlde.
Troy	49	Virgill the virtuus . . .	594	Virgill thurgh his vertus . . .
Morte	233	Sir Gawayne the worthye Dame Waynour he hledys.	629	And dame Gaynore the gay . . .
Awntyrs	14	. . . the gay dame Gayenour . . .		
Awntyrs	313	Hafe gud daye . . . I hafe na langare tyme For me buse wende on my waye . . . Unto my wonnynge wane in waa for to dwelle.	653-4	And 'Haves gud daye' for now I go to grave moste me wende Dethe dynges on my dore I dare no longare byde.
Morte	454	Lugge thiselfe undyre lynde.	663	. . . lugede me in the leves . . .
Morte	3800	For dere Dryghttyne this daye . . .	664	For dere Drightyne this daye . . .
Morte	2872	[Marie] that mylde qwene . . [The *Lay of the Truelove* refers to Christ as crowning His mother Queen of Heaven.]	665	Marie that is mylde quene . . .

A summation of these parallels brings results sufficiently striking. Out of 665 lines there are over 120 which contain more or less notable alliterative phrases also found in the antecedent quartet; over and above are the parallelisms with *Gawayne.* Particularly to be observed are 23 lines, practically whole lines, coincident with practically whole lines elsewhere, as under:

LINES OF 'PARLEMENT' ALMOST IDENTICAL WITH LINES OF 'ALEXANDER,' 'TROY,' 'TITUS,' AND 'MORTE ARTHURE.'

Parlement.	*Alexander.*	*Troy.*	*Titus.*	*Morte Arthure.*
116, 128, 368, 551.	1792, 1538, 3972, 1232.			
1, 11, 318, 326.		12969, 2736, 1377, 1487.		
16, 217, (398, 575), 447, 491.			850, 883, 971 (1203, 779), 26.	
202, 247, 297, 298, 299.				3762-3, 3293, 3440, 3496, 3408.
444-5, 468.				3419-20, 17.
473, 494.				3707, 4309.

Surely it is of extreme and final value as part of the great argument with which this treatise began that in this comparison of entire lines, out of the twenty-three four are from the *Alexander*, four from the *Troy*, five from the *Titus*, and ten from *Morte Arthure*. Falling to be added are the many broken lines distributed in different proportions among the various books in question. To be added also are the special coincidences with *Gawayne*. And after all these there comes yet another argument of inestimable strength deduced from a search after the sources of the *Parlement*, that poem which ends the series of five.

(4) *Main Sources of the 'Parlement.'*

In examining the hunting scene which opens the poem we saw that *Gawayne* had been within the poet's view. We shall see where the hunt began. But first it is to be said that besides *Gawayne* and *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*, there is unanswerable evidence that the poet used the *Brut*,[1] which he expressly names.[2] Not only so, he also knew and used the other principal authority followed in *Morte Arthure*, the *Voeux du Paon*. This appears from his narrating[3] the Foray of Gadres (*Fuerre de Gadres*) as well as the whole effect of the Avows of Alexander and Battle of Effesoun as contained in the *Voeux du Paon*. Dares and Dictys he cites[4]—at second hand probably just as he did in

[1] *Parl.*, 462-512. [2] *Parl.*, 407. [3] *Parl.*, 332-395. [4] *Parl.*, 331.

'in a shadow of shene tres,'[1] for the sun is hot.[2] He sleeps,[3] and dreams 'dreghly'[4] the great dream of the strife of three goddesses—Venus and Juno and Pallas—as arbiter in which he is to determine the award of the golden apple. If he gives it to Juno his reward will be to be 'mightiest on molde,'[5] if to Pallas he will be 'wisest of wit,'[6] if to Venus love will be his.[7]

This is the absolute key of the *Parlement*—explaining the ideal of Youth with his avows, Middle Elde in his lust for possessions and power, and Elde's lofty sermon drawn from the deeds of the doughty and the lives of the sages, especially Solomon,

> 'And he was the wisest in wit that ever wonned in earth.'

'Wisest in wit'—it was the very phrase of Pallas's bribe. The whole spirit of the two dreams, if not quite the same, at least runs a most singular parallel.

In the *Troy* vision (lines 2407-9) the gift offered by Juno comes first:

> 'To be mightiest on molde and most of all other.'

In the *Parlement* vision (lines 293-583) Elde begins with the Nine Worthies, the warriors whom he then deals with in detail—

> 'Nine of the best
> That ever wy in this world wist upon earth
> That were conquerors full kene and kiddest of other.'

In the *Troy* vision (lines 2410-12) the gift offered by Pallas comes second:

> 'Thou shalt be wisest of wit.'

In the *Parlement* vision, when the poet has closed his record of the warriors with a sigh, pointing his moral that doughtiness, when death comes, may stay no longer, he tells next (lines 584-611) of the fate of the wise:

> 'Of wyghes that were wisest will ye now hear.'

And so he preaches of Aristotle and Virgil, Solomon and Merlin, who were fated to die too:

> 'These were the wisest in the world of wit that ever yet were,
> But death wondes for no wit to wend where him likes.'

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[1] *Troy*, 2372-3. [2] *Troy*, 2374. Overhild for the hete hengyng with leves.
[3] *Troy*, 2378. [4] *Troy*, 2379. [5] *Troy*, 2408. [6] *Troy*, 2411. [7] *Troy*, 2414.

In the *Troy* vision (lines 2413-15) the gift of love offered by Venus comes last. So, last, in the *Parlement* vision comes the stanza (lines 612-630) which is so fine a romance catalogue of lovers.

A moment given to analysis of the two visions demonstrates that the *Parlement* simply adapts the vision of Paris, brings it from the slopes of Mount Ida to our own woodlands, where the throstle, the cuckoo, and the cushat sing, and the fox, the fulmart, and the hare are denizens. But the poet transforms it too, making the pagan dream into a Christian ode on the invincibility of death. Great are the gifts of Juno and Pallas and Venus, so the pagan dreamer told: 'all vain and vanities and vanity is all' was the sore verdict of pious Elde.

> 'Since doughtiness when death comes ne dare not abide,
> Ne death wondes for no wit to wend where him likes,
> And thereto paramours and pride puts he full low,
> Ne there is riches ne rent may ransom your lives,
> Ne nought is siccar to yourself ne certain but death.'

In fine, is not the *Parlement* simply the dream of Paris reconstituted for British latitudes and having appended an old-new moral? The oak tree of the *Parlement* grew from Guido's acorn, planted by Huchown in the *Troy*. And the entire body of the narrative points to the same poetic unity, the same paternity in Huchown's busy brain. The *Gawayne* unites with the *Troy* to explain and produce the initial hunting picture. The *Voeux du Paon*, already familiarised in the poet's mind, directly supplies the suggestion of the Nine Worthies, contributing much even of the substance of the poem. Examining the various contributory sections of the *précis* of the lives of the illustrious Nine, we readily devise a canon of test. Surely if the poet was the same as erewhile wrote the other poems we should expect to find in this one, that when he touches Hector we should find traces of the *Troy*, and that when he touches Arthur we should find traces of *Morte Arthure*. How completely the *Parlement* responds to the test! The 31 lines on Hector (*Parl.*, 300-331) touch the *Troy* by direct reminiscence and repetition of special epithets almost every second line. On King Alexander (*Parl.*, 332-404) the earlier poem is much less slenderly represented, no doubt because when the *Parlement* was written the poet was drawing on two new sources, the *Fuerre de Gadres* and the *Voeux du Paon*: still there are characteristic

touches from the *Alexander*. Of Caesar we have something, of Joshua something, of David something, of Judas Machabeus something,—all from *Morte Arthure*, of which these worthies were only a side theme; while of Arthur, its central theme, we have in 51 lines (462-512), a clear body of matter, including identical lines and not admitting of hostile debate. On Charlemagne, a number of lines from the *Alexander*, the *Troy*, the *Titus*, and the *Morte Arthure* serve abundantly the purpose of proving the closeness of the ties of association between any one of Huchown's heroes and all the others. Indeed, the *Parlement* enables us to be retrospective, and suppose with considerable probability that *Morte Arthure* had already drawn for at least three of its lines (3427-9) upon the same version[1] of the romance of Ferumbras and the Sowdan, as was utilised in the *Parlement*.

If proof by internal evidence is to establish anything, this extraordinary concatenation surely is irresistible. The method of proof adopted is only that which others have already used in a small degree for other works: only here the links are far more numerous, and far more closely drawn together than they have ever been before. To deny difficulties is no part of this argument: the proposition is that adopting the very processes of comparison which commended themselves to some of my predecessors, I reach a broader conclusion than theirs, the logic of which constrains the acceptance of the *Parlement* as bringing up the rear of the great series of poems which proceeded from one prolific pen.

11. Huchown's Copy of 'Geoffrey of Monmouth.'

'Ring by ring,' said the French adage, 'is made the habergeon.' The argument from internal evidence before set forth was complete, and the original papers had both been read, when the prosecution of the quest further resulted in a discovery of immense interest in itself and of prime moment as evidence for the proposition now being discussed. It was the discovery of a MS., of apparently thirteenth-century date, bearing in certain marginal additions to its text in the shape of a running series of

[1] See note ch. 9, sec. 5, above. The *Parl.*, ll. 553-4, however, mentions only the crown and the nails.

during the Wars of Independence? So would come a fresh and surprising solvent to the crux of Huchown's problem, which is that of explaining how a poet with themes so devoid of Scottish passion, and so full of a British fervour which might almost be mistaken for English, could have written in a dialect so rich in forms which, if not largely English, are not Scottish, and yet withal could, without inexplicable irony, have had his contemporary biography written only in Scottish chronicle, and written, too, with admiring sympathy for the author and the man.

Once I had occasion to declare that, rightly apprehended, a Commonplace Book, although entirely of quotations, was an intellectual self-revelation of peculiar interest, and was, in spite of itself, autobiographical. Here is an analagous case, out of which rises the question, What do these marginal jottings tell of the rubricator's mind? They tell much: tell (1) of his reverent attitude, (2) of his fondness for moral truths, (3) of his admiration for London, (4) of his eye for courtly ceremonial, (5) of his zest for the chase and for falconry, (6) of his attention to the history of law, (7) of the attraction which religious annals had for him, (8) of his close study of the tribute question, which has so large a place in the scheme of *Morte Arthure*, (9) of his special and peculiar interest in the six chapters of Geoffrey which form the bulk of *Morte Arthure*, (10) of that looseness about proper names, which more than one of the editors of his poems have set down as characteristic of the poet, and (11) of his dramatic sense of the power in such stories as those of Lear and Cordelia, or Brennius and Belinus, or of such episodes as a council of war at midnight under the stars, or as the blazing dragon in Uther Pendragon's time. These marks on the margin are no common gloss; they are fragments of the alliterative poems in the making, still unfashioned, it is true, but already taking shape in the active imagination of genius in the fourteenth century.

Whoever will go through the representative body of extracts from these marginals which are to be quoted in a subsequent chapter may gauge for himself the degree of trust assignable to these inferences. Beginning with the fly-leaf, we have the very remarkable jotting of six items copied from the original red ink rubrics of Geoffrey's text—items which are the kernel of *Morte Arthure*. A few points of correspondence between that poem and the rubricator's

markings may here be presented. The text names 'Petreius Cotta,' the rubricator calls him 'Petreius Senator,' Huchown calls him 'the Senatour Peter.' The text has 'Guerinus,' the rubricator 'Gerinus,' Huchown 'Geryn.' The text has always 'Modredus,' the rubricator has always 'Mordredus,' Huchown oftenest has 'Mordred.' The text never names the Saracens, the rubricator couples '*Pictis et aliis Sarracenis*,' Huchown puts the 'Sarazenes' in one line and their allies the 'Peyghtes' in the next line but two. 'Caius Quintilianus' of the printed Geoffrey is 'Gaius Quintilianus' in this manuscript text, the rubricator drops the Quintilian and calls him merely 'Gaius,' Huchown too dubs him only 'Syr Gayous.' A date, 4482, not in the printed Geoffrey at all, appears in this MS. text, and the date 'five hundred years less eighteen' will strangely emerge in another alliterative poem as we proceed—a poem[1] which contains one of the best told stories of the Middle Ages, and without exception the noblest tribute to the essential 'priesthood' of law which the early literature of Britain can boast. If these proofs do not serve to convince the alliterative critics, English and Scottish, French and German, that this Hunterian MS. was veritably Huchown's, and Huchown's work a mighty unity, it will be for the wisest of them to attempt the feat of accounting for the miracles of coincidence which the preceding statement only illustrates and does not exhaust—miracles of coincidence, be it said also, which so splendidly confirm the argument, itself of immense power, deduced from internal evidences of unity and correlation.

12. Clues to 'Titus' and 'Wynnere and Wastoure.'

(1) *The Dragon in 'Titus.'*

Two chief illustrations in detail will suffice to demonstrate the force of the confirmatory argument from the MS. In a previous chapter attention was called to the singular consonance between the *Titus* poem and *Morte Arthure* in the insistence upon the significance of the dragon banner. It was then suggested that the idea came from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[1] See ch. 14 for notice of *Erkenwald*.

With the Hunterian MS. before us the statement admits of absolute definition. On fo. 49 (*Geoffrey*, viii., 14, 15) appear the marginal additions,

'Nota bene: stella apparuit.
De significacione syderis.'[1]

The passage thus marked tells of a ball of fire in the likeness of a dragon (*globus igneus in similitudinem draconis*), from the mouth of which proceeded two *radii*, one pointing to France, the other to Ireland, the significance of which, as expounded by Merlin, lay in the future dominion by Uther Pendragon's son over the realms so indicated.

Turning to the *Titus* we find that Vespasian's banner is a gaping dragon, having a falchion under his feet, with four keen blades directed to the four points of the world, which, in turn, is denoted by the ball of burning gold on which the dragon stood in sign—'in forbesyn to the folk'—of conquest of all the world. Whatever be thought of the significance of the dragon, the significance of the rubricator's *Nota bene* is certainly exceeding plain.

(2) *The plot of 'Wynnere and Wastoure.'*

There was, however, as already observed, another *Nota bene* among the rubrications. Let us look at it also, as the second detailed illustration of the constructive value of these marginal marks as of a truth Huchown's own comment on himself. Opposite the tale of the dispute and impending battle between Brennius—king from Humber to Caithness—and Belinus—king south of the Humber—occurs a note of the very highest historical and literary consequence. Its theme is the reconciliation of the two contending monarchs by the dramatic interposition of their mother, Convenna, to whom the rubricator by a verbal slip, not unusual with him, refers as Venna—a mistake occasioned by the word being divided in the MS. text, 'Con-' at the end of one line and 'venna' at the beginning of the next.

Hic Venna mater eorum concordiam inter eos fecit et valde miraculose.
Nota bene. ☞

[1] The second note (De significacione syderis) strikes me as written in a different and later hand, but see facsimile.

Scottish readers can hardly fail to remember that Sir Hew of Eglintoun was a party to the arrangement of peace, and of a very friendly understanding between Edward III. and David II. in 1359. If David II. was rather a failure as Brennius, at any rate the Belinus of the part, Edward III. was his brother by marriage. There is more than mere curiosity in this point, for an important element in the final peace footing of 1363 and 1364 seems to be singularly echoed in a couple of lines[1] of *Morte Arthure.* Letting that pass, however, we shall find the rubricator's *Nota bene* guiding us with exceeding directness to the solution of another alliterative problem—the authorship of *Wynnere and Wastoure.* The learned editor of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* had good grounds for his opinion that the unity of authorship of that poem and of *Wynnere and Wastoure*, which he printed in the same Roxburghe Club volume, was 'well nigh indisputable.' Seven reasons were assigned by Mr. Gollancz for this conclusion, especially the occurrence of whole lines common to both poems, of passages strongly reminiscent of the same poetical conceptions, of certain negligences of historical detail, and of a remarkable sameness of style evincing high pictorial power. Mr. Gollancz did not know that the *Parlement* had grown out of the *Troy* poem, nor was he

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[1] After a quarrel with Cador, Arthur warmly apologises, and, commending Cador as one of the doughtiest that was ever dubbed, he says (*Morte*, 1943-4):

> 'Thare es none ischewe of us on this erthe sprongen;
> Thou arte apparant to be ayere are (*read* or) one of thi childyre.'

There is here either a most remarkable coincidence or else there is a direct allusion—as I believe—to the negotiations of 1363 and 1364. On 27th Nov., 1363, it was agreed that, failing heirs male of the body of David II., the King of England should succeed to the kingdom of Scotland (*Acts Parl., Scotland*, i., 493). In 1364, this proposal having been rejected by the Scottish Parliament, a second agreement was substituted, under which, failing heirs male of the body of David II., the kingdom should pass to a son of the king of England other than the heir-apparent (*Acts Parl., Scot.*, i., 495). In fact, David II. had no issue; under the first agreement, so far as David II. and his Privy Council had power, Edward III. was David's heir-apparent, under the second the heir was one of Edward's children—Lionel. As to this curious intrigue and Sir Hew of Eglintoun's connection with it, see my paper, *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* above referred to, also some previous comments above, end of ch. 9.

aware that Wastoure and Wynnere, as personifications, were the literar heirs of Brennius and Belinus.

In 'Geoffrey of Monmouth.'	*In 'Wynnere and Wastoure.'*
The armies of Brennius and Belinus are about to join battle (iii. 7)	The hawberked and helmed armies o Wynnere and Wastoure are in schiltrum on either holt with only a lawn betwixt them on the point of battle (ll. 50-54)
when their mother, Convenna, intervenes.	when 'the king of this kythe' (Edwar III.) wearing the garter bids them sto (ll. 69-107), sending the message by a youn baron (the Black Prince), who wears thre feathers (l. 117).
She reminds them that she had suckled both.	The two commanders obey and mentio to the royal messenger that they kno well that the king 'clothes us both an has us fostered and fed these five an twenty winters' (ll. 197-207)
Thus a concord is effected.	The king receives them by the hand ' hinds of our house both' (ll. 208-212)
They cross the sea to make war on France together (iii. 8) and afterwards conquer Rome (iii. 9).	After a long debate between the two (aft the medieval pattern of Wine against Wate the king bids Wynnere 'wend over th wale stream' by Paris to the Pope (l 460-1), and wait a summons to arms an knighthood when the king goes to wa at Paris. Wastoure is sent to the east end of Lo don, but the poem is incomplete, so th the probable final concord of Wynnere ar Wastoure is not extant.

(3) *Wynnere and Wastoure*: *its sense and date.*

The poem contains the oldest known vernacular rendering of *Honi so qui mal y pense.*

> 'And alle was it one sawe appon Ynglysse tonge
> *Hethyng have the hathell that any harme thynkes.*'

Like Gawayne (which ends with this motto in French, *Hony soyt qu mal pence*), like *Morte Arthure*, and like the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, th

piece is unquestionably of the Garter or Round Table group. It helps to make clearer why Sir Hew of Eglintoun's visits to England between 1358 and 1369 were so frequently about the time of special tournaments and chivalric functions[1] at the court of Edward III., who in *Wynnere and Wastoure*, just as in *Morte Arthure*, shines as a stately figure of chivalry. That it connects English and Scottish history is therefore obvious, and the fact that it rises out of the story of Brennius, a northern king, is in admirable keeping with its quotations from the prophecies of no less a Scottish personage[2] than Thomas of Erceldoune.

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[1] Safe conducts on the 11th of May, 1358 (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 823[a]), 26th April, 1363 (*Ibid.*, i., 872), 5th December, 1363 (*Ibid.*, i., 876), and 20th May, 1365 (*Ibid.*, 893[b]), may be adduced as instances. See the biographical calendar under these dates in my paper, *Sir Hew of Eglintoun*, above mentioned.

[2] *Thomas's Prophecies.*

La countesse de Donbar demanda a Thomas de Essedoun quant la guere d'Escoce prendreit fyn e yl la repoundyt e dyt:

. . . . . .

When hares kendles o the herston
When Wyt and Wille werres togedere
. . . . . .
When laddes weddeth lovedis

Wynnere and Wastoure.

For nowe all es Witt and Wyles that we with delyn
Wyse wordes and slee and icheon wryeth othere (ll. 5-6)
And hares appon herthestones schall hurcle in hire fourme
And eke boyes of blode with boste and with pryde
Schall wedde ladyes in londe and lede hir at wille
Thene dredfulle domesdaye it drawethe neghe aftir (ll. 13-16)

Thomas's prophecies are quoted by Dr. J. A. H. Murray in the introduction (p. xviii.) to his *Thomas of Erceldoune*. See also Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, in introduction to ballad of *Thomas the Rymer*; also Laing's *Early Pop. Scot. Poetry*, 1895, i., 88; and cf. the variant in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, i., 30.

The antithetical use of 'ladde' as above appears several times in *Wynnere and Wastoure* (ll. 375, 378, 388), *e.g.* 'Woldest thou hafe lordis to lyfe as laddes on fote.' Compare the disparaging use of 'ladde' in *Morte Arthure*, 3535, 4094.

England and Scotland are thus alike contributory to this little poem and Wales is doubly so, for besides the initial service of Geoffrey in furnishing the plot, there is a further debt to Walter Map in furnishing the manner of debate between Wynnere (or Thrift) and Wastoure (or Extravagance)—a debt which the Hunterian MS. again compels us to recognise. A few leaves further on than the *Nota bene* of the Venus passage there begins, at the bottom of fo. 3, and is continued at the bottom of ff. 30b-38, a copy[1] of the famous *Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum*. The alternate stanzas have *Vinum* and *Aqua* set against them respectively, and the personified Waste and Thrift in the fourteenth-century English poem although bodied forth with an actuality and lifelike vigour undreamt of in the pale abstractions of the twelfth-century Latin dialogue, yet may owe something of their art to the latter, the more ancient 'flyting' of Wine against Water. The poet achieved a great success in his personifications. Youth, Middle Elde, and Elde in the *Parlement* are not more superb examples of this than are Wastoure and Wynnere. The German doctor who damned the translator of the *Troy* with the faint praise of being a clever versifier declared that he was no poet. 'Ein dichter war er nicht.'[2] We have now a thousand new reasons to think that the translator was not only a poet but a poet indeed. The allegory of the *Parlement* and the allegory of *Wynnere and Wastoure* rank among the few vivid concrete and poetic realisations of abstract portraiture achieved in English literature.

Perhaps the critics who may be of a different mind will be good enough to name a single superior example. And there is a point of view which is not to be passed over. This man, whether he was Sir Hew of Eglintoun or not, was international; if not directly connected with hostages he certainly held dear the peace and union of the North and South; an archetype to his creative effort was the reconciliation of a Scottish and an English

[1] There are a good many minor variants from the version given in Wright's *Poems of Walter Mapes*, p. 87, and in particular this rendering does not contain lines 9 to 146 and 151 to 154 of Wright's edition of the piece. The handwriting of this poem does not seem to be the same as the rubricator's, and that it was added after the rubrications is evident, for instance, from the relative position of the two on fo. 36.

[2] Zur *Destruction of Troy*, by Wilhelm Bock (Halle, 1883), p. 13.

king; he quoted Scottish prophetic utterances; his models and style, on the other hand, were English; much of his thought and sympathy was English too; of English law and legal history the note impressed itself equally on his copy of *Geoffrey* and on his own poems; *Morte Arthure* shews a buoyant picture of the kings of Scotland and of Wales as Arthur's most gallant allies; the sum of all is that in the body of early poetry claimed for Huchown we have a superb tribute to the solidarity of the literature of English speech,—a noble plea for the literary unity of both sides of Tweed. Whatever be the outcome of the discussions about his identity, so much at least appears to be the certain reading of his life.

Historical tests are usually the only safe basis for dating literary work. Few of the Huchown poems contain such historical evidences except in so far as the ascertainment of sources goes to establish a point of time. *Wynnere and Wastoure* in this respect belongs to a category of its own, being of a relatively early period and clearly explicable by the side light of church history. This allegorical poem of narrative and 'flyting'—an impending combat ending in a litigation—was assigned to *circa* 1350 by Mr. Gollancz on grounds[1] palpably untenable, and crucially failing to explain a main feature of the action of the poem. Although the great scene of the armies gathered over against each other came from Belinus and Brennius these heroes of ancient Britain give no clue to the bannered pomp of the two hosts drawn from France, Lombardy, Spain, England, and Ireland ranged under banners of black and green and white, with

[1] Only three need be discussed: (1) that the reference to 'five and twenty winters' (l. 206) points to the 25th year of Edward III.; (2) that the mention of the Friars and the Pope (ll. 460-70) points to the Statute of Provisors in 1351; and (3) that Scharshill (l. 317) is referred to 'evidently as Chief of Exchequer,' and therefore *ante* 1350 when he became Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The answers are: (1) that the five and twenty winters at the most can mean no more than that the date was after 1351, the King's 25th year; (2) that there is no hint whatever of the Statute of Provisors or its theme; and (3) that a reference to a judge in connection with breach of the peace ('his pese to distourbe') cannot possibly indicate the baron of Exchequer, but points necessarily to some judicial episode later than 1350, but before 5th July, 1357, when he ceased *ad tempus* to be Chief Justice. (Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales.*) Besides, the episode in question must have preceded the poem alluding to it, so that the latter may well date some months later than July, 1357.

heraldic insignia of bibles (each with *bulla* appended) and judges' heads, galleys and boarheads and buckles not admitting ready interpretation in detail. The poet leaves no doubt, however, that the first banner is Papal, the second that of certain Judges, and other four those of the Four Orders of the Friars—the Franciscans, Dominicans, Austins, and Carmelites—in reference to whom hints are thrown out about their wealth, their confessional privileges, and their commerce. True to himself, the poet thought the fairest banner that of the Augustine Order, for they were special, 'Our Lady to serve.'

When the enigma of this threatened conflict of European armies under opposing banners (l. 52) is confronted with '*circa* 1350' as the date of the poem, the impending battle is unintelligible as a historical allusion. Another date makes the meaning at once a matter of the simplest demonstration. Apply '*circa* 1358,' and the problem is solved. The battle just about to begin is partly the '*magna controversia*,' the 'gret strif' between Archbishop Fitzralf of Armagh, the renowned 'Armachanus,' primate of Ireland, with the secular clergy of England at his back, against the Four Mendicant Orders—the world-moving plea before the Pope and the Consistorial Court at Avignon which started in 1356, and in which the Irish primate made his 'most solemn proposition' before Pope Innocent VI. on 8th November, 1357, in reply to the papal summons issued the year before. The proposition, duly noted in English and Scottish chronicle,[1] assailed the Friars for many shortcomings, including extravagance and abuse of confessional rights. This controversy (which endured until close on the archbishop's death in 1360) supplies, when taken along with Brennius and Belinus, the assured suggestion of the embattled banners of the Friars and the Pope in the poem. Our poet thus made pictorial use of the mighty question of the Friars which very soon in Wycliffe's hands was to be pressed to more practical issues.[2] Unlike William of Langland,

[1] Murimuth, Eng. Hist. Soc., 191, 193. Further accounts are given in Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 218; Bower's *Scotichronicon*, ii., 360; Knyghton in *Decem Scriptores*, 2625; Walsingham, sub anno 1358; Fleury's *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, ed. 1840, livre xcvii., ch. 36; Wolfius's *Lectionum Memorabilium*, ed. 1600, i., 642; Barnes's *Edward III.*, year 1358.

[2] Wycliffe's famous treatises, the *Trialogus* and that 'Against the Orders of the Friars,' were sequels to the onslaught by 'Armachanus.'

our poet carefully refrains from personal entry into the fray, and strikes no direct stroke against the Friars whom Langland was so scathingly to denounce. Besides, the suspended fray had suggestion more direct still.

For this poem a date between 1356 and 1360 was needed—a date to fit the controversy, a date before 1360, because an allusion to the war 'at the proude pales of Paris the riche' (ll. 497-9) as still in progress must precede the peace of Bretigny in 1360, a date not much later than 1357 because of its allusion to Scharshill, evidently as Chief Justice. History makes perfectly clear why the poet set Pope, judges, friars, and Scharshill in the field all at one time. The contemporary annalists were doing the same thing, recording under the year 1358 both the 'gret strif' itself and Scharshill's share in another disturbance of that eventful period. Walsingham, Knyghton, and Capgrave, as well as the Anglo-Scottish *Scalacronica* all tell of this further embroilment, which accounts for the hostile banners of pope and judges, with the mention of Scharshill in the poem. The men of Bishop Lyle of Ely, who was a Dominican friar, burnt a manor of Lady Blanche of Wake, who complained to the king.[1] She charged against the bishop that her houses had been burnt by his dependants "encontre la Pees et la Lei de la terre," and one of her servants murdered. Justices were assigned to hear the cause, and the bishop, being found guilty, was delivered over to his episcopal brethren to be kept in custody, and his 'temporalties' were seized,[2] he being 'atteint de transgression incontre le peace.' On this the Pope was appealed to. He espoused the bishop's cause, expostulated[3] with the king, and excommunicated the justices, one of whom, we learn from Knyghton, was Scharshill. Serious disturbances ensued from this conflict of legal and ecclesiastical authority, and extremes involved included the violent exhumation of the excommunicated dead. 'Mech manslauth felle in this matere' says Capgrave.[4] King Edward's inter-

[1] Rotuli Parliamentorum, ii. 267.

[2] *Knyghton* in *Decem Scriptores*, 2620; *Year Books* (Maynard, 1679) for Trinity term 29 Edw. III., p. 41. The *Scalacronica*, p. 177, is interestingly technical in its account of the matter.

[3] See bull of 1 Aug., 1358, in Rymer's *Foedera*.

[4] Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 218.

David II., on whom he was in personal attendance on the latter of these occasions, he may have made his quarters, where David II. was, with the Friars Preachers,[1] and so have been at the very heart of the affair when courtly and chivalric society was watching, not without amusement, the front of battle lower in the great debate.

13. Huchown's Rubrications of 'Geoffrey.'

For this chapter the rubricator of the Hunterian 'Geoffrey of Monmouth' already described, the manuscript U. 7. 25, shall speak for himself of his cordial relationship with Huchown and his poems—shall shew his bonds of association with *Gawayne*, with the *Troy*, with the *Titus*, with *Morte Arthure*, with *Wynnere and Wastoure*, and with the moving story of Saint Erkenwald and the dead judge who lay so long uncorrupted in the foundations of St Paul's. From the beginning of the MS. to folio 55b only selections are given; from folio 55b to folio 81b, where the original MS. now ends, the rubrications are given complete. They are all in black ink, thus contrasting with the original rubrics, which are incorporated in the text and are in red.

The series of black ink rubrications starts as a crumpled fly-leaf, with a note of six heads, all concerning King Arthur.

Verba Arthuri ad suos.
Responsio Hoeli.
De responsione Anguseli regis Albanie.
De congregacione regis Arthuri.
De edicto Lucij Hiberij.
De Itinere Arthuri contra Romanos. [*See facsimile.*]

This jotting is in black ink and is all that is written on the fly-leaf of parchment forming the first—an extra—leaf of the MS. The above six items have been taken by the black ink rubricator from the original

[1] On 11th May, 1358, Sir Hew had safe conduct to Westminster. *Rot. Scot.*, i., 823. In the winter of 1358, David II. was staying with the Friars Preachers in London. Knyghton in *Decem Scriptores*, 2619. On 21st Feb., 1359, the king's seal and that of Sir Hew, were both appended to a document at the Friars Preachers, London. Bain's *Calendar*, iv., 27.

series of rubrics in red ink forming part of the original text of ff. 62*b*, 63, 63*b*, and 64 of the MS., or in the printed Geoffrey, ix. 16, 17, 18, 20, x. 1, 2. They, of course, constitute the mainspring of *Morte Arthure*, of which it is perhaps not too much to say this jotting was a preliminary. They are on a leaf by themselves. Those that follow are the black ink marginal rubrications of the folios mentioned in connection with each.

fo. 7. (Galf. i. 12).[1] Hic columpnas Herculis [*Brutus et socii*] petierunt.

7*b*. Hic Corineus nemora petit causa venandi ubi magnum fecit conflictum.

9*b*. (i. 15). Hic naves ingreditur Brutus.

10*b*. (i. 17). De civitate Londoniensi.

Hic Brutus civitatem construxit et illam Trojam novam vocavit que postea Trinovantum dicta fuit.

(ii. 1). Hic Brutus Lond. sepelitur. [See *Erkenwald*, in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue folge, Heilbronn, 1881, p. 266, line 25.]

12. (ii. 7). Hic primus [*Ebraucus*] post Brutum classem in Gallias duxit.

12*b*. (ii. 8). Rex Ebraucus xx. filios genuit quorum primogenitus Brutus Viride scutum vocatus est.

13-13*b*. Opposite the story of King Lear and his daughters two grotesque face lines are drawn on the margin—not part of the original scribe's work.

15*b*. (ii. 17). Hic Dunvallus rex hostes suos caute devicit.

15*b*. Hic leges primo in Anglia celebrantur inter Britones.

De fugitivis.

15*b*.[2] Hic rex est mortuus cui Bellinus et Brennius succederunt et regnum inter se diviserunt.

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[1] Fo. 7 is the folio of the MS. Galf. i. 12, is book i. chapter 12, of the printed Geoffrey, *Galfridi Monumetensis Historia Britonum*, ed. Giles. 1844.

[2] On fo. 14*b*, at the end of the passage, which in the printed Geoffrey is lib. ii., cap. 15, there is in this MS. text (not the rubricator's work, but the text itself) an important variant in the shape of a note of date, not in the print. Just one chapter before the reign of Dunwallo mention is made of the date of the building of Rome—*Anno ab origine mundi, iiij cccc lxxxii.* As bearing on an interesting point of poetical chronology, it is necessary to quote here two other passages of the original MS. text not in the printed Geoffrey. On ff. 1*b*-2, at the end of what in the printed book is lib. i., cap. 2, the following stands part of the text:

Anno ante Incarnacionem domini m c lvij et ante condicionem Rome ccc lxxx vi et ab origine mundi iij cccc xlix annis peractis Eneas cum Ascanio filio diffugiens Italiam navigio adivit.

Similarly as part of the text on fo. 19, at end of lib. iij., cap. 9, of the printed book it is written to record the date of the capture of Rome by Brennius and Belinus:

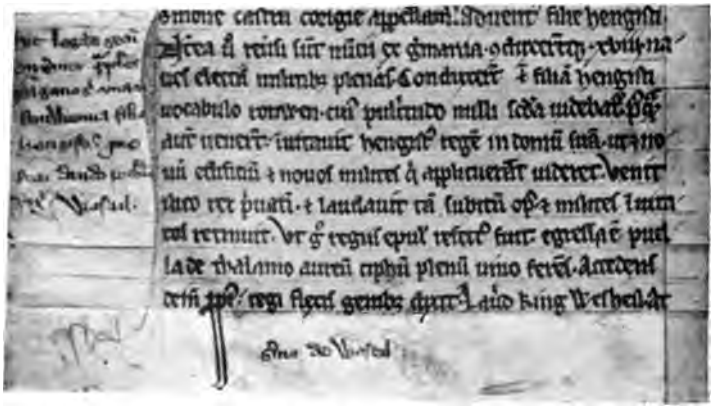
Anno a condicione sua ccc lv et ante Incarnacionem Domini ccc lx

These inconsistent equations may enable the chronographic reader to achieve the marvel of reconciling them and transmute into terms of the era B.C. the year of the world 4482, to which poetic importance attaches.

HUNTERIAN MS. U. 7. 25.

CRUMPLED FLY-LEAF.

Nota bene ON 'VENNA,' fo. 17.



Woseit NOTE, fo. 44*b*.

[These facsimiles made from photographs taken by Mr. S. Fingland, Photographic Department Glasgow University, are reduced by one-tenth from the original.]

16*b*. (iii. 3). Hic applicuit Brennius in Albaniam.

16 (16). (iii. 5.) Hic Bellinus leges instituit et confirmavit. [The story of Dunwallo is the key to the poem of *Erkenwald*. Compare lines 25, 207, 208-13, 216, 227, 230 (Dunwallo reigned 40 years), 228 (a temple was built for Dunwallo's laws). Compare rubricator's notes quoted above with these lines; also compare some further references appended to other rubrics, and see next chapter.]

16 (16*b*). (iii. 6). De fortuna et probitate Brennii fratris Regis Bellini.

17. (iii. 7). Hic iterato Brennius in Britanniam applicuit congressum habiturus cum Bellino Rege fratre suo.

Hic Venna mater eorum concordiam inter eos fecit et valde miraculose. Nota bene ☞ [*See facsimile.*]

[This note of reference to the story of Brennius and Belinus supplies the plot of *Wynnere and Wastoure.*]

17*b*. Hic facti sunt amici Bellinus et Brennius.

(iii. 8). Hic Bellinus omnes ffrancorum regulos devicerunt.

18*b*. (iii. 9). Hic obsides Rome civitatis ante portas ejus patibulo affixerunt.

19. (iii. 10). Hic Bellinus ex hac vita migravit. [See note at end of the *Erkenwald* section of next chapter.]

22. (iii. 20). Ludgate.

22*b*. De nobilitate et probitate Regis CASSIBELLAUNUS. [*Sic.* The name is written large by the rubricator. See *Parlement*, 315.]

23. (iv. 3). Hic Thamesis Julius applicuit.

Hic adest Cassibelluanus. [*Sic.*]

25*b*. (iv. 8). De epistola Androgei ad Julianum missa. [Julianum for Julium.]

26. (iv. 9). De xxx^ta obsidibus missis ad Julianum per Androgeum.

27. Hic tractatur de pace et concordia inter Julium et Cassibell.

27*b*. (iv. 10). Hic primo tributum de Britannia dabatur Julio Imperatori.

De concordia facta inter Julianum et Cassibell. et de vectigale reddito.

28. (iv. 13). Hic Hamo princeps milicie Claudii usus est dolo.

A finger is drawn opposite the sentence in the text: Didicerat enim linguam eorum et mores quia inter Britannicos obside Rome nutritus fuerat. ☞

[See cut, ch. 11. Note that this is the third rubric indicating special interest in hostages.]

30. (iv. 17). Sermo de Scocia.

30*b*. (iv. 19). Hic templa deorum diluuntur et evacuata. [*Erkenwald*, 15, 16.]

30*b*. Hic constituuntur tres Metropolitani in Anglia. [This explains the references to Triapolitane in *Erkenwald*, 31, 36. Lucius did this according to Geoffrey. London, York, and Caerleon were the three Triapolitanes.][1]

32*b*. (v. 5). Tempore Asclipiodoti persecucio Diocliciani Imperatoris in Christianos in regno Britannie.

33. De passione Sancti Albani et aliorum martirum in Britannia.

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[1] At the bottom of ff. 30*b*-38 is, in a changed hand, the copy of the *Dialogus* of Wine and Water mentioned above ch. 12, sec. 3.

33*b*. (v. 6). Hic Constantinus ex Helena uxore sua filium generavit quem Constantinum vocavit.

34. (v. 8). Constantinus Rex Britannie monarchiam Rome et tocius mundi optinuit. [*Morte Arthure*, 282-3.]

39. (vi. 2). Hic Romana potestas totam Britanniam de atroci oppressione suorum inimicorum liberavit.

Nota: semper fuit Albania spelunca proditorum. [Note *Morte Arthure*, 32.]

40*b*. (vi. 4). Hic Guetelinus London. metropolitanus in minorem Britanniam hoc est ffranciam transfretavit postulans Aldronei Regis ibidem subsidium. [*Morte Arthure* never mentions Armorica, preferring 'Bretayne the lesse.' See lines 36, 304.]

Nota quod ffrancia minor Britannia vocatur.

42. (vi. 7). Hic proditor ille Vortigernus dolose pro Pictis et aliis Sarracenis misit ut terram Britannie occuparent. [No 'Saracens' in Geoffrey; *Morte Arthure*, 3530, 3533, associates Picts and Saracens.]

43*b*. (vi. 10). In isto capitulo tractatur de Hengisto et Horso: adventus Barbarorum qui diem Mercurium Woden lingua eorum vocabant quem lingua nostra Wodenesdai nominamus. [*Sic*. Heathenism of Hengist's days noted in *Erkenwald*, 7.]

44*b*. (vi. 12). Hic legati secum duxerunt quantoplures paganos unacum Rouwenna filia Hengisti que Regi [Vortegirno] dando poculum dixit Wosail.

Sermo de Woseil. [Belshazzar is made to use this word with the same technical propriety, *Cleanness*, 1508.][1] [*See facsimile*.]

fo. 49. (viii. 14). Hic Merlinus de sidere mirabili vaticinavit apparente Wyntoniam.

Nota bene: stella apparuit.

(viii. 15). De significacione syderis. [This fully explains the dragon passage in *Titus*, 387-403, and is a clue to *Morte Arthure*, 2057, etc.] [*See facsimile*.]

50. (viii. 18). Triquetra-like mark opposite sentence, At ubi Arctos temonem vertere cepit precepit Uther consules suos atque principes ad se vocari ut consilio eorum tractaret. [This exactly parallels the councils of war by night in *Troy* and *Titus*. Ch. 8, sec. 2, and ch. 12, sec. 1, above.] [*See facsimile*.]

53*b*. (viii. 23). Triquetra-like mark opposite last two sentences of viii. 23, Malo tamen semimortuos . . . vivere.

55*b*. (ix. 3). De Arthuro Rege Britonum.

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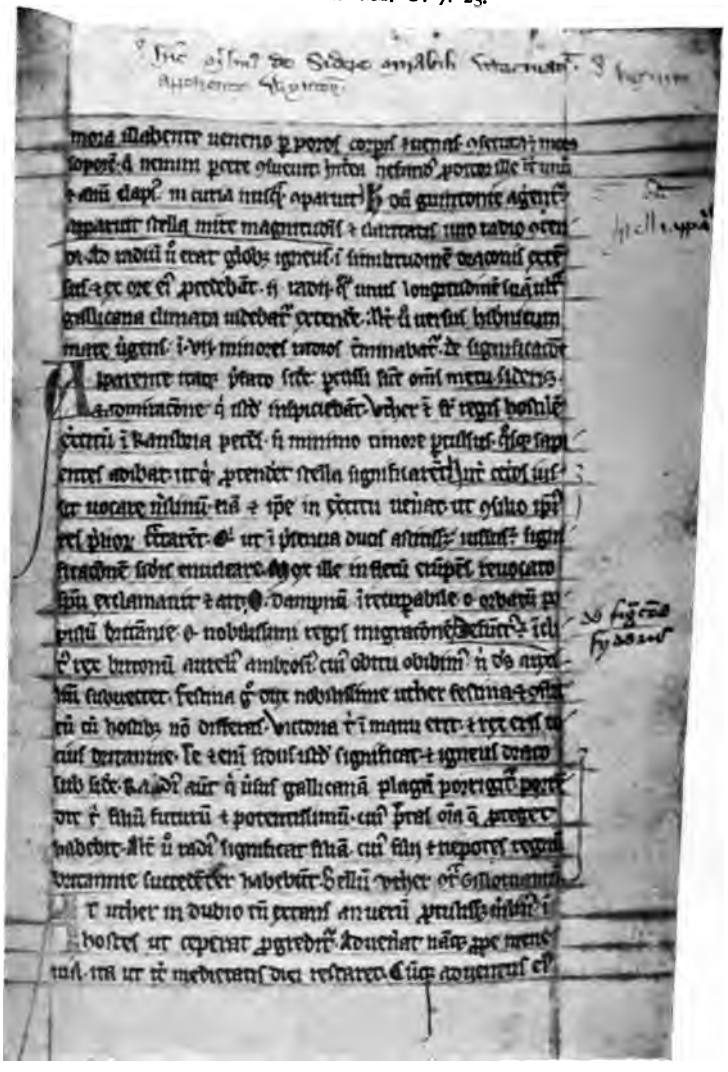
[1] Fo. 46*b*. has at the bottom in the same hand as added the *Dialogus* on ff. 30*b*-38 the lines:—

Quid de mundo senciam nolo declarare,
Et de illis qui sciunt mundum titillare.
Siquis mundi vicia querit indagare
Infinitum numerum tedet numerare.
Sed proclamat Salomon audiant mundani
Omnia sunt vanitas forma sub inani
Qui terrenis inhiant nonne sunt insani:
Qui sane considerant immo sunt hii vani.



FIERY DRAGON NOTE, fo. 49.

56. (ix. 4). Hic Arthurus cum paganis Saxonibus viriliter dimicavit.
De clipeo Arthuri. [*Gawayne*, 649; *Morte Arthure*, 3649.]
De gladio ejus nomine Caliburno. [*Morte Arthure*, 4230.] [*See facsimile.*]

56*b*. De victoria Arthuri contra paganos.

57. (ix. 6). De stagno mirabili lx insulas continente ad quod pagani fugerunt.

(ix. 7). De stagno Lumonoy.

57*b*. (ix. 8). Hic Rex Arthurus ecclesias per paganos destructas renovavit et totum regnum suum Britannie in pace stabilivit.

58. (ix. 10). Hic Arthurus totam Hiberniam et omnes Reges Insulanos sibi subjugavit qui omnes vectigal ei dederunt. [*Morte Arthure*, 30, 31.]

58*b*. (ix. 11). Hic Arthurus Northwegiam Daciamque sibi subjugavit.
[*Morte Arthure*, 44, 46.]

59. (ix. 11). Hic Rex Arthurus cum ffullone Rege ffrancie bellum duellum commisit.
[*Morte Arthure*, 3345, uses the nearly orthodox form 'Frolle.']

59*b*. (ix. 12). Hic Rex Arthurus tocius Gallie partes in ix annis subjugavit tenuitque Parisius curiam suam legesque ibi statuit et confirmavit et in Britanniam reversus est.

fo. 60. Hic Arthurus ad suum convivium omnes Reges principes et duces proceres et nobiles invitavit inferius nominatos. [*Morte Arthure*, 75.]

60*b*. (ix. 13). Hic Arthurus in Regem Britannie et Gennora in Reginam coronantur.
[*Morte Arthure*, 84, has 'Gaynour.']

61. Hic magnum festum et laudes Deo in coronacione Arthuri et Regine celebrantur.

61*b*. (ix. 15). Hic Rex Arthurus litteras Lucij Imperatoris recepit. [*Morte Arthure*, 86, also calls him 'Emperour': the Latin of Geoffrey has 'Procurator.'] [*See facsimile.*]

62. Hic Arthurus consilium habuit super sibi mandatis per Imperatorem.
[*Morte Arthure*, 243.]

62*b*. (ix. 16). Hic Rex Arturus sanxivit tributum de Lucio Cesare sibi dari.
[*Morte Arthure*, 275.]

63. (ix. 17). Consilium Arthuri de Romanis quomodo eos subjugaret.

63*b*. (ix. 18). Promissio facta Regi Arthuro per Reges principes duces comites barones sibi subditos de hominibus ad arma contra Imperatorem. Hic congregat exercitum suum.
[*Morte Arthure*, 288-394.]

63*b*. (ix. 19). In exercitu regis Arthuri duo reges. [There are more than two kings in Geoffrey, but in *Morte Arthure*, 288, 320, as here, there are only two.]
Summa hominum armatorum c iiij^{xx} iij millia et cc preter pedites in exercitu Arthuri.

64. (x. 1). Hic Lucius Imperator contra Arthurum Regem exercitum suum parat. Summa exercitus Imperatoris iiij^{xx} millia. [*Morte Arthure*, 625.]

64. In exercitu Imperatoris sunt ix reges duo duces cum ceteris ducibus sibi subjugatis.

64*b*. (x. 2). Hic Rex Arthurus sompnum vidit et de quodam gigante in Monte Michaeli rumores audivit. [*Morte Arthure*, 756-843.]

65. (x. 3). Hic gigas Helenam neptim ducis Hoeli suo fedo coitu peremit. Arthurus ut cum eo congrederetur montem petiit. [*Morte Arthure*, 855.]

65*b*. Hic Rex Arthurus cum gigante magnum habuit congressum et ipsum interfecit.
[*Morte Arthure*, 892-1160.]

66. (x. 4). Hic Rex Arthurus misit Imperatori ut a finibus Gallie recederet ubi co Imperatore Walganus nepos Arturi Gaium nepotem Imperatoris peremit. [The ru cator here calls 'Gaius Quintilian' simply 'Gaius' (the printed Geoffrey calls l 'Caius Quintilianus'); similarly *Morte Arthure*, 1346-1385, knows him only as ' Gayous.']

66. A peculiar mark is put opposite the sentence in Geoffrey (x. 4) about Gaius Quintilian saying that 'Britones magis jactantia atque minis habundare quam audacia et probit valere.' [*Morte Arthure*, 1348, did not fail to use this passage.

66*b*. Hic Boso de Vado Boum Gerinus Carnotensis et Walganus nepos Arturi cum Roma ignorante Arthuro certamen habuere. [*Morte Arthure*, 1378-1531.

67. De magno conflictu Romanorum et Britonum.

67*b*. Hic Petreius Senator captus est et regi presentatus et victoriam Britones optinueru [The rubricator in naming Geoffrey's 'Petreius Cotta' drops the 'Cotta,' calling l 'Petreius Senator.' Similarly *Morte Arthure*, 1419, 1476, 1519, 1543, calls him o 'the Senatour Peter.']

68. (x. 5). Hic Romanos captivos Parisius Britones miserunt et in itinere magnum c flictum habuerunt et de Romanis victoriam. [*Morte Arthure*, 1617-1879.

68*b*. (x. 6). De Lucio quomodo Lengriam civitatem cum exercitu suo ingredere dispo hesitans cum Arthuro prelia committere. [*Morte Arthure*, 1957.

69. (x. 7). De Arthuro quomodo disposuit se cum exercitu suo Imperatorem precedere cum eo conflictum habeat suos consolans et victoriam promisit. [*Morte Arthure*, 1973-2005.

69. Arthurus rex habens sub se Reges terdenorum regnorum.

69*b*. (x. 8). Hic Lucius Imperator revocata audacia suos confortavit et exercitum su disposuit contra Regem Arthurum. [*Morte Arthure*, 2020.

70. Hic conflictum magnum inierunt. [*Morte Arthure*, 2058-2255.

70*b*. (x. 9). De conflictu Romanorum et Britonum.

71. De ingenti conflictu inter Britones et Romanos.

71*b*. (x. 10). De bello Arthuri inter ipsum et Lucium Imperatorem. [*Morte Arthure*, 2240.]

72. (x. 11). De bello Arthuri inter ipsum et Lucium Imperatorem.

72*b*. (x. 12). Hic Arthurus victoriam potitus est et Lucius Imperator inter turn peremptus est. [*Morte Arthure*, 2244-2255.]

72*b*. Opposite the sentence telling of the death of Lucius the word 'Amen' is marked early pencilling.

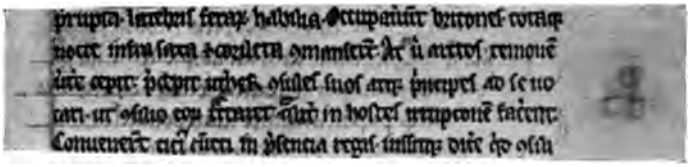
73. (x. 13). De sepultura mortuorum in conflictu. Hic Arthurus precepit corpus L Imperatoris ad Senatum deferre Romanorum dicens quod aliud tributum de Britan dari non deberet. [*Morte Arthure*, 2290-2351.]

73*b*. (xi. 1). De bello inter Regem Arthurum et Mordredum nepotem suum proditore [*Morte Arthure*, 3713.]

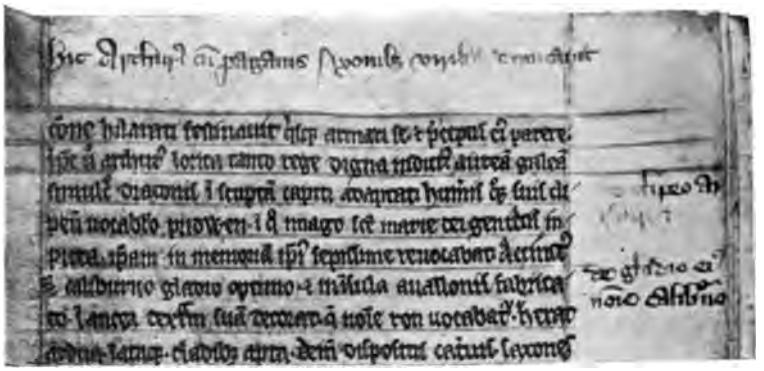
74. (xi. 2). De bello Arthuri et Mordredi proditoris nepotis sui. [*Morte Arthure*, 4175.]

75. Hic corruit ille proditor Mordred cum multis aliis et Arthurus victoria adeptus et letaliter vulneratus est. [*Morte Arthure*, 4251-4241.]

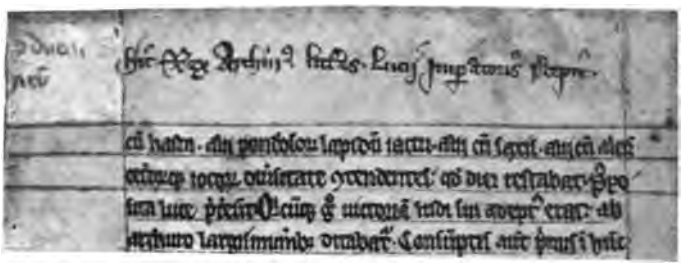
HUNTERIAN MS. U. 7. 25.



COUNCIL OF WAR BY NIGHT, TRIQUETRA MARK, fo. 50.



ARTHUR'S ST. MARY SHIELD AND CALIBURN, fo. 56.



LUCIUS IMPERATOR, fo. 61*b*.

75. Hic disposuit inclitus Rex Arthurus Regnum Constantino cognato suo filio Candoris ducis Cornubie. [*Morte Arthure*, 4317. The Latin text has Candor, like the rubric. The poet follows the orthodox form Cador.]

75*b*. (xi. 8). De Britannia quomodo per paganos uit totaliter desolata.

76. (xi. 9). De ingenti lamentacione Britonum et divisione regni et quomodo Britones diadema regni amiserunt.

76*b*. (xi. 12). De missione sancti Augustini a beato Gregorio papa in Britannia tota Xianitate iterato carente ad predicandum fidem qui eum audire nolebant.

[*Erkenwald*, 12.]

76*b*. De Augustino.

77. Pagani Britannie et Xiani certamen inierunt ubi multi sancti monachi martirizantur propter fidem.

77*b*. (xii. 1). De pace et concordia inter Caduanum regem et Ethelridum.

78. (xii. 3). De discordia Caduallanum et Edwynum inter quos divisum fuerat Britannie regnum.

78*b*. (xii. 4). De Edwino quomodo Cadvallanum in fugam convertit et de infortunio Cadwallani.

Nota de Pellito qui de volatu avium cursuque stellarum edoctus.

79. Quomodo Brian regis Cadwallani armiger scidisset frustrum proprie carnis et dedit regi ad vescendum. Hic venit rex ad regem Salomonem.

79*b*. (xii. 5). Hic rex Salomon Britannie infortunia lamentavit et regi Cadwallano auxilium promisit.

80. (xii. 6). Hic Brianus transfretavit ut Pellitum de Yspania augurem et magum Edwyni regis perimeret. Hic in portu Hamonis applicuit.

80*b*. (xii. 7). Hic Brianus Pellitum magum regis Edwyni interfecit.

81. (xii. 8). Hic Cadwallo cum exercitu suo applicuit et cum Peando congressus est et Cadwallo subicitur et Edwynum Regem interfecit et sic victoria potitus est.

81. (xii. 9). Hic omne genus Anglorum a finibus Britannie rex Cadwallo expulsit.

81*b*. (xii. 10). Hic sanctus Oswaldus rex Northanhumbrorum a rege Peanda peremptus est.

14. 'Erkenwald,' 'Awntyrs of Arthure,' and 'The Pearl.'

(1) '*Erkenwald*.'

Mention has been made of the tale of the dead judge found, after a thousand years and more, sleeping his last long sleep in the base of the heathen temple which preceded St. Paul's.[1] Now is to be shown the connection of that *Erkenwald* poem with the Hunterian MS., along with its no less

[1] The *Miracula Sancti Erkenwald* MS., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, does not at all account for the detailed and romantically specific story. Miss Mary Bateson most obligingly put herself to the trouble of examining this MS. for me.

interesting cross-relationship to the *Awntyrs of Arthure* and *The Pearl.* B first let us briefly recall the story of the poem itself. In digging the foundatio of the 'mynster' there is unearthed in a stone coffin the body of a man royal crowned, sceptred, and clad, and in marvellous preservation. His fa was fresh, and his cheek and lip as rosy as though he merely slept. Gre wonderment and speculation arose; they searched all the libraries for week, but no clue to the buried king could be found. Erkenwald th time was bishop. He had been absent in the rural part of his dioces and was brought back by the strange news. Guided in his action heavenly grace, robed in pontificals, with a goodly company of lords a barons and the Mayor of the city, he proceeded with all solemnity to t minster. After celebrating mass he passed to the tomb where the co lay. There, in the name of Jesus, he addressed the dead, conjuring h to tell who he was and how he came to be buried so. There was a pau then the body moved, and 'dreary' words came forth, in which the de man declared that he

> 'Was never kynge ne cayser ne yet no knyght[1] nothyr,'

but had once been a judge in the city under a 'prince of parage.' continued:

> l. 205 'The lengthe of my lyving here that is a lewid date
> Hit is to meche to ony mone to make of a noumbre.
> After that Brutus this burghe had buggid one fyrste
> Noght bot fife hundred yere ther aghtene wontyd,
> Before that kynned your Criste by cristene acounte
> 210 A thousand yere and thritty mo and yet threnene aght,
> I was ane heir of anoye in the New Troie,
> In the regne of the riche kynge that rewlit us thene,
> The bolde Bretone ser Belyne, ser Beryng was his brothire,
> Many one was the busmare bodene home bitwene
> 215 For hor wrakeful werre quil hor wrathe lastyd;
> Then was I juge here enjoynyd in gentil lawe.'

Lewid, unskilful; *to meche*, too much; *buggid*, built; *threnene*, a form of *thryn* three; *oye*, grandson, but here?; *busmare*, insult; *bodene*, offered.

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[1] Compare *Wynnere and Wastoure*, 327: 'Ne es nothir keyser ne kynge ne knyg that the folowes.'

But the answer roused the more surprise, and the bishop pressed to know how it was that one who had not been a king should have been buried with crown and sceptre.

l. 221 'Biknowe the cause
Sithene thou was kidde for no kyng quy thou the crown weres?
Quy haldes thou so heghe in honde the septre
And hades no londe of lege men ne life ne lyme aghtes.'

Biknowe, declare; *sithene*, since; *kidde*, known; *quy*, why; *ne life ne lyme aghtes*, had not royal power over life and limb of subjects.

It is a question to which we must return—this dilemma of the crown—but the noble answer that came is what concerns us now:

l. 225 '"Dere ser" quath the dede body "devyse the I thenke
Al was hit never my wille that wroght thus hit were.
I was deputate and domesmane under a duke noble
And in my power this place was putte al-to-geder
I justifiet this joly toun one gentil wise,
230 And ever in fourme of gode faithe more thene iourty wynter.
The folke was felouse and fals and frowarde to reule.
I hent harmes ful ofte to holde home to right
Bot for wothe ne wele ne wrathe ne drede
Ne for maystrie ne for mede ne for no monnes aghe,
235 I remewit never fro the right by resone myne awene,
For to dresse a wrange dome no day of my lyve,
Declynet never my consciens for covetise one erthe
In no gynful jugement no japes to make.
Were a renke never so riche for reverens sake,
240 Ne for no monnes manas ne meschefe ne routhe,
None gete me fro the heghe gate[1] to glent out of ryght
Als ferforthe as my faithe confourmyd myn hert.

Never my will, this not my doing; *deputate ana domesman*, judge deputy (of the duke); *this place*, the temple; *felouse*, felonious; *hent*, received; *wothe*, read *woch*, a term of old Scots law, see chapter 'De wrang et woch negando' in *Scots Acts Parl.*, i., 742; *aghe*, awe; *remewit*, removed; *dresse dome*, give judgment; *gynful*, deceitful; *japes*, follies; *renke*, man; *routhe*, sympathy; *glent*, to go aside.

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[1] For this curious phrase compare *Morte Arthure*, 450, and *Fleta*, 45 (referred to above, ch. 9 sec. 3). *A recta via non se divertet . . . et tunc interdicatur ei ne viam regiam exeat.*

which, as the dead judge also indicates, had been consecrated by Dunwallo to his laws.[1] The dead judge is therefore a poetic equation of Dunwallo himself. And the judge's crown and burial in gold? Dunwallo, as Geoffrey tells us, made for himself a golden diadem,[2] and when his son and successor Belinus died his ashes were laid in a case or coffin of gold.[3]

(2) '*Awntyrs of Arthure*' and '*Pearl*.'

M. Amours in editing the *Awntyrs* supplied many admirable elucidations in the introduction and notes. As regards the sources, however, one he missed—the most important. The first part of the poem is beyond doubt an adaptation of the *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii*, a legend, of which an English poetical translation of the fourteenth century has been edited by Dr. Furnivall[4] in 1866, and with a double text by Herr Kaufmann[5] in 1889. The substance of the legend is to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum*,[6] but in form differing materially from the story in the English poem. The English author begins by saying, 'A nobulle story wryte y fynde'—words from which its character as translation is a perhaps uncertain inference. However that may be, the author of the *Awntyrs* knew the *Trentalle* story in the same shape as it has in the English poem. It is not difficult to show the indebtedness.

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[1] MS. U. 7, 25, fo. 15*b*:

Rubricator's Note. Hic rex est mortuus cui Bellinus et Brennius succederunt et regnum inter se diviserunt

Text. In diebus itaque ejus latronum mucrones cessabant; raptorum sevitie obturabantur; nec erat usquam qui violentiam alicui ingereret. Denique ut inter alia quadraginta annos post sumptum diadema explevisset defunctus est et in urbe Trinovanto prope templum concordie sepultus, quod ipse ad confirmationem legum construxerat.

[2] [Dunwallo] fecit sibi diadema ex auro. Galf., ii. 17.

[3] [*Rubricator's Note.*] Hic Bellinus ex hac vita migravit.

[*Text.*] Postremo cum suprema dies ipsum ex hac vita rapuisset combustum est ejus corpus et pulvis in aureo cado reconditus quem in urbe Trinovanto . . . locaverunt. Galf., iii. 10, MS. U, 7, 25, fo. 19.

[4] *Political Religious and Love Poems*, E.E.T.S., 1866, p. 83.

[5] *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii* herausgegeben von Albert Kaufmann (Erlangen, 1889).

[6] *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., pp. 250, 384, 489, 503.

Trentalle Sancti Gregorii.	*Awntyrs.*
A grisly fiend-like creature all aflame appears to Gregory at mass. (ll. 46. 55.)	A howling and 'grisly ghost' all a-glow, with a toad at her neck, appears to Gaynore (Guinevere). (ll. 117-25.)
Gregory 'halsed' it through God's might to tell why it disturbed him so. (ll. 63, 68.)	Gawayne conjures it by Christ to say whence it came and why it walks thus. (l. 133.)
It answers, 'I am thy modur that the bere' (l. 72).	It asks for Gaynore, and tells her 'I bare thee of my body' (l. 204).
'I lived in lust wickedly.' (l. 89.)	By that to-takenyng thou trow I broke a solemn avow[1] That none wist but I and thou And therefore dule I dree (ll. 205-8).
Gregory replies: 'Tell me now, mother, if anything may help,—bedes or masses?' (ll. 95-97.)	Gaynore says, 'Tell me now soothly what may save, and I shall seek the saints for thy sake.' (ll. 209-10.)
The ghost answers that it might be well with her: Who so truly would take a 'trentalle Of ten chief feasts of the year To sing for me in this manner. (ll. 104-6.)	The ghost answers: Were thirty 'trentalles' done Betwixt undern and noon My soul were salved full soon And brought into bliss. (ll. 218-21.)
Gregory is glad, and promises that the masses shall be sung. He bids his mother reappear 'this time twelvemonth' to report her condition. (ll. 131-8.)	Gaynore promises: Now hear heartily on hand I hest thee to hold With a million of masses (ll. 235-6). [The ghost makes some prophecies not in the *Trentalle*.]
Gregory never forgot his masses on the days assigned (ll. 144-5).	Gaynore causes the masses to be read and sung (ll. 703-6).
Then an angel carries her off to heaven (l. 186).	The ghost glides away (l. 325).

Here the parallelism of the *Awntyrs* with the *Trentalle* stops, and the sole remark to be made is to point out how the alliterative poet by the

[1] This merest hint—of the incest which makes the legend of Gregory repulsive—illustrates two things. First, it shows the refining touch of Huchown's hand in respect of his leaving the rest unsaid. Secondly, it proves that Huchown knew more of the legend than appears in the English version of the *Trentalle*. The *Gesta Romanorum* form of the story accounts, by its reference to the tokens, for the allusion to privy knowledge which in the present poem appears meaningless. Besides, the toad, not in the English version, duly occurs in the Latin form of the story. See Herrtage's *Gesta*, p. 503, and Kaufmann's *Trentalle*, p. 26.

change of a single name deepened the power of the story he found in the legend of Gregory. For Gregory he substituted Guinevere, made her the subject to whom so terrible a lesson of the pains of adultery was delivered, and so with remarkable aptness, although indirectly and with delicacy, added to the moral. For surely to associate such a dread warning as this with the frail queen, who lives in romance history with her radiance so stained, was a touch of art. And we are not yet done with the *Trentalle*. Perhaps the reader has already noticed that whilst Gregory conjured his mother's ghost by God's might to explain itself, and Gawayne conjured the ghost of the mother of Gaynore by Christ to tell why it walked the earth, the good bishop in the *Erkenwald* had likewise bidden the dead judge, in the name of Jesus, say:

> In worlde quhat wegh thou was and quy thou thus ligges (l. 185).

So in the *Trentalle* in obedience to the invocation

> The gost answered with drury chere (l. 71),

while in *Erkenwald* the dead body stirs

> And with a drery dreme dryves owte wordes
> Thurghe sum lant goste (ll. 191-2).

Critics who are able lightly to call such things coincidences, and pass on, will please consider if the following also came by chance. The *Trentalle* story was not at an end where the *Awntyrs* left it; nor was the alliterative poet's borrowing account closed when all the masses for the soul of Guinevere's mother had been sung. He had a use for what of the *Trentalle* yet remained.

Trentalle.

Twelve months after the appearance of the ghost, as Gregory stood at mass,

> He sawe a fulle swete syghte
> A comely lady dressed and dyghte
> That alle the worlde was not so bryght
> Comely crowned as a qwene (ll. 152-5).

> Nygh for joy he swooned (l. 158).

Pearl.

In *The Pearl* the father, visiting the grave of his two-year-old daughter, falls asleep there, and in a dream of heaven sees her 'in hir araye royale' wearing a crown high pinnacled with pearl (ll. 191-207), 'a coroun of grete tresore' (l. 237).

> Her hare is as glysnande golde (l. 165).

No man could have been gladder. His 'joy,' he says, was much the more (l. 234).

lost pearl. And the question[1]—which is of the very essence of each poem—comes from the same source as suggested the ghostly interview of Guinevere.

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[1] A few further words may well be devoted to *The Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*, a trio of pieces found in the same MS. with *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. Dr. Richard Morris, editing the trio, advocated the claims of the poet-translator of the *Troy* to their authorship (*Early English Alliterative Poems*, E.E.T.S., prel., ix.), although denying that that poet-translator could have been Huchown. Reference may be made to the excellent reasons assigned in his preface for this association between the *Troy* and the three pieces in question. It is unnecessary to comment at this stage on the other part of his opinion. I endorse and accept Dr. Morris's proofs of unity of authorship, relying on my own manifold fresh arguments as to Huchown's personality. Mr. Gollancz, in his beautiful edition of the *Pearl*, also holds it and *Cleanness* and *Patience* to be from the same hand. His preface, concluding with a guess at the authorship and the inevitable denial of Huchown, interestingly covers a good deal of the general field of alliterative discussion. I append a few stray notes of correspondence between the three poems and the other works now under comparison. In *Cleanness* (ll. 1015-43) the description of the Dead Sea is taken bodily from the *Itinerarium* of Maundeville (ch. ix. of Wright, fo. 266+21 of MS. T. 4, 1), with possibly a line or two due to Hegesippus. In *Cleanness* also Belshazzar's sacrilegious table jewellery is described in terms borrowed from chapter xx. of the *Itinerarium*. Similarly, the allusion to Ararat and its Hebrew name (*Cleanness*, 447-8), comes from Maundeville, ch. xiii., although the spellings in MS. T. 4, 1, fo. 266+32*b*, are 'Ararath' and 'Tain.' On the many points of similarity in phrase in these poems with the other pieces I am content to mention two or three. 'The pure popland hourle' of *Patience*, 319, is matched by 'the pure populand hurle' of *Alexander*, 1154. 'Noah that oft nevened the name' of *Cleanness*, 410, compares with 'Naw hafe I nevened yow the names' of *Parlement*, 580. 'The chef of his chevalrye he chekkes to make' (*Cleanness*, 1238) resembles 'And chefyd hym nott of chevalry chekez oute of nombre' (*Alexander*, 3098). Extremely interesting is a line probably taken from reminiscence of the *Troy*:

> 'Belfagor and Belyal and Belssabub als' (*Cleanness*, 1526).
> 'Sum Beall sum Belus sum Bell the god
> Sum Belphegor and Belsabub as hom best likes' (*Troy*, 4356-7).

A good parallel from *Titus* is:

> *Cleanness*, 1413. 'And ay the nakeryn noyse notes of pipes.'
> *Titus*, 848-9. 'With dynning of pipis
> And the nakerer noyse.'
> *Titus*, 1174-5. '. . . and pypys with nakerers and grete noyce. . . .'

For nakers (Fr. *nacaire*) see *Murimuth*, p. 156, *sonantibus tubis et nachariis*. '"Wassayl," he cryes' (*Cleanness*, 1508), said of Belshazzar, again effects a cross-

The critic's task will be simplified by a parallel tabulation of lines in these poems shewing consecutive use of *Trentalle* in all three.

Subject.	TRENTALLE.	*Awntyrs.*	*Pearl.*	*Erkenwala.*
Darkness,	l. 50	l. 75-6	—	—
'Grisly ghost,'	55-61	105-15	—	—
Conjuration,	63	133	—	179
Christ,	66	133	—	180
'Why'?	69	136	—	185-8
'Dreary' speech,	71	—	—	191-2
Mother,	72	203	—	—
Confession,	83-92	205-8	—	—
Prayers,	95-97	209-10	—	—
'Trentals,'	104	218	—	—
Promise,	131-8	235	—	—
Fulfilment,	144	708	—	—
Supposed Queen,	152-5	—	191-229	[king] 98, 222
Joy,	158	—	234	—
'Queen of heaven,'	162	—	423	—
Mary 'Mother,'	163	—	425-35	—
Crowning,	155	—	480	254
In hell,	172	—	—	292
Released,	186	—	—	335

How could an imitator or any imaginable 'school' of poets, as distinguished from an individual, have hit on such a unity of system? It includes absolute indebtedness of ground plan in each poem, along with minor verbal transfers in each, a singular exhaustion of the entire content of *Trentalle's* plot (*Pearl* resuming the thread precisely where the *Awntyrs* dropped it), and finally an observance of the same consecutive order as in the original through all three alliterative adaptations of the *Trentalle*, two of which swell the multiplied coincidences by ending[1] with the opening line.

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connection with the rubrication *sermo de woseil* above noted (ch. 13) on fo. 44b. of the MS. of Geoffrey. Compare also

'Lyfte laddres ful longe and upon lofte wonen' (*Cleanness*, 1777).
'Layn ladders alenght and oloft wonnen' (*Troy*, 4751).

Siege descriptions, shipping, storms, weather, hall and court in all the poems all lend points in the same direction.

[1] *Awyntrs*, ll. 1, 1212. *Pearl*, ll. 1, 715.

15. On System of Verse, Dialect, Characteristics, Date, and Nationality.

(1) *System of Verse.*

The words of Wyntoun have a particular value in respect that they point to three poems differing in theme, character, and metrical construction. *Morte Arthure*, styled by Wyntoun the *Great Gest of Arthure*, is a historical romance, or rather a romantic history, and is like the *Alexander*, the *Troy*, the *Titus*, the *Parlement*, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, *Erkenwald*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*, a work in unrimed alliteration. One thus appreciates the more the technical propriety of Wyntoun's reference to 'cadens' as a vital element of Huchown's performances, for 'cadence' seems to have been the term applied to alliteration as distinguished from rime. Indeed, the life-story of this old system of verse, once sole possessor of the field of English speech, with its sudden interruption and disuse followed by the fourteenth century revival of it, may all be inferred from the Romance-word 'cadence' found linked with it first in an alliterative prose tractate in imitation of Richard Rolle of Hampole, who, in at least one learned opinion, was a force in its English revival.[1] The word 'Cadence' is there contrasted with 'Ryme,' a contradistinction followed by Chaucer as well as by Gower.[2] When, therefore, Wyntoun excuses Huchown's 'Emperour' because 'Procuratour' would have 'grieved the cadence,' the allusion is specific. 'Cadence' was the only mode used in most of the poems, including *Morte Arthure*. But Wyntoun also alludes to Huchown's 'metre,' a word connoting rime as well as measure, and accordingly certain of the poems exemplify the combination of alliteration

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[1] The passage referred to is in 'A talkyng of the love of God' (Horstman's *Rolle of Hampole*, ii., 345): 'Men schal fynden lihtliche this tretys in Cadence after the bigynninge gif it bee riht poynted and Rymed in sum stude.' The piece is accordingly partly alliterative and partly in rime. Rolle of Hampole's *Melum Contemplativorum* is written in alliterative Latin verse and prose. Horstman's *Hamtole*, ii., introd. xviii.-xxii., has many specimen passages. Prof. Horstman has there stated his view as to the influence of Hampole in the words: 'As a writer he took up the old traditions of the north: he revived the alliterative verse.'

[2] See note ch. I above.

'a peculiarity,' he said, 'which has not been noticed elsewhere.' Accordingly, M. Amours reckoned it noteworthy that in the *Awntyrs* also this peculiarity[1] should be found. To the list falls to be added the *Lay of the Truelove*. A fact so significant of art as this, along with the close consonance of verse structure and rime system, is enough to discredit as the sheerest empiricism the verdict of Mr. Henry Bradley,[2] that the *Pistill* and the *Awntyrs* were originally written in alliterative long lines unrimed, and as we now have them are 'paraphrases or watered-down versions by a northern man who retained the original diction so far as the alteration of metre would permit.' The proposition is grotesque—a reckless philological forlorn hope.

(2) *Dialect.*

All requisite allowance being made for a considerable percentage of scribal change, the dialect (some would say dialects) of the Huchown poems must constitute a problem on which it is hard to educe any certainty except the one, that the dialect shows a blending of peculiarities. Professor Skeat concluded[3] that the *Alexander* 'was probably written in a pure Northumbrian dialect.' Mr. Donaldson, editing the *Troy*, concluded[4] that that work 'was originally in the Northumbrian dialect,' stating at the same time that *Morte Arthure* 'was certainly of Northern origin.' Dr. Morris did not agree; he held *Morte Arthure* to be in a Northumbrian dialect south of the Tweed, and assigned the *Troy* along with *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience* to the West Midland dialect.[5] M. Amours found[6] that the rimes of the *Awntyrs of Arthure* and of the *Pistill of Susan* 'betoken a Northern origin.' *The Parlement* and *Wynnere and Wastoure* Mr. Gollancz assigns to the west of England. Mr. Henry Bradley is quite positive[7] that *Morte Arthure*, the *Pistill*, and the *Awntyrs* were all originally written in West Midland dialect, but were subsequently northernised by editorial scribes. A very fair statement of the case was perhaps that made long ago by Mr. Donaldson who,

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[1] *Scott. Allit. Poems* (Sc. Text), p. 364.
[2] *Athenæum*, 12th Jan., 1901.
[3] *Alex.*, pref., xxiii.
[4] *Troy*, pref., lxi.,
[5] *Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, pre.., ix.; *Morte Arthure*, ed. Perry, 1865, pref., ix.
[6] *Sc. Allit. Poems*, pref., lxx.
[7] *Athenæum*, 12th Jan., 1901.

speaking of the *Troy*,[1] declared that the elements of the work were Northern and West Midland, but that their combination was so irregular as to permit the idea that they presented a mixture of dialects. This is not far from the belief of the present essayist. The dialect of these alliterative poems shows, like that of the *Kingis Quair*, a difficult admixture of Northern and Southern forms, and conduces to the inference that the poet's education and his later career must have been such as to reconcile the apparent anomaly. Anglo-French influences, then predominant in court circles, must have tended to make the speech of the aristocracy lean decisively, even as it does to-day, towards the southern model.

(3) *Dates for the Poems.*

Absolute and relative points of fixity for dates are not many. Maundeville's latin book, written in 1356, is the first. The *Alexander*, quoting Maundeville, could not have been written before 1356. The *Troy* most probably followed the *Alexander*, and was quoted by Barbour in 1376. These two extreme dates comprised between them for Huchown a couple of crowded decades of earnest study and glorious achievement.

Wynnere and Wastoure, poetically grouping facts which English annalists record under 1358, certainly belongs to that time. It admits of suggestion that as a Garter poem complimentary to Edward III., and containing a translation of the well-known motto of the Order, it may have been composed for the high festival of the Round Table held in the early summer of 1359, and evidently attended by Sir Hew of Eglintoun.

Gawayne, with its beautiful story of temptation resisted, has for its pictorial conclusion the Garter motto in French. The suggestion of Mr. Gollancz that the story has to do with the amorous relations of Edward III. and the Countess of Salisbury may or may not be plausible,[2] but certainly he has good ground for maintaining a connection with the story of the origin of the Garter. Indeed the relationship with the chivalric Orders is more intimate than has yet been pointed out. Gawayne, setting oft to keep tryst and fulfil his adventure with

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[1] *Troy*, pref., lx.

[2] *Pearl*, intro. xli.

the Green Knight, wears a 'cote' (l. 2027) which is 'furred' (2029). He 'doubles' about his thigh the love-lace 'drurye,' or 'gordel of the grene silke' (2033-5) with 'pendauntez' (2038) which his fair temptress gave. At the end of his adventure when he parts with the Green Knight he wears this crosswise on his left arm—

> A-belef[1] as a bauderyk bounden bi his syde
> Loken under his lyfte arme the lace with a knot (ll. 2486-7).

These are the very technicalities of fact. When Henry IV., just before his coronation in 1399, made knights, they wore green 'cottes'—so Froissart[2] tells—which were 'fourrees,' and each knight 'sur la senestre espaule' wore 'un double cordeau de soye blanche a blanches houpells pendans.' And from other sources we know that this kind of 'lacs,' or 'druerie' as it was styled in France, was in England one of the fixed *stigmata* of knighthood and bore the name of 'las.'[3] Only the tinctures here differ from Froissart's. The 'gordel' (O. Fr. cordel) is the bend of green,

> A bende, a-belef hym aboute, of a bryght grene,

which became the badge of the Round Table in *Gawayne* (l. 2517). It is of special note as the point of focus for the plot of that poem. We must remember it likewise as present in *Wynnere and Wastoure*. Over against the papal standard with its bibles and *bullae*

> Another banere is upbrayde with a bende of grene
> With thre hedis whiteherede with howes on lofte (ll. 149-50).

The hint perfectly consorts with history: Edward III., represented by the Round Table badge, is on the side of the three excommunicated judges whom, in 1358, he protected from the pope and his bulls against the judges and others. The banner symbolises the union of royal and judicial authority which the pope defied. The one poem is thus the decisive explanation of the other, and probably they are not far apart in time. *Gawayne* has been assigned to 1360, a date with which there

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[1] *A-belef*, slantwise, across.

[2] Cf. *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux*. (Hist. So.), p. 225; *Titles of Honor*, ed. 1631, p. 820. Cf. as to garter *Galf. le Baker*, 203.

[3] See Laborde's *Glossaire Français du Moyen Age*, words 'druerie' and 'lacs' (laz, laqs): Upton, *De Re Militari*, cap 3, quoted by Ducange *voce* 'stigma.'

is no great need to quarrel, although I incline to place it earlier, perhaps before the production of *Wynnere and Wastoure*. This would put it on the calendar of 1358 or 1359. In early 1358 there were great Round Table functions, and either then or very shortly afterwards Sir Hew was in London. But a noteworthy feature of the poem is its recurrent allusion to New Year's Day,[1] a vital part of the story, which gives rise to the belief that it may have been written for a New Year festival.

These poems seem to be the earliest of the series on the chronology of which the facts yield clues. Of *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*, Mr. Gollancz's estimate[2] of 1360 is probably not far wrong, although these pieces, like the *Alexander*, shew use of Maundeville, only written in 1356. *Erkenwald* and the *Awntyrs of Arthure* are inseparable from *Pearl* when sources are considered, and there is no external evidence of the order of production. A glance at their relations with the *Trentalle* inclines one to suppose that the *Awntyrs* may have preceded *Pearl*. Let us, in the absence of other data, suppose that the *Alexander*, certainly *post* 1356, was written *circa* 1361; and the *Troy* a year later.

The *Titus and Vespasian*, like the *Alexander*, utilised *Maundeville*, and by its mention of the Foul Death suggested 1363 as a possible date. Its vows are hints of the influence of the *Voeux du Paon*. *Morte Arthure*, utilising *Maundeville* also, and developing the *Voeux du Paon*, has yielded very many and intimate historical evidences converging towards a date at the close of 1364 or beginning of 1365. Again we have here a Round Table poem honouring loftily Edward III., and again we have Sir Hew in London in May, 1365, a time that suits.

The date *circa* 1350, which has been editorially suggested for the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, is out of the question. Obviously it is yet later than *Morte Arthure*, in that while reminiscent of Maundeville and the *Voeux du Paon* it quotes *Gawayne*, *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*, and is itself a dream, springing from a dream-episode in the *Troy*.

Between 1365 and 1376 there was ample time, but perhaps the extra

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[1] *Gawayne*, ll. 60, 105, 284, 454, 1054, 1669.

[2] *Pearl* intro., xlii.

number of the reminiscent lines of community with *Morte Arthure* hints rather 1365-70 than 1370-76.

(4) *Characteristics and Nationality.*

Our poet's general characteristics have been incidentally touched at frequent points already—his courtly and ceremonial leanings and observance of etiquette, his love of ship-scenes and the chase, his lapidary interest in jewels, his purity and loftiness of soul, his piety and religiosity of spirit. His themes, it may be observed, while ranging widely over history and romance, never make love a centre.

When we turn to the question of indications of nationality in the treatment of his material, the difficulty at once arises that a poet has no call to declare his nationality, and that in consequence, where dialect is doubtful, we have many puzzles of early literature to solve. Language is often the only test, and philology has assuredly not yet perfected its critical apparatus.[1] In the present case inferences from dialect are sharply complicated by the contradiction of history. On Huchown's language definite stress cannot be laid to prove his origin, and his themes not being directly historico-patriotic in the sense of, say, Barbour's *Bruce*[2] or Minot's poems, the data are particularly few and slender.

Externally, the record of Huchown is wholly Scottish; this is by far the master-key of his mystery. The *Troy* appears to be quoted by John Barbour in 1376. The *Morte Arthure* is discussed by Wyntoun in 1420, while other pieces of Huchown's are mentioned in the same passage. No early author in England, on the other hand, has ever named Huchown or recognised his poetical industry, notwithstanding that English scribes have copied the poems and Malory incorporated in his prose much of Huchown's Arthurian matter.

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[1] It is just possible, however unlikely, that in the words 'and Scharshull it wiste' (and Scharshill knew it—said relative to a disturbance of the peace) in *Wynnere and Wastoure*, 317, there may be a clue to the youthful career of Sir Hew of Eglintoun. Scharshill was in Scotland attending to matters in Edward Balliol's parliament in 1332 (Bain's *Calendar*, iii., 1065). At that time many Scottish families were retiring into England because of the civil war in Scotland (Bain's *Cal.*, iii., 1065-84).

[2] Note, however, that even in Barbour's *Legends of the Saints* the express indications of nationality otherwise than from language are very few.

Huchown's great romance-history, *Morte Arthure*, might well have been written by an Englishman, whether regard is had to its language or its tone; but here and there are touches, subtle and penetrating, that suggest an author with a keen interest in Scotland and sympathy for peace and alliance between north and south. Chief is that already pressed—the veiled reference to the heir-apparent. But the general political scheme, if it may be so called, of *Morte Arthure* puts the Scottish leanings of its author in the clearest light. In Geoffrey of Monmouth, King Anguselus, as an ally of Arthur, is postponed to Hoel of Armorica; there is no separate king of Wales, and there are some six kings of island realms. Hoel furnishes 10,000 men-at-arms; Anguselus only 2,000. Arthur himself made up the total of armoured horse to 60,000. The six island kings furnished six times 20,000 foot. Turning now to the rubrication (by Huchown) of this place in the *Brut*, we find noted *In exercitu regis Arthuri duo reges*—an inaccurate memorandum, for there were eight kings, not two. But *Morte Arthure*, like the rubric, has only two. The King of Armorica, or, as Huchown preferred to style it, Little Britain or Britain the Less, sinks in *Morte Arthure* to 'baron of Britain the little,'[1] though he brings 30,000 knights to Arthur's banner. And precedence before him is taken by the King of Scotland with 50,000 men, while the gallant King of the Welsh brings 2,000. Could a Scottish poet contributing, let us say, a Round Table poem for the festival of the Order of the Garter, at which his own king was an honoured guest, well have done better?

In the direction hinted tends also the curious allusion in *Morte Arthure* to the heir-apparent,

> 'Thou art apparent to be heir, or one of thy childer,'

a line which betrays a knowledge of the intrigue between the Kings of England and Scotland in 1363-64, constituting part of a reconciliation in the earlier stages of which, at any rate, Sir Hew of Eglintoun had definitely a helping hand. Besides, there are localities mentioned in *Morte Arthure*, and still more in the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, which reveal some intimacy with Scotland. On the later poem, M. Amours,[2] examining the topographical allusions, finds

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[1] *Barones de Britannia* was a term of state in this period. See instance in truce of 1343, *Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 142.

[2] *Scot. Allit. Poems*, introd., lxxiij.

it an 'obvious inference that the poet knew his ground in Scotland and on the Border, and drew on his imagination for localities further south.'

In the *Alexander* poem, the exclusion of Scotland from the conquests of the Macedonian may be an accident, but may be a straw which indicates the current.

If it be asked who Huchown's chief hero was, the answer is ready—it was Gawayne 'off the west marches,' as he calls him once, although we know that more than once he really denotes the Black Prince.[1] Gawayne, it is scarcely necessary to urge, was well known in romance history as the lord of Galloway. So early and sober an author as William of Malmesbury[2] tells of the discovery of the sepulchre of 'Walwen,' who had reigned in 'Walweitha.' Huchown's provinces of Cunningham and Kyle, in which his own lands and the Steward's territory lay, were of old within the limits of the Province of Galloway. However his interest in Gawayne arose, Huchown went beyond his predecessors in the many-sidedness of his praise for valour and purity, for grace and courtesy.

Then, what of Belinus and Brennius as indications of nationality? Are we to take it as of no note that this pair of brothers, kings of North Britain and South, are not only mentioned in *Morte Arthure* and *Erkenwald*, but supply the plot of *Wynnere and Wastoure*? Rather must we not remember their reconciliation as a type to the poet of the peace he sought between two lands?

And Thomas of Erceldoun? Must we respect it as a natural presumption that anybody but a Scot would in that age have been found quoting these weird prophecies—prophecies which again had to do with the very theme of Belinus and Brennius, the feud of South and North?

Last of all, let us look at a singular parallel. Sir Hew of Eglintoun had, immediately upon the accession of Robert II. to the Scottish throne, become a privy councillor of his royal brother-in-law. Shortly afterwards he appears as an auditor in exchequer, an important financial post. A colleague is the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, known of all men in our day as John Barbour, the poet of *The Bruce*. If these men sat together in the Scottish *Aula Regis*, and if the poetic Huchown was the auditorial Sir

[1] *Morte Arthure*, 2954.

[2] *Gesta Regum* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 466.

Hew, the question may well ensue—What are the proofs, if any, of literary contact? The first item of the answer is constituted by the alliterative quotations made by Barbour from the *Troy*, and the traces, somewhat indefinite, it is true, of borrowings from *Morte Arthure*.[1] The second item is, that historically Huchown's name stands for ever linked with the 'Awle Ryale' of Barbour's period by virtue of the epithet Wyntoun appended. The third is the singular coincidence of sources—especially of *The Bruce*—employed by Barbour with those of Huchown. Huchown was, presumably, the older man; he certainly was of much higher social dignity than Barbour; he was a man of large means. It is much more natural to suppose that Huchown influenced Barbour than the converse. However it was, here are facts oddly connecting the modes of work and the *Quellen*.

Huchown	*Barbour*
Translates Guido's *Troja*, and frequently refers to the story.	Partly translates the *Troja* in the *Troy fragments*.
	Also quotes a passage from it in the *Bruce*, i., 521-528.
	[See my *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, pp. 4, etc.]
Epitomises the *Fuerre de Gadres*.	Epitomises the *Fuerre de Gadres* in *Bruce*.
	Also abridges and translates the *Fuerre*.
Makes large use of the *Voeux du Paon*.	Makes large use of the *Voeux du Paon*.
Epitomises the *Voeux*.	Translates (*me judice*) the *Voeux* in full.
Repeatedly sings the praises of the Nine Worthies.	Celebrates the Nine in *Bruce* and in the *Buik of Alexander*.
	Is suspected of writing the 'Ballad of the Nine Nobles.'
Epitomises the romance of *Ferumbras* in a shape resembling the *Sowdan of Babylon*.	Makes Robert the Bruce epitomise *Ferumbras* in apparently the same version.
Uses the *Legenda Aurea* in *Titus* for 'The Sege of Jerusalem' and for 'St. John the Evangelist.'	Translates from the *Legenda Aurea* the account of the siege, and the life of St. John.
Bases his greatest poem, *Morte Arthure*, on the *Brut*.	Bases his important poem, the *Stewartis Orieynale*, on the *Brut*.
Cites and quotes the *Romaunt of the Rose*.	Also cites and quotes it, *Legends of the Saints*, prologue, l. 5.

[1] The *Troy fragments* show few alliterative phrases; *Bruce* has many, so has the *Buik of Alexander*; the *Legends of the Saints*, again, has very few. The inference may be hazarded that Huchown's influence, 1372-1377, is the explanation.

Huchown	*Barbour*
Quotes the prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoun, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, 5, 13-15.	Cites and quotes 'Thomas of Hersildoune,' *Bruce*, ii., 86.
Uses the Scriptures as a source, *Pistill*, *Pearl*, etc.	Does the same.
Refers (like Chaucer) to St. Julian, *Gawayne*, 774.	Refers to St. Julian, *Legends of the Saints*, xxv., 15.

Some of these are commonplaces; the majority quite other than so. The comparison suggests the improbability of two men, not brought into contact, displaying any such parallelism in their authorities. The one in alliteration, the other in rime; the one by far the loftier, profounder, more powerful, and more original genius, the other perhaps the luckier in that he chose Robert the Bruce for his theme—these are the twin spirits of Scottish fourteenth century literature from the Exchequer table of the Awle Ryale. Always we must return to Wyntoun's testimony; and that is what Wyntoun and the Exchequer records tell.

16. Diagram of the Argument.

(1) *As regards the Works.*

The evidences which have now been submitted are, it must be repeated, for the most part wholly new. They include the following propositions, set forward and proved for the first time:

1. Relationship of *Alexander* and *Troy* through Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1, indicating a very possible community of origin from the same manuscript source, on which, however, no vital part of this argument is dependent.
2. Direct borrowing in *Titus* of a complete scene and a siege picture from the *Troy*.
3. Direct borrowing in *Morte Arthure* from *Titus* over and above its known connection with and borrowing of many lines from *Troy*.
4. Adaptations in *Morte Arthure* from the *Voeux de Paon*.
5. Consistent indebtedness throughout of the *Parlement* to *Gawayne*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*.
6. The plot of the *Parlement* drawn from *Troy*.
7. Maundeville's *Itinerarium* (of which a copy is in MS. T. 4, 1)

used as a minor source in *Alexander*, *Morte Arthure*, *Parlement*, *Pearl*, and *Cleanness*.

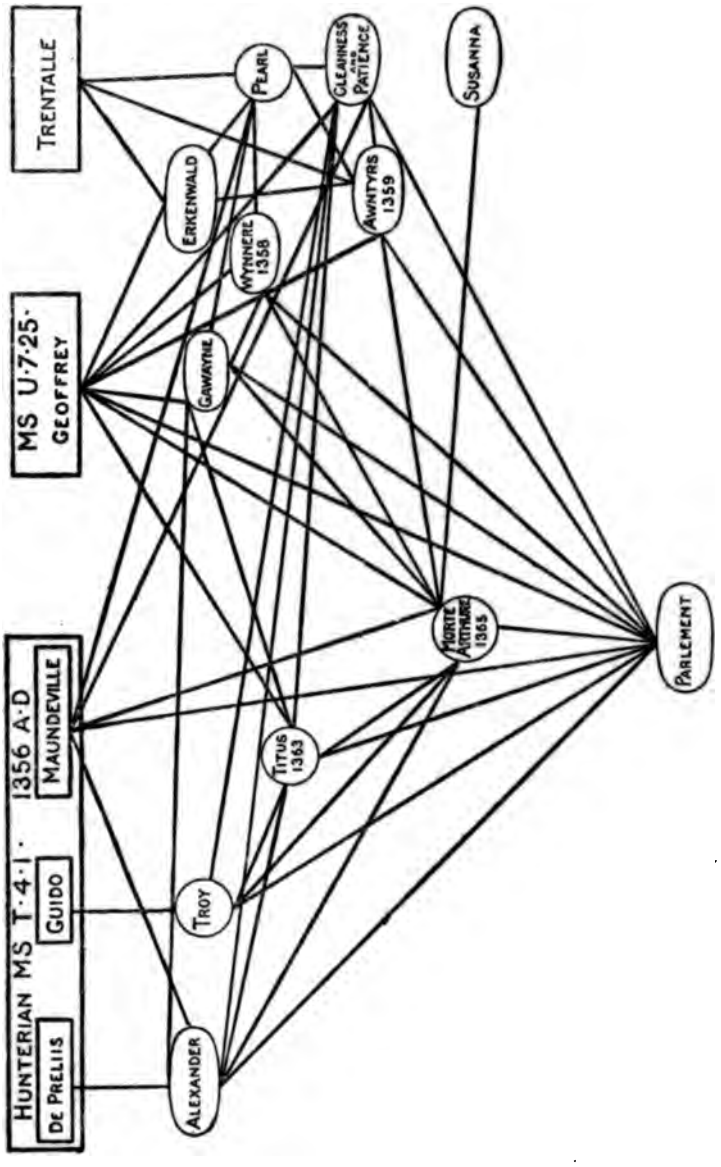
8. Extraordinary consequence of the Hunterian copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth, MS. U. 7, 25, especially of its rubrications.
9. Plot of *Wynnere and Wastoure* thus revealed in Geoffrey, along with important clues to other poems, especially *Morte Arthure*, *Titus*, and *Erkenwald*.
10. Brennius and Belinus as poetic factors in Huchown's work.
11. The historical setting of *Wynnere and Wastoure* explained, and the significance in evidence of the 'bend of green.'
12. *Erkenwald* considered in itself as a legal monument and in its relation to other poems and to the MS. of Geoffrey.
13. *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii* a common source of the first half of *Awntyrs of Arthure*, of *Erkenwald*, and of the *Pearl*.
14. Considerations from military, political, and geographical elements on the date of *Morte Arthure*.
15. An autobiographic suggestion from the MS. of Geoffrey on the series of poems and on the nationality of the poet.

So varied, although so convergent, are the processes of reasoning which point to a single author that they can only be briefly summarised by a diagram here. The direction of the argument had to be determined somewhat by the chance of earlier impressions tending at first as the knowledge originally available dictated, but altering and extending its line in consequence of subsequent information. Perhaps this diagrammatic chart will be explanatory not so much of the course which has been steered by the argument as of the cross-connections established by cables laid down in the poet's own works.

Poems that draw from the same sources draw from one another.

Poems connected with the special rubrics of the same unique MS. draw from one another.

The author of the last poem on the diagram, if not Huchown, must have had extraordinary zeal as disciple or industry as plagiarist if he wove into his short text so much of other men's labours that his poem is linked from end to end with practically the entire cycle of the Huchown poems.



CONNECTION OF THE POEMS: showing (1) some sources and occasionally the order of descent, (2) the existence of identical or closely similar lines common to the connected poems, and (3) some approximate dates.

temporary allusions which is the vital fact for due criticism. These occur mainly in the second half of the *Awntyrs*, and are perhaps more pervasive of *Golagros* throughout. In the *Golagros* poem the fact in substance is that Golagros represents King John of France, Arthur is Edward III., Gawayne is the Black Prince, and the duel is the battle of Poitiers, while the white horse is that ridden by the French king on that ill-fortuned day. The *Awntyrs* contains a reference, of a significance until now unobserved, to *the Erlis sone of Kent*, which pins down the production to a date not earlier than 1358 and not later than 1360. The poem has allusion to events of the summer of 1358. Here again Arthur is Edward III. and Gawayne is the Black Prince, while Galleroun is a historical and allegorical representative of Scotland. Neither poetical nor political allegories are designed to be free of occasional mistiness of treatment, but these inferences on Golagros and Galleroun are inevitable and beyond critical doubt. Nor is this all. A rare and happy chance of record has made possible the decisive interpretation of an allusion in the *Awntyrs* (italicised below) as autobiographical of the poet himself, confirming the sense deduced from the poem, fixing its date, and settling the personal identity of the immortal Huchown. First, let us look at Golagros, remembering that King John, although a prisoner, was fêted and feasted in 1358 and 1359.

Contemporary History.

Edward III., at war with King John of France, commissions Black Prince to take homage of Aquitaine (*Rymer*, 4th Aug., 1355). Landing at Bordeaux, a walled city with castle, the Prince is welcomed by its famous Captal de Buch, John de Grailly (Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir*, ll. 524, 616, 678), and other barons of Gascony, who march with the Prince in his expedition across mountainous territory to Carcassonne, a castled city with many towers (now fifty-four) on a rock, double walled (*Galf. le Baker*, 235), on the river Aude, near the Mediterranean. The Captal's local knowledge was helpful in the selection of the route (Moisant's *Prince Noir*, 28). Carcassonne is considered through the middle ages to be

Golagros and Gawayne.

King Arthur sends Gawayne as his messenger to a fortified city beyond sea (42) with towers and battled walls and castle (44).

Gawayne is welcomed by its lord Spynagros, who offers him 30,000 men (197). The army, marching over the mountains (230-5), reaches a castle with thirty-three towers, on a rock, double dyked, on a river side near the sea (233-50). Spynagros, who knew the land well (344), guides and counsels Gawayne (261, 341, etc.). The castle has a circular keep—'the round hald' (371).

Golagros, lord of the castle, refuses homage (452).

Heavy fighting, after an interval, ensues (600-880).

Contemporary History.	*Golagros and Gawayne.*
impregnable. It has its chief stronghold in a great circular tower built in the thirteenth century—*la grosse barbacane.* Viollet le Duc's *La Cité de Carcassonne*, pp. 20, 70, figs. 11, 15. The city will not submit (*Galf. le Baker*, 236, 3-6 Nov., 1355), adhering to its lord, King John.	
After various battles King John—at Poitiers in 1356—royally armed meets the Prince. At the battle John rides a white horse. *Estoit li roys de Franche montés sour ung blancq coursier* (Amiens MS. of Froissart quoted in Polain's *Jehan le Bel*, ii., 302). He fights heroically, but is overcome.	After sundry combats Golagros, armed in gold and rubies (886), mounted on a white horse (895), encounters Gawayne and fights heroically, but is overcome (1024).
He is summoned to surrender, and does so after some trouble about taking him to the Prince.	Summoned to surrender (1032) and come to the King (1070), he refuses till conditions are adjusted, under which he agrees to be a prisoner while seeming to be captor (1102).
Taken to the Prince's tent he is entertained to supper where the Prince seats him at table, refuses to sit himself, and personally waits upon his prisoner.	Gawayne goes off apparently captive to the castle of Golagros (1125), where at supper Golagros waits in person at table upon his seeming prisoner.[1]
	'He gart schir Gawyne upga' (1150-1160).
Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 3260-3432.	Golagros then does fealty (1216, 1324).
	Fortune's wheel is uncertain (1225), as Hector, Alexander, Caesar, David, Joshua, Judas, Samson, and Solomon knew (1235).
Lionel was not made duke of Clarence until 1362.	'Schir Lyonel' (1248) and Gawayne conduct Golagros to Arthur who is gladder than of the rents as far as Roncesvalles (1313).
No such homage was done. Cf. *Awntyrs*, 642.	Golagros does homage (1323) and promises fealty if due (1325).
Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 424. The Prince had in 1355 been within fifty miles of the Rhone.	There was a week's feasting on the river Rhone (1345).
Not historical. Cf. *Awntyrs*, 675.	Arthur releases Golagros from allegiance (1358).

The light of passing events, reflected in a degree comparatively vague in Golagros, shines with brilliant distinctness on Galleroun and reveals at last what we have waited for so long.

Contemporary History.	*Awntyrs of Arthure.*
Edward III., on 9th May, 1358, grants	To Arthur in his hall rides up to the dais

[1] Neither the white horse nor the table incident occurs in *Perceval.*

Contemporary History.	*Awntyrs of Arthure.*
Edward III., on 12th February, 1359, expressly states that to the earnest and oft repeated request[1] of his sister Johanna was due his agreeing to respite stern action[2] for the Scottish failure to meet the ransom.	Galleroun is oppressed by his adversary, and the lady implores (619) Guinevere, who implores Arthur[3] to make concord (625).
Erskine and Sir Hew attest in London on 21st Feb., 1359, David II.'s acknowledgment of Edward's concession of respite (Bain's *Cal.*, iv., 27).	Arthur does so, and procures the release of Galleroun's lands (672-6).
David II.'s release, under treaty of Berwick in 1357, had very stringent conditions for his return if the instalments of ransom were not duly paid. David often repaired to the Round Table; so did Erskine himself, who seems to have been accomplished in tilting (Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, i., 14; Bain, iv., 93; *Rot. Scot.*, i., 892). Erskine's very significant visits to England about St. George's Day are noted below.	He is released (675) with a reservation about his lingering a while to make repair to the Round Table (684) of which he is made a knight (701).

Thus there are marrow bones of true history in *Golagros* and the *Awntyrs*. Superb and dramatic as are the annals of literary research, it may be questioned if they contain any revelation more marvellous and pictorial than this of the Knight of Eglintoun, then young in his poetical career, riding on his startled Frisian steed, with Queen and Chamberlain, as they approach the court of Edward III.

The boar's head marshals the way to a complete understanding of the place of the Round Table poems. In the *Awntyrs* it associates with them in the most pointed manner that powerful Scottish baron, justiciar, chamberlain, officer of state, and soldier, Sir Robert of Erskine. Its occurrence about the same time also at the Christmas feast in *Gawayne* (ll. 1616-54), is not casual, but carries a touch of heraldic allegory. When

[1] Nous a la grande et diligente requeste et instance de nostre tres chere soere Dame Johane, compaigne du dit Sire David, que nous ad sur ce meinte foiz supplie, de nostre grace especiale grauntons [etc.] (*Rotuli Scot.*, i., 835, 12th February, 1359).

[2] Forfeiture would have made matters very risky and unhappy for the hostages under the treaty. The hostage rubrics of Geoffrey (ch. 13 above) are notes of Scottish anxiety.

[3] The intervention of 'Waynour' (l. 625) may have come from that of 'Venna' between Belinus and Brennius.

again it confronts us on a banner in *Wynnere and Wastoure* (l. 175), and on a shield in *Golagros* (l. 605), the inference deepens that the whole Round Table set is connected with Sir Robert as well as with Sir Hew, whose entire career ran alongside Erskine's. Year after year from 1358 onward—in 1362, 1363, 1365, 1368, 1369, 1370, and 1373—Erskine procures safe-conduct to travel into England (sometimes Sir Hew does so at the same time) a week or two before St. George's festival[1]—countenancing most circumstantially the statement that the prototype of Galleroun was either admitted a Knight of the Garter or was otherwise closely concerned with that proudest brotherhood of chivalry. His personal accomplishment in knightly arms may be inferred from his once[2] carrying north with him a 'ketil-hat,' his appearing once as a commander of a troop, and his position as castellan of David II's. fortresses. He stood in high favour with Edward III. as we know from the gift made to him of a rich gold cup[3] in 1363. Year after year, too, we find his safe-conducts timed so as to let him spend Christmas in England—for instance[4] in 1361, 1363, and 1367—again a fact probably indicative of the good graces towards him of the English king.

Between the two, the celebrations of the Round Table and the Christmas festivities, it is easy to find natural room for the poems of Erskine's friend and colleague Sir Hew, some of them romances of the Table Round, appropriate to the honour of the king of chivalry, Edward III., and the Black Prince, not forgetting now and then that of the knight (concerning whom one of them was written) whose crest was a boar's head.[5] Thus at last history vindicates itself, and the mystery of Huchown and his alliterative poems remains a mystery no more.

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[1] *Rotuli Scotiae*, 862, 872, 890, 917, 928, 937, 955.

[2] *Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 892. [3] Bain's *Cal.*, iv., 93.

[4] *Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 859, 877-8, 916-7. At the last reference Erskine's son's arms and armour make a striking analogy to those in *Gawayne*, 574-83.

[5] The heraldic discovery on which this chapter is based has led to others which explain the unidentified Friars' banners in *Wynnere and Wastoure*. The first banner has six galleys of sable, each with a brace (or bend) and two buckles. The galleys sable indicate John of the Isles (Woodward's *Heraldry*, ed. 1892, p. 367), and the bend and two buckles his wife, Margaret de Vaus (*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1306-1424, p. 48), whose

18. Conclusions.

To the fifteen leading propositions formerly tabulated, the preceding chapter now adds:

16. An allegorically historical sense in *Golagros and Gawayne* strangely parallel to that of the second half of the *Awntyrs of Arthure:*
17. The demonstration of the inner yet obvious meaning of both poems:
18. A beautiful and decisive personal revelation by the poet himself.

To review and assemble (although in the baldest, crudest, and most disorderly fashion) the detached sections of this long involved and ill-stated argument, chiefly in the shape of successive series of parallelisms, has been a task of the greatest magnitude, inasmuch as, for the first time, the general features of a supreme poet fall to be set on the canvas. It is not to be disguised that the countenance which begins to show itself with growing definiteness through the curtain of the fourteenth century is of no common

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grandfather bore a bend with two 'cinquefoils (?),' which perhaps were buckles (Bain's *Calendar*, ii., p. 545). There were, by legend, six kings of the Isles (*Galf. Monumet.* ix., 19), and the Scottish lordship of Man was held by service of six galleys (Earl of Haddington's MS. *Adv. Lib.*, 34. 2. 1 [pagination series at end] pp. 34^b-5^b). The second banner is yet more interesting. With both 'brerdes' (or bordures) of black and a balk (or void) like the sun in the middle, it plainly denotes the Balliol orle with field of silver (*Roll of Carlaverock*, ed. Wright, 25). The third banner has three boar heads, and is that either of Sir Robert Erskine or of Sir John Gordon, a distinguished Scottish soldier (*Wyntoun*, x., ch. 2), whose arms were three boar heads (Woodward's *Heraldry*, 227), who was taken prisoner at Poitiers, and who was in England in 1357 and 1358 (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 808, 824). The fourth banner, argent with a belt buckled, gives us Norman Lesley's argent a bend with three buckles (Woodward, plate, p. 376). John of the Isles and Edward Balliol were both included in the Berwick treaty of 1357 (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 812-814). The peace thus negotiated embraced 'le yle de Manne.' The Queen and Erskine have their safe-conducts to London on 9th May, 1358, Sir Hew and Lesley on the 11th (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 822, 823). The arms are not exact and the tinctures are altered, but probably no herald will dispute the likelihood of these identifications. Thus *Wynnere and Wastoure* conveys hints of a surprising variety of strifes and concords in fields both sacred and secular, Scottish and English. The two allies of Edward III., John of the Isles and Edward Balliol, are thus slily presented along with two of his Scottish adversaries, Gordon (or Erskine) and Lesley. The last named was taken prisoner by the English in France in 1359 (*Scalacronica*, 190), and distinguished himself under the King of Cyprus in the descent on Alexandria in 1365 (Bower, ii., 488).

type; it is the countenance of an immortal who ranks among the great formative forces in the literature of the English tongue, who, while Chaucer was still (to public intents) silent, had ransacked the storehouses of Latin, French, and English, in the quest of material for romantic narrative, and who no less than Chaucer set his seal forever on the literary art of his own generation and of the generations to follow. The hand which seeks to unroll a little further Wyntoun's brief scroll of Huchown's achievement may well tremble as it deals with a task so weighty, for either these pages are a vain and credulous figment, or Huchown's range and grasp in romance place him as a unique and lofty spirit, comparable in respect of his greatness only with Walter Scott. But great and sweet as is the personality and interesting as is the evolution of Scott, and superior far as he was to Huchown in original romance, the time at which Huchown lived invests him with a historical note which our wizard story-teller may not claim. In Huchown we have a superb craftsman of letters in the fourteenth century, albeit the latest *Dictionary of National Biography* knows him not.

Away in that remote time, what was his achievement? He found, so far as we can conceive, little in the way of native Scottish literature. Whatever his motives—and we can well enough surmise that his poetic leanings were quickened by Court applause—he applied himself to a lofty and mighty task. His equipment must have been excellent, as the standard of the time went. Certainly he was, as he himself said of the pious Æneas, 'Of literature and language learned enow,' an easy master of Latin and French, and recondite in the English tongue, with a tendency not uncommon among poets towards archaism. It seems fairly reasonable to hold that his earlier pieces include, along with the *Wars of Alexander*, a number of pieces on Scriptural themes. The *Pistill of Susan* is the story of Susanna and the Elders, paraphrased from the Vulgate in an amplified manner. *Cleanness* is a Scriptural poem, which singularly chooses for its illustration a marine subject, the story of Noah, powerfully told. *Patience* likewise is somewhat incongruously illuminated by another marine story, that of Jonah, his stormy voyage, and the whale. The *Destruction of Troy* was not a task likely to have been undertaken by a mere tyro of poesy, but required an experienced and ready versifier, as its facility of execution fully attests.

But it is in the works which follow the *Troy* that the evolution of this poetic genius may best be traced—traced with a measure of certainty which would have been impossible but for the license of the fourteenth century poets to use, not once but once and again, the same figures, phrases, and lines. Huchown, like many, perhaps like most, early writers, English, Scots, or French, when he had a thing to say a second time had no shame in saying it in identical terms with the first. The same threads, now bright and now of sober grey, reappear in more than one of his many-coloured patterns. The thing was inevitable in the work of a poet of large production. Yet in Huchown, as editors long ago noted, his distinction is his endless minor variation, even in the repeated phrases. To the fact that he did so repeat we owe our chief means of identifying his work. These repetitions are carried over from the sheer translations, like the *Alexander* and the *Troy*, to the more independent products. *Titus and Vespasian* is amongst the latter, in large degree an original performance, combining and adapting various incidents and descriptions not belonging to the story as he found it. The plainsong of Huchown's note came, like Chaucer's, from traditional themes, though each made the composition his own by nobly distinctive chords. It was the privilege of the trouvère often to be content to echo what he found, but the masters were ever wont to mend and combine as well as to find. Much more rarely did they 'make.' The methods of composition, by mingled translation, adaptation, and creation, are all present in *Morte Arthure*, and the amplifications count for far more than the original narrative. Some of the additions are inventions of the poet's own, but for the most part he did not invent—he adapted. *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* belongs, as it seems to me, to the close of his career, and forms, as it were, his testament, for does it not sum up his past course through all his themes—through *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*? Besides, does it not, for a second time, utilise, as had been done in *Morte Arthure*, its chief authorities, the *Brut* and the *Voeux du Paon*?

And *Gawayne and the Green Knight* also was remembered when the *Parlement* was put together by a man who by 1376 was probably old—*Gawayne*, which Wyntoun attributed to Huchown, and which also has so many identical passages or lines of close resemblance to *Alexander*,

Troy, *Titus*, *Morte Arthure*, and the *Parlement*, especially the *Parlement*. Nor may it be forgotten, as Sir Frederick Madden and others have not failed to notice, that the unique MS. of *Gawayne* has the incomplete superscription,

HUGO DE

on its opening page.[1]

Now let us note the distinguishing feature of *Gawayne*, that beautiful poem in praise first of chivalric purity, and second—and only second—of knightly valour and courtly grace. On the other hand, it handles with delicate dexterity a trying theme of temptation, from which the chastity of its hero emerges without a stain. There is not room here to discuss the multiplied evidences of the connection of this poem with the *Honi soit qui mal y pense* motto of the Garter. It is such as to make the poem a derivative of the incident of English court history which gave rise to the most illustrious Order of the age of chivalry. As a poem it is full of the life and practice of courtly circles, as strong in its ceremonial and state as in woodcraft and love of the chase and of arms. Deeply and finely religious in tone, *Gawayne* removes all difficulty of understanding how a poet could take themes so diverse as Arthur, and Erkenwald, and Susanna, and could so linger over the hunt in the *Parlement* and the hawking scene in *Wynnere and Wastoure*. Through all, whether translation, paraphrase, or original piece—without one ignoble or questionable line, such as the wit of Chaucer, Dunbar, and Burns made them impotent to resist—there shines a soul of translucent purity. Posterity, which does not hit upon its epithets by chance, has fitly remembered the knight of Eglintoun as 'the gude Sir Hew.' Perhaps future generations will recognize him as the supreme exponent of British chivalry in its triple ideals of earnest purity, of courtesy, and of valour.

Law in its relation to literature fills a rôle of no small distinction. Finer testimony to legal aptness for literary study need not be sought than Chaucer's making his Man of Law, alone of the goodly company in

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[1] This is presented in *facsimile* in Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, introd. li., and discussed by him on p. 302.

the *Canterbury Tales*, have authoritative knowledge[1] and a shrewd, critical opinion of the whole series of Chaucer's poems. This was indeed a pleasant compliment to the accidental accomplishments of a member of the profession. It was not what we have in *Erkenwald*, a tribute to the nobility of justice, the kingliness of the function of the upright and gentle judge. That such a tribute, eloquent with a certain high and solemn emotion, should have come from a poet earlier than Chaucer, from a Man of Law before the Canterbury pilgrimage, enhances the import of this well-told medieval tale. Medieval of course it is, but it is Medievalism *in excelsis*. The poem, too, links with the *Pearl* on the one hand and the *Awntyrs of Arthure* on the other in a manner to reveal the power and grace of the mind which could from the somewhat gross *Trentalle* of St. Gregory pluck such fruit.

What shall we of this generation accept as Huchown's signal merit and contribution to our literary or our national history? Even were he not Hew of Eglintoun he is the unanswerable proof of the culture of the period, revealing the breadth and depth of its romance learning and the variety of one man's resources, ranging from such Latin works as the *De Preliis* and *Hegesippus*, and such medieval literature as Guido's *De Excidio Trojae*, Maundeville's *Itinerary*, and the historical story-book of the *Brut*, to whole cycles of French romance on Alexander and Arthur and Charlemagne, and the galaxy of heroes and heroines whom each of these led in his ever-growing train. Considered merely as a poetic unity, and without his personal name, he is a noble link between the literature of the Continent and that of our island, imitating yet no slave, learned yet no pedant, borrowing freely yet transfusing what he borrowed in the fire of what he gave—an international student who learnt much from French literary art, but who out of his Latin and French materials drew English poems of which the power is all his own. And being (alike according to the apparent voice of early chronicle and the result of recent research) a Scottish lawyer and courtier, Sir Hew of Eglintoun, a mighty singer of Cunningham unheard of by the bard of Kyle, he remains for the literature

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Introduction to the Man of Law's prologue.

of English speech all these things, and at the same time is immeasurably more, completing and antedating by his own magnificent example the evidence of Barbour and Wyntoun to the culture of the Scottish court under the Bruces and the Stewarts, and lending stately promise to that national literature which, with independent destiny, was to be at once a thing apart and an integral portion of the common glory of English literature. Looked at whole, he is a personality whose magnitude challenges the highest, while the obscurity of his personal life, almost completely hidden (had it not been for his manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth and his own priceless miniature of himself in the *Awntyrs of Arthure*) behind a few brief intimations of his public functions as courtier and judge, heightens by its contrast the splendour of a mighty spirit and the marvel of a unique career. Who could have dreamed that portrait so meagre and accidental as that of the companion of Galleroun would, after five centuries, admit of recognition? Who could have hoped that after such an interval records would be found to overcome the reticence of a poet about himself? Mountain and moor have darkened round his name and memory; he sleeps in a forgotten grave; but the west winds have long been whispering that we should yet find him wearing a kingly diadem and buried in gold.

No. XVII.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF THE GLASGOW DISTRICT.

BY

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 16th November*, 1900).

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE work of preparing the present paper has been so greatly facilitated by the use of the magnificent monograph on the *Sculptured Stones at Govan* recently issued at Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's sole expense, that I should be neglecting an obvious duty were I not to take advantage of this opportunity of giving public expression to the deep feeling of gratitude we all owe to him for the signal service he has rendered to Scottish archæology.

Let me try and make my meaning somewhat plainer.

When I first visited Govan in July, 1881, the churchyard was so overgrown with grass that it was only possible to catch a glimpse here and there of a stray bit of interlaced work on some of the half-hidden tombstones, and of course any minute study of the monuments as a whole was quite out of the question. Perhaps this state of things may account for the fact that Dr. John Stuart has only illustrated a small proportion of the early grave-slabs there in his *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, published by the Spalding Club in 1854.

On the occasion of my next visit to Govan in July, 1891, I found that great changes had taken place during the ten years' interval. The church had been rebuilt, and the churchyard so completely divested of every scrap of vegetation that it looked as drearily desolate then as it had been before luxuriantly green and pleasing to the eye. Although an artist might regret the transformation, the disappearance of the long grass was an unmixed blessing to an antiquary like myself, who could now see all the tombstones without the slightest difficulty. However, it took me the greater part of a day to make rubbings of a selection of the pre-Norman slabs, and even then I was only able to take away with me but a very imperfect record of the whole series.

Now, thanks to Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, *nous avons changé tout cela*, and the antiquary sitting comfortably in an armchair can learn more about the Govan stones in a few hours than he could previously have done in as many weeks, if not months, of hard work sketching out of doors. Furthermore, the process by which the illustrations of the monuments have been prepared—namely by reproducing photographs of plaster casts—brings out many details of the sculpture that are almost invisible, even to a trained eye, on the stones themselves. And the reasons for this are not far to seek. If a photograph is taken direct from an ancient sculptured stone any patch of lichen or discoloration of the surface has a tendency to obscure the designs which are upon it; whereas a cast, being of one uniform tone, has not this disadvantage, and also it can be easily turned about until the light falls exactly in the right direction to give the best results. Then again in the process of reduction the effects of light and shade are intensified. My object in calling attention to these points here is because I hope that the success which has attended Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's work will induce some equally liberal patron of the fine arts to adopt a similar method for illustrating monuments in other parts of Scotland.

Before proceeding further, I should like to say that it will be my earnest endeavour to avoid entering into any controversy with previous writers on the subject or to trespass on the preserves of other workers in the same field of research. I believe that the chief reason why your

(5) Cross-Bases.
(6) Recumbent Cross-Slabs—(*a*) Approximately Rectangular; (*b*) with Rounded Ends; (*c*) with Angle Knobs.
(7) Recumbent Hog-Backed Stones.
(8) Sarcophagi.

The number of monuments belonging to each class is shown below:

Erect Cross-Slabs.—Roseneath; Govan, Nos. 8 and 9.
Erect Free-Standing Crosses.—Barrochan; Hamilton.
Cross-Heads.—Lesmahagow.
Cross-Shafts. — Mountblow; Old Kilpatrick; Arthurlee; Inchinnan; Jordanhill; Lochwinnoch; Newton Woods; Stanlie; Cambusnethan; Govan, No. 10.
Cross-Bases.—Lesmahagow.
Recumbent Cross-Slabs—Approximately Rectangular.—Inchinnan; Govan, Nos. 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 40, 43, 44.
Recumbent Cross-Slabs with Rounded Ends.—Govan, Nos. 11, 16, and 24.
Recumbent Cross-Slabs with Angle Knobs.—Inchinnan; Govan, Nos. 12, 17, 18, 23, 25, and 35.
Recumbent Hog-Backed Stones.—Govan, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.
Sarcophagi.—Govan, No. 1.

THE DECORATIVE FEATURES OF THE MONUMENTS.

Five different kinds of ornament are used in decoration of the early Christian monuments of the Glasgow district, namely: (1) Interlaced work; (2) Key-Patterns; (3) Spirals; (4) Zoömorphs; (5) Figure Subjects. The whole of these art-motives do not occur in combination in any instance, although on the Sarcophagus at Govan as many as four are to be seen together, viz. interlaced work, key-patterns, zoömorphs, and figure subjects. Next to this for profusion of ornament comes the cross-shaft at Jordanhill, which has interlaced work, key-patterns, and a figure subject sculptured upon it. On cross-slab No. 15 at Govan both interlaced work and key-

Cross-Shaft at Jordanhill.
(From Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's *Sculptured Stones in the Kirkyard of Govan*, Pl. 7, No. 7.)

Recumbent Monument with angle-knobs, at Inchinnan.

Recumbent Cross-Slab at Inchinnan.

Cross-Shaft at Inchinnan

patterns enter into the design, but it is most usual to find interlaced work employed by itself.

Of the five art-motives previously specified interlaced work is by far the commonest, and spirals only occur in two cases, at Roseneath and Hamilton. Key-patterns are comparatively rare, and there are numerous examples of zoömorphs and figure subjects.

The decorative designs on the monuments are generally arranged in panels, each containing a piece of ornament complete in itself. Occasionally, as at Jordanhill, two or even three separate pieces of ornament are fitted into one panel, the division being marked only by a variation in the pattern.

The decoration of the recumbent cross-slabs is treated in two or three different ways, the most effective being where a plain cross is placed in the middle of the slab with a background of interlaced work, as on the stones at Inchinnan and Govan, Nos. 17 and 19. The position of the cross in relation to the margin of the slab varies. Sometimes all the four arms extend to the margin, thus dividing the background into four panels (as at Govan, No. 15); in other cases only the top and two side arms reach the margin (as at Inchinnan); or lastly, only the two side arms reach the margin.

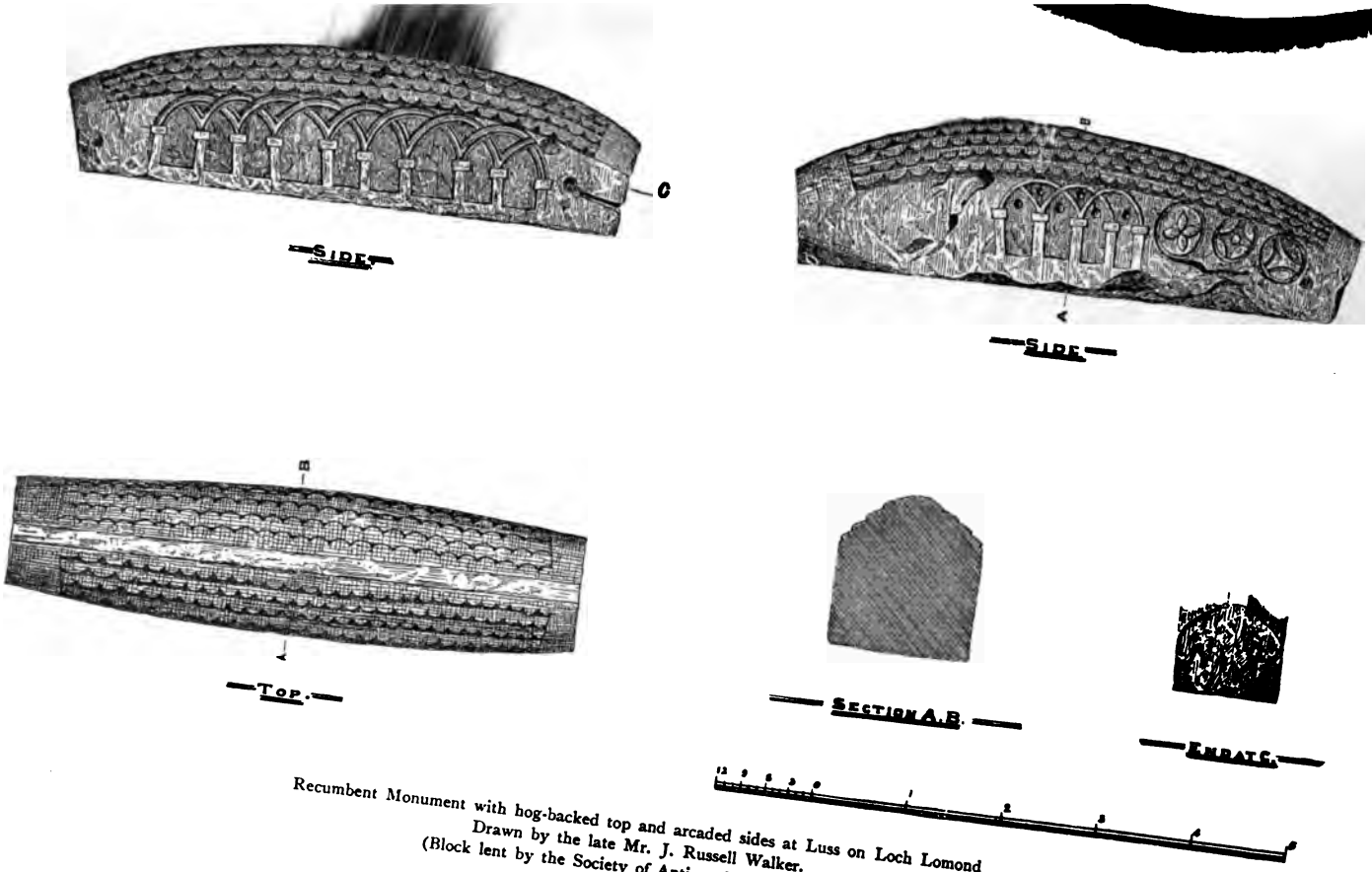
In one instance at Govan (No. 26) the cross has a base, and in three others at Govan (Nos. 22, 24, and 27) there is a piece of interlaced work filling a square divided into four triangles by diagonals.

THE OBJECTS FOR WHICH THE MONUMENTS WERE ERECTED.

There can be little doubt that all the recumbent monuments were sepulchral and lay upon the grave of the deceased. Although none of them are inscribed, their position in churchyards and similarity of form to monuments elsewhere, which are known to be tombstones, clearly shows the purpose they were intended to serve. Some of the smaller erect crosses and cross-slabs may also have been used to mark places of burial, but in the absence of any direct evidence this can only be conjectural.

The larger free-standing crosses, like those at Barrochan and Hamilton

The Barrochan Cross.
Front.



Recumbent Monument with hog-backed top and arcaded sides at Luss on Loch Lomond
Drawn by the late Mr. J. Russell Walker.
(Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.)

may have been erected to mark the limits of sanctuary,[1] or to commemorate the patron saint who founded the church.

Joceline's *Life of St. Kentigern*,[2] written in the 12th century, contains a chapter which may throw some light on the question, as the following passages show:

"The venerable father and bishop Kentigern had a custom, in the places in which at any time by preaching he had won the people to the dominion of Christ, or had imbued them with the faith of the cross of Christ, or had dwelt for any length of time, there to erect the triumphant standard of the cross, that all men might learn that he was in no ways ashamed of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he carried on his forehead. . . . Therefore, among many crosses which he erected in several places where the word of the Lord was preached, he erected two which to the present day work miracles. One in his own city of Glasgow he caused to be cut by quarriers from a block of stone of wondrous size, which by the united exertions of many men, and by the application of machinery, he ordered to be erected in the cemetery of the Church of the Holy Trinity, in which his episcopal chair was placed. . . . He constructed another cross wonderful to be described, unless it could be tested by sight and touch, of simple sea sand, in Lothwerverd,[3] whilst he meditated righteously and religiously of the Resurrection."

It must be remembered that this was written some hundred of years after the time of St. Kentigern, and also that many of the statements made by the mediæval compilers of the lives of the early Celtic saints have to be taken *cum grano salis*. However, even if Jocelyn's story of the erection of the crosses at Glasgow and Borthwick is partly or altogether fictitious, it shows what was thought about the origin of such monuments in the 12th century, and gives, what has every appearance of being a true account, of the use of the crosses for the miraculous cure of lunacy at the same period.

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[1] As at Ripon, Yorkshire (see J. R. Walbran's *Guide to Ripon*, p. 30).

[2] A. P. Forbes' *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, ch. 41, p. 109.

[3] Identified by Forbes with Locherwort or Borthwick.

The Barrochan Cross.
Front.

The Barrochan Cross.
Back.

THE AGE OF THE MONUMENTS.

Taking the early Christian monuments of the Glasgow district as an isolated group, we have no means of assigning even an approximate date to any of them, and it is only by comparing them with monuments in other parts of Great Britain that their age can be ascertained. The great difficulty of giving an opinion as to the exact period to which a monument exhibiting certain peculiarities belongs, is that we possess no series of accurately dated specimens arranged in chronological order. A very limited number of the crosses with Celtic ornament in England, Wales, and Ireland have been dated by means of inscriptions upon them mentioning the names of historical personages, or by a reference to the monument in some ancient document, or by the monument being connected with an ecclesiastical foundation of known age. With the exception, perhaps, of the sculptured stones at St. Andrews and Abercorn, there are no monuments in Scotland that can be dated in any of the ways mentioned. In the absence of direct evidence, therefore, as to the monuments of the Glasgow district, we are compelled to fall back upon such indirect proofs of antiquity as are afforded by comparing them with the pre-Norman sculptured stones elsewhere in Great Britain and with the Hiberno-Saxon illuminated MSS. containing Celtic decoration.

Nothwithstanding the difficulties in the way of giving exact dates to particular examples of Celtic sculpture it can be shown that there are certain well-ascertained limits as regards time between which all the possible dates must lie.

It is now, I think, generally admitted that the Celtic style of art was first developed in the Hiberno-Saxon illuminated MSS., and was afterwards applied to the decoration of the sculptured crosses and other monuments of the pre-Norman period. Now the earliest illuminated MS., with a reliable date which contains Celtic ornament, is the Lindisfarne Book in the British Museum. This splendid specimen of caligraphy and illumination was produced in Northumbria between A.D. 700 and 720, thus fixing the extreme backward limit of time for the possible dates of the erection of any of the crosses decorated in the same style as the beginning of

Hog-backed Recumbent Monument in Govan Churchyard.
(From Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's *Sculptured Stones in the Kirkyard of Govan*, Pl. 2, No. 2.)

the eighth century. The extreme forward limit as regards time is fixed by the Norman Conquest in A.D. 1066, when the Celtic style was extinguished by the introduction of a later and entirely different style of Romanesque art from the north of France. Thus there is a period of about 350 years during which monuments with Celtic ornament were erected. The variation in style was so slight during these three and a half centuries that, in the present state of our knowledge, the most we can venture to do is to divide them up into an earlier, a middle, and a later group.

The earlier group has affinities with Celtic works of art in metal and enamel of the Pagan period, especially in the use of the divergent spiral. The middle group exhibits peculiarities resulting from the Scandinavian influence, which made itself felt after the Viking conquests of the ninth and tenth centuries; whilst the later group shows evidences of decadence and contact with the Norman style.

The greater part of the monuments in the Glasgow district (certainly all those at Govan and Inchinnan) belong to the later group, and in support of this view I cannot do better than quote so high an authority as Dr. Joseph Anderson, who says in his Rhind Lectures on *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd Series (p. 73):

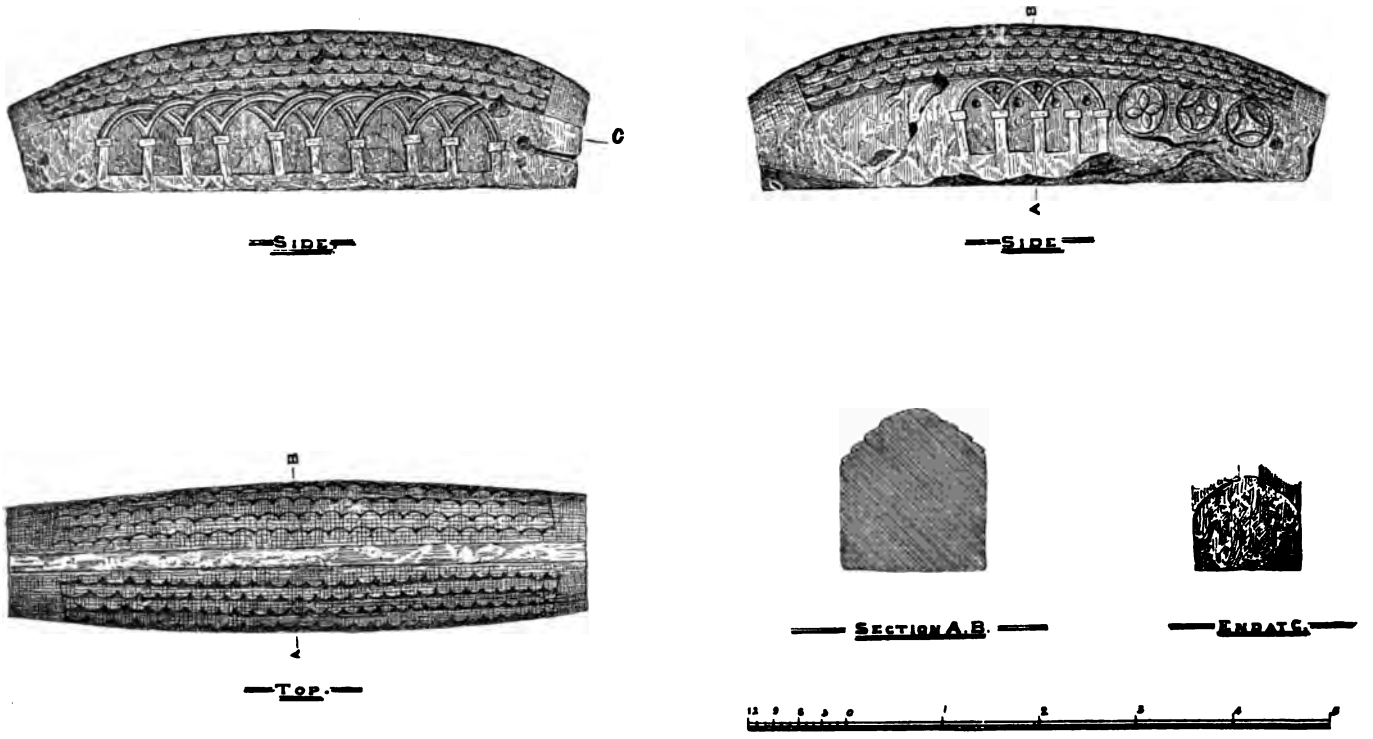
"In these groups (of recumbent stones) at Meigle and Govan, we have, therefore, a series of monuments of transition character, which link themselves by part of their characteristics to the monuments which are of twelfth century type, and by part of their characteristics to the purely Celtic type of monument, to which no such precise date is assignable."

The comparative method may perhaps justify us in fixing a 10th century date for the Barrochan cross on account of the similarity of the key-patterns upon it to those on the cross at Copplestone, near Crediton in Devonshire, which is mentioned as a boundary mark in a grant of land by King Edgar to his thegn Ælfhere dated A.D. 974.

EVOLUTION OF THE RECUMBENT HOG-BACKED TYPE OF MONUMENT.

Amongst the most interesting of the sculptured stones in the Glasgow district are the hog-backed recumbent monuments of which there are four

Hog-backed Recumbent Monument in Govan Churchyard.
(From Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's *Sculptured Stones in the Kirkyard of Govan*, Pl. 2, No. 2.)



Recumbent Monument with hog-backed top and arcaded sides at Luss on Loch Lomond
Drawn by the late Mr. J. Russell Walker.
(Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.)

circular on the top and treated as tiled roofs, thus giving the whole the appearance of a complete building. The sarcophagus of the Emperor Honorius at Ravenna is a good instance of this method of treatment.

A further stage in the development of the architectural idea is seen on a Merovingian sarcophagus of the early Christian period from the Dordogne in France, which has a roof with a central ridge, sloping sides, and hipped ends, instead of the semicircular top.

The colonnade and the roof, with its conventional-tiled covering, survived until the Norman period, as is shown by the hog-backed stone at Luss and the coped stone from Fordwich, now in Canterbury Cathedral.

The hog-backed ridge seems to have been copied from the roofs of buildings actually so constructed in the 11th century. At all events, the Castle of Dinan, in Normandy, and the palace of King Harold at Bosham are represented on Bayeux tapestry with an arched top, as is also the relic shrine (made in imitation of a house) on which Harold swore allegiance to Duke William, afterwards William the Conqueror. The scene, which is believed to have taken place at Bayeux, is that described in Fowke's *Bayeux Tapestry*: "When Harold placed his hand upon it the hand trembled and the flesh quivered; but he swore and promised upon his oath to take Ele to wife, to give his sister in marriage to a Norman noble, and to deliver up England to the Duke; thereunto doing all in his power, according to his might and wit, after the death of Edward, if he should live, so help him God and the holy relics there."

The zoömorphic features of the hog-backed stones are not so easily accounted for as are the architectural ones. I can only suggest that they may have been borrowed from the Scandinavian art of the period, as the nearest thing I can find to the beast grasping the sides of the hog-backed stone with its paws is the sort of sprawling animal which occurs on some of the Gotlandic brooches of the Iron Age.

One of the hog-backed stones at Govan affords a curious instance of the beast-motive attacking and swallowing up all the other art-motives which enter into the design. The roofing tiles become, either through misapprehension of their real significance or by wilful perversion, the scales of a monster, the backbone takes the place of the ridge of the roof, and the

Harold swearing allegiance to William as represented on the Bayeux Tapestry. The Reliquary which Harold is touching with his right hand has a hog-backed top like the Govan Monuments.

whole monument, which was in the first instance copied from a house, is transformed into a beast.

The stones at Hickling, in Nottinghamshire, and at Lanivet, in Cornwall, supply interesting examples of the survival of the beast-motive, but occupy a very subordinate position.

The sepulchral monuments made in imitation of metal shrines form a class deserving of notice. The best specimens are at St. Andrews, in Scotland; Gosforth, in Cumberland; and Peterborough Cathedral. They may be fittingly compared with the Irish shrine found in Lough Erne, the reliquary at Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire, and the conventional representation of the Temple at Jerusalem in the scene of the Temptation of Christ in the Book of Kells. It may be observed also that the capstones of several of the Irish crosses are made in the shape of a reliquary. In all these instances the art-motive is that of a little house similar to the one which the Venerable Bede tells us was placed over the grave of St. Chad.

No. XVIII.

THE CHÂTEAU OF ST. FARGEAU.

BY

JAMES DALRYMPLE DUNCAN, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., F.R.S. Edin.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 21st December, 1899.*]

AMONG the innumerable castles with which France is studded from north to south and from east to west the *château* of St. Fargeau is but little known to the traveller, and yet it is interesting both architecturally and from the fact that during almost its entire history it has been its fortune to be the property of notable historical personages. In the latter respect indeed few buildings in France can rival it.

The town of St. Fargeau (which only contains some 2,600 inhabitants) lies in the Puisaye, a district of forest-clad upland partly in the department of the Yonne, partly in that of the Niévre. Situated on the Loing, a picturesque stream which in the lower reaches of its course in the neighbourhood of Nemours and Moret is a happy hunting-ground of artists, it contains several features of architectural interest. The church (which ranks as a *monument historique*) dates principally from the 15th century. Externally it is a plain brick building with stone buttresses and a square central tower surmounted by an octagonal belfry, which again is crowned by a sharp slated spire. The western *façade* has a fine triple portal, above which is a rose

THE CHÂTEAU OF ST. FARGEAU.

window. The nave has neither triforium nor clerestory, and is lit from the ends and from the aisles. The latter are separated from it by arcades of pointed arches which on the north side rise from massive piers, while on the south they are supported by circular pillars. The sanctuary, standing on a raised platform, is divided from the choir aisles by solid side walls carried up to the roof, and has a square eastern termination, behind which runs an ambulatory. The stalls which date from the 15th century are elaborately carved, and above them are some quaint pictures of the sufferings of Christ, in which Pilate and his soldiers, the Jewish priests, and all the other personages, are represented in mediaeval costumes.

Near the church is a fine old brick gateway with stone facings, having at one of its angles a graceful *tourelle* rising from a corbel. But the main feature of St. Fargeau is the *château*, a gloomy brick building of immense size standing within a broad moat. The present buildings mainly date from the 15th and 17th centuries. The principal entrance is a fortified gateway between two towers approached from the town by a stone bridge which now takes the place of the formerly existing drawbridge. In shape the *château* is an irregular pentagon guarded by four towers in addition to those at the entrance.[1] The interior forms a large central court surrounded on all sides by buildings divided into five blocks or *corps-de-logis*. The *façades* of three of these have sculptured pediments and are adorned with rich renaissance ornament;[2] the other two have plain fronts. The principal doorway is approached by a semicircular *perron* or flight of steps and protected by a triple portico. Round the greater portion of the court runs an arcaded passage. The tall slate roof has a balustrade at its base, and from it at intervals rise small towers with conical tops.

On the opposite side of the *château* from the town is a *parc* (a French

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[1] The principal tower or donjon is 90 feet in diameter. The mediaeval aspect of the *château* has been entirely destroyed by the vandalism of one of its proprietors who cut down the height of the towers, crowning them with ugly belvideres, while he in addition removed the crenelated battlements and *machicoulis* and inserted large and utterly inappropriate windows.

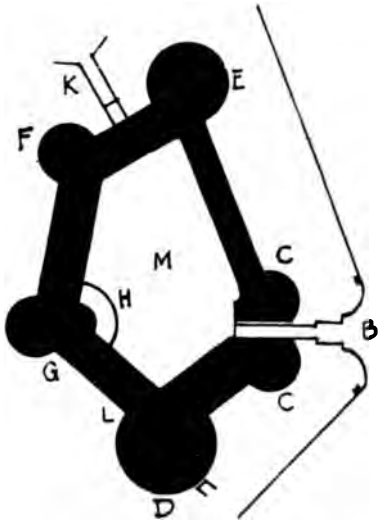
[2] Between the windows of the second story of these portions of the edifice is sculptured the monogram of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, A. M. L. C., alternately with the escutcheon of Bourbon.

phrase equivalent to our Scots word "policies") of considerable size, containing a small lake and a number of fine trees.[1] The estate is of great extent, a drive through one of the forests being nearly six miles in length.

A fortress has existed on the present site since the end of the 10th century, when Heribert, Bishop of Auxerre, an illegitimate brother of Hugues Capet, laid the foundation of the first *château* of St. Fargeau. At this time the lands of St. Fargeau and Seigneurie of Puisaye formed part of the barony of Toucy.

Shortly after, the Bishop seems either to have disposed of the castle and estate, or to have been deprived of them by the king, and they became the property of Ithier, the first of a race of valiant soldiers who greatly distinguished themselves in the wars of the 12th and 13th centuries. Ithier III. in 1147 accompanied Louis VII. in the second crusade to the Holy Land. Ithier V., who had been created Viscount of Auxerre, fell at the siege of Damietta in 1248, while John the 11th Seigneur was one of the companions of St. Louis in the abortive crusade of 1270 which terminated in the saintly king's death at Tunis. John died in 1260, and as he left no son St. Fargeau and the Puisaye passed to his daughter Jeanne, who married Thibault, Comte de Bar, the head of the historic race who in later years became Dukes of Lorraine and Kings of Provence. They were not inferior in bravery to their predecessors, and Guillaume de Bar, 19th Seigneur of St. Fargeau, who fell at Poitiers in 1356, distinguished himself in the battle by the dauntless courage with which he withstood the victorious English. Robert, his brother, succeeded, and marrying a daughter of the unfortunate John, King of France, who had been taken prisoner at Poitiers, considerably improved the position of his family by obtaining the erection of Bar into a *duché-pairie*. St. Fargeau continued in the ownership of the House of Bar, but being only a comparatively unimportant part of the possessions of the family, is seldom mentioned in the history of the period. It is, however, recorded that it stood a siege in 1411, and that it eventually passed into the hands of Louis, Cardinal de Bar, Bishop of Verdun, who at his death bequeathed it to his nephew, Jean Jacques, Marquis de Montferrat. On 15th February, 1450,

[1] A gateway leads into it from the *cour*.



Plan of the Château.

B. Bridge.

C.C. Gateway Towers.

D. Donjon, known as Tower of Jacques Coeur.

E. Tour de L'Horloge.

F. Tour du Roi.

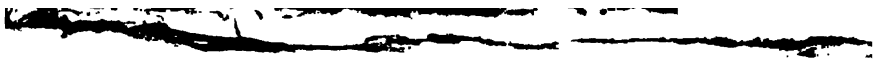
G. Tour de la Chapelle.

H. Perron.

K. Bridge Leading to Parc.

L. Gallery.

M. Central Courtyard.



John, William, and Boniface de Montferrat, sons of the Marquis, sold the lands and *châtellenies* of St. Fargeau, Larrau, Perreuse, and Toucy to Jacques Coeur, Counsellor and *Argentier* to the king, one of the most notable historical figures of the 15th century. A native of the town of Bourges, it does not appear to be quite clear how he laid the first foundations of his vast fortune. In 1432 he is heard of in Syria organising great commercial enterprises in the Levant, but he seems not long after this to have returned to France, and, settling in his native city, to have begun the erection there of the splendid mansion which has happily come down to us as perhaps the finest example of the town residence of a mediaeval merchant-prince.

He does not appear to have taken any part in the National Council which Charles VII. in 1438 summoned at Bourges, from the deliberations of which resulted the Pragmatic Sanction, asserting the claims of the Gallican Church to be independent of the control of the Papal See on several points of importance; but very soon after this the Constable de Richemont and he stand out conspicuous as the foremost men in the patriotic band who resolved, as a first step towards the liberation of the wide districts which still remained under the dominion of the English Crown, to suppress the *routiers* or mercenary troops of adventurers who roamed over France plundering and ravaging the country, and who were always the willing tools of the disaffected and turbulent *noblesse.*

De Richemont was the actual leader of the party, but Jacques Coeur, as he was often to do in the future, furnished the funds which were necessary for a successful organisation of the struggle. The king was too shrewd not to see that it was the interest of the Crown to support de Richemont, all the more that the latter had already obtained a victory over his opponents by the capture of Meaux. Accordingly, by the royal command an Assembly of the States-General was convoked at Orleans in 1439, at which severely repressive measures were recommended against the *écorcheurs*, as the marauders were styled, and the establishment of a standing military force under the orders of the king resolved on. A royal ordinance followed giving effect to the recommendation of the States-General, and the nobles at once saw that the rights and privileges which they had turned to such evil account were in danger. The rebellion known as the Praguerie was the result. It was

headed by the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., then as in the later years of his father's reign always glad to ally himself with disaffected factions, but the struggle was of short duration. The king and his loyal followers took the field, and as the insurgents received little support, they were compelled to surrender. This initial success was followed by steps being taken to free the country of the plundering companies of *condottieri*. They were broken up in all directions, and while the best of them were selected to form part of the newly established royal forces, the rest were sternly told to return whence they had come and lead honest lives for the future. When, a few years later, the final stages of the long struggle with England began which terminated with the defeat of Talbot's army at Castillon in 1451, no small part of the brunt of the contest was borne by the very men who had so recently been the bane and terror of the land, but who had now turned against the common foe the swords they had been using for rapine and for the oppression of their fellow-countrymen.

The struggle had been a long and costly one. Before it began the king had been so poor that, according to a well-known story, he had been absolutely unable to settle an account due to his shoemaker for a pair of shoes which had been supplied to him, and when the exacting tradesman found the monarch had on the very wares for which he could not pay, he sternly compelled their immediate re-delivery, leaving the unfortunate Charles barefoot. With the royal finances in so impoverished a condition, it is evident that the maintaining in the field of the large armies which Dunois and Richemont led against the English, first in Normandy and then in Guienne, must have involved an expenditure which was only partially provided for by the taxes wrung from the suffering French people. A large portion of the necessary funds was supplied by the patriotic generosity of Jacques Coeur, whose colossal wealth enabled him to render this service. "Rich as Jacques Coeur" was a proverb of the day. Not only the king, but many of the greatest personages of the realm—princes, marshals, bishops, and important court officials—were his debtors for large sums. He had houses in Paris, Bourges, Lyon, Montpelier, Marseille, Beziers, and in other towns. His ships traded between every port in the Mediterranean. Besides St. Fargeau he had extensive estates in many parts of France—indeed, his

large purchases of land in some degree assisted in bringing about his downfall, as the nobles did not relish the spectacle of a simple trader outvieing them in the extent of his domains. But the main cause of his ruin was the determination of the king to relieve himself of the heavy burden of indebtedness with which he found himself saddled at the termination of the war. Charles VII. has been called the "Well-Served," and certainly no king was ever more fortunate in finding loyal and faithful subjects ready to come to his help in the numerous crises of his stormy reign, no king was ever more ungrateful. Jeanne Darc regained for him half of his kingdom, and he never stirred a finger to save the heroic Maid from a cruel and ignominious death. Jacques Coeur provided the sinews of the struggle by which he recovered the other half, and Charles repaid him by robbing him of his property and driving him into exile. But I am anticipating.

The first indication of the gathering storm was a groundless charge made against him by Jeanne de Vendôme and her husband, François de Montberon, of poisoning Agnes Sorel, the mistress of the king, but the accusation was so ridiculous that, prejudiced against Jacques Coeur as the Court was, the proceedings hopelessly broke down. Jeanne de Vendôme (who was heavily in Jacques Coeur's debt, and had probably hoped by bringing about his ruin to secure the extinction of her obligation) was made to apologise to her victim, and ordered not to approach within ten leagues of any place where the king and queen were residing. But despite the abandonment of the charge, the doom of the great banker had been predetermined. Other accusations were made against him. It was said he had sent arms and munitions of war to the Saracens, thus assisting them to gain victories over their Christian opponents. He was charged with debasing the coin, with sending quantities of bullion outwith the realm, with malversation in regard to the affairs of the province of Languedoc, with counterfeiting the king's signet, and with alienating the affections of the people from their lawful sovereign. All of these were made with the connivance of the ungrateful king, who, as soon as Jacques Coeur was safely lodged in prison, began the game of plunder and spoliation by helping himself from the coffers of his benefactor to 100,000 gold crowns—£50,000 of our money—to assist in defraying the cost of the war in Guienne. Coeur was only

Coeur had not been able to execute any considerable building operations, but the great tower at the south-east angle is supposed to have been erected by him, and also part of the *enceinte* connecting the tower with the main entrance, as one of the doorways is highly ornamented in a style similar to that which prevails in the house at Bourges.

Antoine de Chabannes, the new owner of St. Fargeau, at once entered into occupancy of the property, remaining in undisturbed possession for the next seven years, but the death of Charless VII. and the succession of Louis XI. altered for a time the complexion of his fortunes. On one of the numerous occasions when the wily Dauphin had risen against his father, Chabannes had commanded the royal forces, and compelled Louis to seek safety in an ignominious flight. The latter was the last person in the world to forget an injury, and one of his first acts on coming to the throne was to throw his old opponent into the Bastille and confiscate his estates. Geoffrey Coeur, the son of Jacques, who on the late king's death had at once entered an appeal against his father's sentence, saw his opportunity, and, cherishing a special animosity against Chabannes, took the law into his own hands by seizing the castle of St. Fargeau. The appeal came up for hearing on 21st May, 1462, but the judges declined to entertain it, despite the fact that the king indicated very clearly that he wished them to come to an opposite decision. To mark his disapproval of the judgment he issued in August, 1463, letters-patent by which Geoffrey Coeur, in consideration of his father's great services, was reinstated in St. Fargeau and his other lands in Puisaye.

But another turn of fortune's wheel now took place. In 1465 the revolt against the royal authority, which came to be known as the War of the Public Weal, broke out, and Chabannes escaping from the Bastille joined the rebels. His first step was to revenge his private wrongs, and at the head of a body of troops he marched on St. Fargeau, took possession of it, and made Geoffrey Coeur a prisoner. In the end the king was only too glad to come to terms with the revolutionary leaders, and the Treaty of Conflans was arranged, one effect of which was the reinstatement of Chabannes in all his dignities and possessions, including St. Fargeau. According to his own account, he found the castle and domain

very much dilapidated by Geoffrey Coeur's occupancy of them, and forthwith instituted proceedings against the latter, claiming repetition of the rents which had been collected, with an indemnity of 200,000 livres for damage done to the estate, and 50,000 livres for injury to the furniture and fittings of the *château*. Whether he recovered any portion of his claims is doubtful, but he managed to retain possession of the lands, for by this time the king had come to see the merits of the rough soldier, and had taken him into favour. He proved a loyal and faithful servant, and on more than one occasion rendered invaluable assistance to his royal master. When Louis was taken prisoner by Charles the Bold of Burgundy he was compelled to send an order to Chabannes to disband the army of which the latter was in command. He took upon himself to disobey the king's mandate, and when the latter was released he cordially thanked the veteran for his action, and on the institution of the Order of St. Michael created him one of the first knights. He did not hesitate to speak his mind to Louis, and on one occasion when the monarch twitted him with having been a captain of *écorcheurs*, he replied that he had never flayed anyone but the king's enemies, and mighty little profit their skins had brought him.

On the death of Louis he retained the favour and confidence of Charles VIII., and dying in December, 1488, full of years and honours, was buried in the church of St. Fargeau, where an equestrian statue was erected in his memory. The last twelve years of his life were principally passed at the *château*, and when in 1485 he was appointed to the high office of Governor of Paris and the Ile de France, he quitted his rural retirement in the Puisaye with extreme regret and reluctance. He made extensive additions and alterations at St. Fargeau, raising the height of the existing towers and building two others, thus completing the present *enceinte*.

Throughout the life of Antoine de Chabannes Geoffrey Coeur persisted in pressing his claim for the restoration of the *château* and lands, but dying in the same year with his rival, an arrangement was come to under the sanction of parliament in August, 1489. Chabannes had left an only son, Jean de Chabannes, while Geoffrey Coeur was survived by a widow and four children. By the arrangement Chabannes was allowed to retain possession of St. Fargeau on agreeing to pay the widow of Geoffrey Coeur an annuity of

400 livres tournois, a most unfair and inadequate settlement, but of a piece with the treatment which had been meted out to her father-in-law. Thus ended the long dispute.

Jean de Chabannes died in 1504 without male issue, and by an Act of Division St. Fargeau passed to one of his daughters, Antoinette, who had married René d'Anjou, Comte de Meziéres. Their son Nicholas succeeded, and in 1541 obtained from Francis I. letters erecting the lands and *château* into a *comté*. Nicholas had an only daughter, Renée, who married in 1566 Francis de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, and in their favour Henry III. in 1575 constituted St. Fargeau a *Duché-pairie*. Francis de Bourbon and Renée d'Anjou had only one child, Marie, Duchesse de Montpensier, who married Gaston, Duc d'Orleans, brother of Louis XIII. They, again, had an only child, Anne Marie de Montpensier (born May, 1627), best known as "La Grande Mademoiselle," the heroine of the Fronde and authoress of the interesting *Mémoires* which throw so much light on the events of the time in which she lived.

In many respects the most notable of the long list of owners of St. Fargeau, Anne de Montpensier was proprietor of such a number of estates that, important as her domains in the Puisaye were, they were the merest item in the catalogue of her vast possessions. At her majority her revenues were said to have amounted to the sum of 500,000 livres, an enormous figure for those days. In addition to St. Fargeau there belonged to her the principality of Dombes, to which were attached sovereign rights, the Duchies of Châtellerault and Montpensier, the Comté of Eu and the Barony of Thiers comprising amongst them a huge stretch of French territory. The greatest heiress of Europe in her time, her hand was sought in marriage by eight or nine reigning princes. Our own Charles II., when an exile in France, was

he had led in Scotland, where even playing on the violin was considered a sin.[1] She might have looked with more favour on proposals which were made to her on behalf of the Emperor Ferdinand III. of Germany, but these after a time were dropped. The man she would most readily have married was Condé, but unfortunately he had a wife already, and although the feeble state of the latter's health repeatedly gave hope that the obstacle would be removed, the hope invariably resulted in disappointment. In all probability Mademoiselle would have become Queen of France as the consort of Louis XIV. if her restless ambition and her wish to please her father, the Duke of Orleans, had not led her to join the Frondeurs in their campaign against Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin.

The civil war known as the Fronde divides itself into two periods. The first revolt against the wily Italian who was ruling France through his influence over the queen was an attempt by the Parliament of Paris to imitate the successful resistance of the English Parliament to the policy of Charles I. The two bodies were, however, very differently constituted, for the French assembly was a mere association of lawyers, many of them men of great ability, but without any influence among the people. With the Parliament, however, was associated the Coadjutor Archbishop of Paris, Paul de Gondi, afterwards Cardinal de Retz, an able and not specially scrupulous man, who saw his opportunity of heading a great popular movement. The name "Frondeurs," signifying "slingers," which the party adopted, took its origin from a contemptuous remark of a member of the Parliament, Bachaumont, who compared his colleagues to schoolboys using their slings and running away whenever they saw the eyes of the authorities upon them. De Retz chose to consider the designation either a complimentary or a convenient one, and hat-strings in the form of slings became the badge of the revolutionary party. Mazarin took the injudicious step of having Broussel, the leader of the Parliament, arrested. The Parisians at once rose, the safety of the city was imperilled, and it was only by the intervention of de Retz, who procured Broussel's release, that the outbreak was for the time quieted.

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[1] *Mémoires*, i., 321.

The Queen and Mazarin fled to Ruel and promised concessions, on the faith of which they were allowed to return to Paris. But with the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia Mazarin thought he saw a chance of coercing the turbulent citizens, and having secured the co-operation of the Great Condé, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, and others of the *noblesse*, withdrew to St. Germain, where he assembled an army.

The entire Parisian populace rose in revolt, and as Mazarin was by no means popular with a large section of the nobility, his aristocratic enemies, seeing an opportunity of injuring him, flocked to the support of the cause of the Fronde. The Duke of Beaufort, the darling of the market women, Condé's sister, the Duchesse de Longueville, her brother, the Prince de Conti, and the Duc de La Rochefoucault were the most notable of this brilliant accession to the ranks of the rebels. But the contest was of short duration. The military skill of Condé, who took command of the royal army, soon scattered to the winds the undisciplined forces of the Frondeurs, and the Parliament was glad to sue for peace. However, Turenne was reported to be marching to the help of the citizens, and though by the machinations of Mazarin his efforts were rendered abortive, it was thought desirable to come to terms, and the Treaty of Ruel was arranged and signed, thus ending the first period of the struggle.

Condé is the great figure of the later period of the war of the Fronde. Always proud and overbearing, the knowledge of the valuable services he had rendered to the Court party made him so arrogant that he disdained to recognise the authority of an adventurer like Mazarin. The queen decided on his arrest, and he and his brother and sister were thrown as prisoners into the Donjon of Vincennes. The Duchesse of Longueville, however, succeeded in escaping from her *duresse*, and, making her way across the frontier, persuaded Turenne to take the field against the royal forces and march on Paris. At first he was successful, but later met with a severe defeat which paralyzed the Frondeurs. They, however, resolved on a fresh effort. The Parisians besieged Anne of Austria and Mazarin in the Palais Royal, and the latter was forced to fly to Havre, whence he subsequently retired to Germany, having, however, first liberated Condé and Conti. Things now looked very black for the Court party. Turenne was marching

on Paris, and Condé on his arrival in the city met with an enthusiastic reception from the populace.

It was at this juncture that Anne de Montpensier threw in her lot with the party of revolt. Her sympathies had for some time lain in that direction, and the suspicions of the queen as to her loyalty had been expressed on more than one occasion. Mademoiselle had formerly entertained a strong aversion to Condé, who had apparently returned the compliment, for when a reconciliation between them was effected, the unchivalrous soldier admitted that when he heard his fair enemy had been seized with small-pox he had been very hopeful that she would be badly marked, while she replied that nothing had ever given her greater satisfaction than the news of his being thrown into prison. The king's majority had been declared by Parliament on 7th September, 1651, but Condé had previously retired to Chantilly. Ten days afterwards the Court removed to Bourges.

Mazarin returned to France about the end of the year, despite the efforts of Gaston of Orléans, who withdrew his troops which were serving with the royal forces, and sent them to hold the passages of the rivers so as to prevent the Cardinal from crossing. The latter, however, managed to force a passage, and rejoined the Court at Poitiers on 30th January, 1652. Gaston now definitely associated himself with the Frondeurs, and assisted the army of the Duc de Nemours to cross the Seine at Mantes.

Angers, however, surrendered to the royal forces, which proceeded to Blois on their way to Paris, whence a message was sent to Orléans enquiring whether the citizens would receive the king and the cardinal. The Orléannais in their dilemma forwarded a communication to their feudal lord, the Duke of Orléans, asking what they were to do. Doubts being entertained that de Sourdis, the Governor of the city, was well disposed to the Court party, Gaston was pressed to go to Orléans, but as it was thought undesirable that he should leave Paris, he decided to send his daughter as his representative. The high-spirited girl was delighted to undertake the commission, and at once set out. When she arrived at Toury she was received by Nemours and other officers, who expressed themselves as better pleased to see her than her father, and placed themselves under her orders. On approaching Orléans, however, she was informed that there was no chance of her

obtaining access to the town, and when she arrived at the Bannière gate the news was confirmed, as she was formally refused admission. Undismayed, she proceeded to another gate, which she commanded the captain in charge to open, but he replied that he was not in possession of the keys. She now asked some boatmen to convey her to the Porte de la Faux, but they informed her it would be easier to burst open a gate situated on the quay, which was nearer. To encourage them, she took up a position on a small knoll, though she had to make her way to it through thorns and brambles, and her lady-in-waiting was thrown into hysterics by the danger which they were running. Eventually, by means of two boats and a broken ladder, she succeeded in making her way across the moat, and the gate having been forced, she was passed through the hole which had been made. Placed in a chair, she was borne triumphantly through the city, meeting everywhere with a cordial reception, except from the abashed governor, whom, however, she greeted in the most friendly fashion.[1]

She now took the command of Orléans, and one of her earliest duties was to preside over a council of war in the Hôtel de Ville, when for the first time she spoke in public. In her *Mémoires* she mentions how great a trial this was.

The task before her was no light one. The Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, who were nominally under her orders, were so jealous that each opposed whatever the other suggested, and on one occasion they actually came to blows in her presence. She was, however, able by her tact and diplomacy to direct satisfactorily the jarring elements under her control, and her father repeatedly expressed to her his gratitude for the valuable services she had rendered in holding Orléans and compelling the royal army to make a long detour to pass the Loire at Gien. She was, however, anxious to get back to Paris, and, having obtained her father's permission to do so, set out on the 2nd of May on her return journey. On arriving at Étampes, where the army of the Frondeurs was stationed, she and her dames of honour, Madame de Fiésque and Madame de Frontenac, who had been dignified with the title of *maréchales de camp*, were received

[1] *Mémoires*, i., 363.

with military honours, and she took a leading part in a council of war in which it was decided, very much on her recommendation, to avoid coming to an engagement with the royal forces. Condé met her at Bourg-la-Reine and accompanied her to Paris, where an enthusiastic crowd of the citizens lined the streets in her honour. On arriving at her father's palace she received a warm welcome from him, but a somewhat frigid reception from her stepmother, who took the opportunity of showing her dislike to Condé by professing that she could not bear the odour of the Russian leather boots which he was wearing, in consequence of which the great soldier was compelled to retire ignominiously from the room.[1]

Now began the brightest epoch in the chequered life of Mademoiselle de Montpensier. The heroine of the hour, she was flattered and courted by all. The war between the contending factions proceeded with varying results. On the 11th of May Condé attacked and took possession of St. Denis, but it was immediately retaken by the royal forces after a severe struggle, in the course of which upwards of 500 burgesses of Paris were cut to pieces.

Turenne, who in the interval had been persuaded to detach himself from the Frondeurs, besieged Étampes with, however, a somewhat inadequate force. To encourage the besiegers, Mazarin brought the young king to the scene of action, and warned the garrison not to continue the defence. No attention was paid to the request, and eventually, on the approach of the Duc de Lorraine with an army largely composed of Spaniards and other mercenaries, Turenne was compelled to raise the siege. Mademoiselle had ridden out to Choisy to see the army of Lorraine cross the Seine. She admired his cavalry, but thought very little of the infantry, especially of an Irish regiment, of whom she remarks that they had nothing to recommend them but their bagpipes (*musettes*).[2]

Condé now took command of the combined forces of the Frondeurs at St. Cloud, but eventually attempted to withdraw to Charenton, crossing the Seine below Paris. At dawn on the morning of the 2nd of July he was attacked between Montmartre and La Chapelle and driven back to the

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 55. [2] *Mémoires*, ii., 79.

Porte St. Denis, at which, when he tried to enter, he was refused admission. Sending his cavalry to keep off the enemy, he made his way to the Faubourg St. Antoine, where a fierce engagement took place. Condé had only 5000 men, whereas Turenne, who had command of the royalist side, had more than 12,000. Hopelessly outnumbered, the Frondeurs were surrounded on all sides, and though their leader performed prodigies of valour, his position became one of extreme peril. The news reached Paris, where Gaston of Orléans, with characteristic selfishness, was not at first disposed to do anything to assist his comrade in arms. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, however, with her usual spirit, came to the rescue, and, getting a letter of permission from her father, made her way to the Hôtel de Ville, where with some difficulty she persuaded the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, the Governor of Paris, and Le Fevre, the Provost of the Merchants, to allow Condé and his exhausted troops to enter the city.[1] Had this not been done every one of them would probably have perished. As they retired they were hard pressed by the forces of Turenne, but by the orders of Mademoiselle the cannon of the Bastile were fired on the latter, who then abandoned the attack. It was said at the time that Mademoiselle had fired one of the guns with her own hands, and Mazarin, when he heard this, is reported to have remarked, "*Voilà un coup de canon qui vient de tuer le mari de Mademoiselle!*" meaning that her action had put an end to all chance of her becoming the wife of Louis XIV.

An unfortunate tragedy occurred next day, as in the disturbed state of the city a riotous mob seized the opportunity of attacking the Hôtel de Ville, setting it on fire, and putting to death a large number of the most prominent and respectable of the citizens. To their shame, neither Gaston nor Condé took the trouble to interfere, but the indomitable Mademoiselle, despite the disturbed condition of the streets, made her way to the Hôtel de Ville, where she saved the life of Le Clerc, the Provost of the Merchants, and was mainly instrumental in bringing the riot to an end. The defence of Paris was maintained for a few months longer, largely through her efforts, for her hold on the affections of the people was great,

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 96.

while she rendered invaluable service by her mediation in the constant quarrels and disputes among the jealous nobles. But the day of the Fronde was over. The citizens became tired of the long-continued strife, and their thoughts turned with affection to the little king. Condé and Lorraine thought it prudent to leave Paris, communications with the court were at once opened, and on 21st October, 1652, Louis XIV. made his formal entry into his capital.

It was only natural that the court party should look with little favour on Mademoseille de Montpensier, and regard her recent behaviour with resentment. This was shown even before the king entered Paris by an intimation being sent to her that within twenty-four hours she was to leave the Tuileries, which had been her home since she was eight days old. Her grief at the severance of the old associations was intensified by the fact that she hardly knew where to turn for a place of abode. Her father, who was living at the Luxembourg, made no offer to receive her, and she eventually found a refuge in the house of Madame de Fiésque. Gaston had himself been ordered to quit Paris, but declined to take her with him; and when in her distress she asked him what she ought to do, declined to advise her, sneeringly telling her that she could console herself with the thought of what a heroine she had been, and with the recollection of all the flattery she had received. A suggestion that she should retire to her *château* of Bois-le-Vicomte could not be entertained, as she had permitted its use as an hospital, and it was certain to be unhealthy. In the end she decided to go to St. Fargeau, as, while not too far from Paris, it was in a part of the country difficult of access, and was, moreover, within four days' ride of Stenay, where her father was to pass the winter.[1] On the king's permission being asked, he was graciously pleased to approve of St. Fargeau as a place of residence, and Mademoiselle accordingly set out for her new abode. On the way she heard of a number of soldiers moving as if to intercept her, but it turned out a false alarm, and, after a long and fatiguing journey of twenty leagues, arrived, as she thought, at her destination. Here, however, a most unpleasant surprise awaited her. St.

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 223.

Fargeau for a lengthened period had been very little visited by its owners, and Mademoiselle was evidently altogether unprepared for the condition of extreme dilapidation in which she found everything. The drawbridge was broken, there was scarcely a door or window in the building, the grass was growing knee-deep in the courtyard, and the garden was a wilderness. One room was fortunately found habitable, this being due to the fact that, by permission of the Duc d'Orléans, an old nobleman, the Duc de Bellegarde, had been allowed for a term to live in the *château*. Here supper was served, but as it was apparent that till some improvements were effected St. Fargeau was impossible as a residence, Mademoiselle and her exhausted retinue made their way to the small moated *château* of Dannery, two leagues off, where at last they found a resting-place. She remained three days at Dannery, after which she returned to St. Fargeau, where part of the building had now been made fit for occupation. Her own apartments were, however, in a deplorable condition, and while the necessary repairs on them were in progress she was compelled to use a small room in the upper story, which she describes as a garret. Misfortunes never come singly, and it was found that by an unfortunate mistake her bed had been left behind, and it did not arrive for ten days. By good luck, however, her *bailli*, or land agent, had been recently married, and had purchased a bed, of which he was glad to give his mistress the use. How her retinue, and how the *bailli* and his wife fared in the matter of beds, is not disclosed!

Shortly after her arrival at St. Fargeau Mademoiselle received a visit from the Duchesse de Sully and Madame de Laval, but she was still so short of furniture that she was unable to accommodate them in the *château*, and they were billeted on the unfortunate *bailli*, who would again doubtless have to surrender his invaluable bed.

A supply of furniture was now, however, procured from Bois-le-Vicomte, and as Mademoiselle saw that her stay at St. Fargeau might be prolonged for a very considerable period she resolved to make extensive alterations on the *château*. With this view she sent to Paris for Le Vau, the most celebrated architect of the day, who had built for Fouquet the fine *château* of Vaux, and at once set out about her improvements. These consisted mainly in the erection of the Renaissance *façades* in the interior

court, which still remain to us. Between them and the old walls she constructed galleries and ranges of apartments, while she also turned the towers to use by forming rooms in them. In one of the galleries she arranged a large collection of family portraits, giving the principal place to that of her grandfather, the Duc de Montpensier, as from him had come the bulk of her possessions. In this gallery she also placed a billiard table, for she was fond of all games and amusements, and was a thorough sportswoman. All through her *Mémoires* we read of the numerous distractions by means of which she endeavoured to make the period of her exile pass pleasantly. She brought over a pack of hounds from England, and with them sometimes hunted three times a week.[1] She played pall-mall with her dame of honour Madame de Frontenac, and tells us that while the latter had the greater strength, she (Mademoiselle) uniformly exhibited more skill and address. On another occasion we hear of her playing battledore and shuttlecock four hours a day. She constructed a theatre, and from time to time had *troupes* of comedians to give performances for her amusement, and there is incidental mention of dances, sylvan concerts, and other festivities. But apart from these methods of "fleeting the time gaily," she had plenty to occupy her attention. She directly superintended her building alterations, and when these were completed, was (as she tells us herself) as delighted with them as her grandmother, Marie de Medicis, had been with the completion of the Luxembourg. She made personal enquiries into the household accounts, the result of which was that she found she was being robbed on all hands, but having ascertained the fact, she forgave the culprits on their promising that the depredations should cease for the future. She also occupied part of her time in writing a life of Madame de Fouquerolles, and when it was completed had a printer from Auxerre smuggled into the *château* for the purpose of secretly setting it up in type. At a later period she began the composition of her extremely interesting *Mémoires*, which were copied out by her faithful friend and adviser, Préfontaine. What, however, most engrossed her were her own unfortunate disputes with her father, whom

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 247.

she had been compelled to call to account for his intromissions with her revenues during the period of her minority. There can be no question that the unscrupulous Gaston had sedulously plundered his daughter and ward, but the relationship between the parties and the high rank of the defaulting guardian rendered it very difficult to bring him to book. Mademoiselle exhibited eminent capacity and shrewdness in her management of the troublesome and delicate negotiations which were necessary, and in the end a very inadequate settlement was obtained.

The nature of her exile seems merely to have amounted to banishment from the Court—in itself a severe sentence in the 17th century—and she was by no means compelled to reside altogether at St. Fargeau. She went several times to see her father at Orléans and Blois, generally meeting with a very cold reception, and paid a number of visits to friends in different parts of the country. On several occasions she went to Pont-sur-Seine for river baths, on others we find her drinking the waters at Forges, in the Bray district of Normandy. Her description of the latter place gives an insight to the life of a 17th century watering-place. The rule was to rise at six and go to the spring, the waters of which were not unpleasant. Then the visitors of rank were allowed to walk in the gardens of a Capuchin monastery previous to going to mass, after which dinner was served at twelve o'clock. In the afternoon receptions were held. Supper was served at six, and bedtime came at nine.

In returning from one of her journeys to Forges she visited the eccentric Queen of Sweden, who having abdicated her throne was living at Essonne. Mademoiselle had fortunately been prepared beforehand for her extraordinary appearance and mode of dress, otherwise it would have been impossible for her to have retained her gravity.[1]

In course of her journeys through France she mentions many interesting places which she visited and in which she was received as a guest, among these being the *châteaux* of Valençay, Villandry, and Saumur, the abbeys of Fontevrault and Jouarre, and the Bishop's Palace at Meaux. Not the least interesting of them was Port-Royal, the former home of

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 457.

Pascal and the other distinguished recluses to whom the world is indebted for the quickening of the spiritual life of the latter part of the 17th century. The Mère Angelique was dead, and the persecution to which the nuns had been subjected by the Archbishop of Paris had only recently terminated. Imbued with the orthodox ideas of the time, Mademoiselle de Montpensier had apparently expected to find the Port-Royalists little better than heathens, and naïvely admitted this to d'Andilly, who showed her over the convent, informing him that she was quite surprised to see holy images and relics, and to find that the sisters told their beads.[1]

She admits in her *Mémoires* she would have liked to have been present at the coronation of Louis XIV., which took place at Reims in the summer of 1654, but she knew that if she went she would not be recognised or received with the distinction due to her rank, so she preferred to stay away. A curious fact is mentioned in connection with the coronation which shows the corruption which then existed in the Church, and the extent to which all the lucrative ecclesiastical positions had been seized by laymen. Not one of the dignitaries known as the six spiritual peers of France, the Archbishop of Reims, and the Bishops of Beauvais, Noyon, Laon, Chalons, and Langres, was at the time in orders, and the important functions they had to discharge at the ceremony were performed by suffragans!

Her exile to St. Fargeau lasted four and a half years, from the autumn of 1652 till the spring of 1657. In the end she became very tired of her banishment, all the more that her father to annoy her secured the removal of her faithful adviser Préfontaine and her secretary Nau, and she was compelled to manage her affairs and carry on her large correspondence without any help. In describing her plight she laughingly says that she little expected ever to be so familiar with the price of materials and labour as to be able to check the accounts of contractors and tradesmen for more than a year. But unaided as she was, and despite the large expenditure, she was able by her natural shrewdness and capability to avoid incurring a single penny of debt.

The worry and anxiety, however, told on her, and she became so anxious to be allowed to return to court that she thought of retiring temporarily to a

[1] *Mémoires*, iii., 72.

to procure his liberation, but only eventually succeeded in obtaining it through the intervention of Mademoiselle de Montespan, by the gift to the latter's son, the Duc de Maine, of both Dombes and Montpensier, the very estates which had been intended to become the property of Lauzun.[1] It was now that the conveyance to the latter of St. Fargeau and Thiers took place, and his benefactress also succeeded in obtaining for him repayment of all the arrears of his pay which had accrued during the period of his imprisonment, amounting to 980,000 francs. The long and weary years he had spent in Pignerol had, however, changed Lauzun greatly for the worse, not only in regard to his personal appearance, but what was more important, his character and disposition. He had never had a great affection for Mademoiselle at any time, and as he now came to think that his disgrace and ruin were largely due to her intervention in his affairs, his feelings towards her seem to have changed to positive hatred. Whether a marriage between them took place at this time is not known with absolute certainty. It is maintained by some authorities that there was a marriage, while by others this is denied. It is, however, certain that their relations to each other soon became strained to breaking point. Tired of his neglect and ill-treatment, Anne de Montpensier resolved eventually on a final separation, and they parted, never to meet again. Broken in spirit and left through her own folly with a mere remnant of her vast possessions, she lived on to 1693, devoting her last years to good works.

Lauzun, after the final parting, went to England, and at the Revolution of 1688 accompanied Mary of Modena and her son (afterwards the Old Pretender) in their flight to France. He subsequently served with distinction in the army of James II. during the campaign in Ireland. Two years after the death of Mademoiselle de Montpensier he married a daughter of the Maréchal de Lorges.

He does not appear ever to have lived at St. Fargeau, and in February, 1714, sold the estate to Antoine de Crozat for 500,000 francs. The latter was one of the most distinguished financiers of the reign of Louis XIV., and took a prominent part in the establishment of the colony of Louisiana. He only, however, retained possession of St. Fargeau for

[1] *Mémoires*, iv., 426.

some eighteen months, it being purchased from him for the price he had paid for it by Michel-Robert Lepeletier des Forts. The new owner, himself an eminent lawyer, came of a distinguished legal family, and held during his life a number of important posts, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, Master of Requests, Intendant of the Finances, and Member of the Council of the Regency. He procured the erection of St. Fargeau into a *Comté* in favour of himself and his descendants, and added the territorial designation to his surname. The wing of the *château* on the north-west side of the courtyard was added by him, but it reflects little credit on his taste, being from its want of style and dignity altogether incongruous and at variance with the other portions of the structure.

Dying in 1740, he was succeeded by his grandson, Michel-Etienne Lepeletier de St. Fargeau, who, after being Advocate-General in the Parliament of Paris, was appointed in 1764 to the high judicial position of *President à mortiér* in the Supreme Court. One of the duties of that position was to order an inquiry into the constitution of the Society of Jesus, and it was very much through the influence of his judgment that the society was subsequently suppressed. Known and respected as a man of the highest probity and the most unbending rectitude, his firmness and resolution were a source of strength to his colleagues, and enabled them on several occasions to combine in resisting the dictation of the king. So clearly was this recognised that on one occasion, when the judges had refused to sanction an illegal exercise of the royal perogative, the Chancellor Maupeou said to Louis XV., "*Sire, il faut couper la tête au President de St. Fargeau et je reponds du reste.*" This was a stronger step than the king cared to authorise, but the upright judge was deprived of his office and exiled to Felletin.

During his proprietorship of St. Fargeau a great fire took place in the *château*, by which a large part of the edifice was absolutely gutted, and he was put to heavy expense in re-roofing and restoring the buildings.

The President married Louise-Suzanne Lepeletier de Beaupré, a kinswoman of his own, and their son, Louis-Michel Lepeletier de St. Fargeau, was born at Paris on 29th May, 1760. One of the most interesting figures which raise themselves against the lurid background of the French revolutionary

condition which rendered any use of them impossible. He abandoned his rights of chase and warren, dismissing his keepers and ordering them to join the local militia. Moreover, he charged himself with payment of the *taille* and *corvée* of the poorer inhabitants, exactions which bore heavily upon them, and undertook to pay one-fifth of the cost of a military force to protect St. Fargeau from the lawless spoilers who were taking advantage of the disturbed state of the country to pillage in all directions, while he received and lodged in the *château* 100 of the *fédérés* of the Department of the Yonne for three weeks.

His principles led him into Quixotic extremes, for we find him in the following year moving in the Convention for the abolition of hereditary titles and laying his own marquisate and countship on the altar of the fatherland, also pointing out that "*l'arbre de l'aristocratie a encore une branche que vous avez oublié à couper*," and proposing that it should be forbidden to use any territorial designation. This did not meet the approval of Mirabeau and the other aristocratic revolutionists, and the latter part of Lepeletier's suggestion was rejected.

He took the principal part in framing and presenting to the Convention the penal code, which was considered and adopted. Up to that time the punishments for crime had been of the most cruel description, but under the new regulations drawn out by Lepeletier and his colleagues these penalties were greatly modified. Capital punishment, the infliction of torture, and perpetual incarceration were abolished, and in lieu thereof terms of imprisonment of varying grades of severity under carefully prepared rules were substituted. It is ludicrous to think of the short period this mild code was allowed to hold sway in France!

Lepeletier also proposed the introduction of a great national system of education by which all children up to the age of twelve should be trained and taught at the expense of the state. To do away with all distinctions of rank and station, they were to live in common, eating the same food and wearing the same clothes. Only part of the day, however, was to be spent in actual tuition, the rest of the time being occupied in useful work, from the results of which the children were to be made to contribute to the cost of their maintenance. The scheme on being presented to the

Assembly was deemed to be of too Utopian a description, and to the gre disappointment of its author received no favour at the hands of h colleagues.

Despite the unpractical side of his character, which led him occasional into extravagances, Lepeletier proved himself a useful member of tl Assembly, and if he had lived would probably have taken a promine position in the government of his country. But his career was destined to l cut short.

After the king's abortive attempt to escape from France and his arrest Varennes, the strained relations between him and the Assembly finally resulte in the decision that he should be placed on trial for his alleged offences again the national weal. The result was predetermined, and by a majority of Louis was condemned to death, while by a majority of 70 it was resolve that there should be no delay and that the sentence should be execute within twenty-four hours. Among those who voted in the majority w Lepeletier (it is said very much through the influence of *Égalité* Orléa and his own brother), and the step excited the most bitter animosity of tl royalists against him. They could not believe he would forget all tl loyal traditions of his family in the past, and the numerous benefi which had been conferred on his ancestors by previous occupants of tl throne. Moreover, he had always professed to be opposed to capital punis ment, and his excuse that an exception fell to be made in the case of tl head of a state who had been found guilty of crimes against his subjects w deemed paltry and contemptible. In view, however, of the pusillanimi which was generally displayed by the royalists, it is doubtful if any ste would have been taken to punish him for his backsliding if it had not bee for the determination and courage of one man. We know that 500 syn pathisers with the fallen monarch entered into an engagement to carry hi off on his way to the place of execution, but at the appointed rendezvo only 25 of them appeared, and the scheme was abandoned as hopeles There were, however, other members of the party of a different calibre, an to the savage courage of one of them Lepeletier was to fall a victim. Th was an ex-guardsman of the king named Paris, who, enraged and disguste at the cowardice of his friends, resolved single-handed to avenge his roy

master by the death of one of the Revolutionary leaders. It is said he had selected *Égalité* Orléans as his victim, and stationed himself in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal in the hope of encountering that degenerate prince on his return from the Assembly. Fortunately for *Égalité*, he was elsewhere, and Paris, abandoning his quest for the time, went to get some food in a neighbouring eating-house kept by one Février.[1] Lepeletier had dined there (it is said with the view of finding out what were the opinions which were being expressed in public with regard to the king's sentence), and having finished his meal, went forward to the counter to pay. Paris does not appear to have known him even by sight, but hearing some people in his vicinity mention Lepeletier's name, appears to have suddenly made up his mind to fix on the *ci-devant* Seigneur de St. Fargeau in the absence of a more important prey. He accordingly went forward to the Deputy and asked him whether he was Lepeletier. Being answered in the affirmative, Paris said, "But you have the appearance of a well-disposed man (*homme de bien*), you surely have not voted for "Death." Lepeletier replied that he had done so in accordance with the dictates of his conscience,[2] whereupon Paris, exclaiming "*Scélérat, voilà ta récompense,*" stabbed the unfortunate man, the knife entering his left side between the two lowest ribs. The wound was at once seen to be mortal, but Lepeletier lingered on till early in the following morning, when he died surrounded by weeping friends, and bearing himself with the utmost fortitude.[3]

In the confusion which took place after Lepeletier was stabbed, no one

[1] Lepeletier's taking his meals at a restaurant of an inferior type like Février's has been said by his opponents to have been due to his wish to divert attention from his large fortune and curry favour with the populace. Madame Roland was of opinion that he only joined the popular party from fear, and Comte Allenville-Beaulieu in his Memoirs quotes a saying of Lepeletier's, "My friend, when one has sat in the Parliament of Paris and has a large fortune, there is choice only of two courses, one must be either at Coblenz or at the top of the Mountain."

[2] "*Je l'ai trouvé coupable en mon âme et conscience, je l'ai jugé aussi.*" Biography of Lepeletier by his brother Felix prefixed to edition of his works, p. 61, Brussels, 1826.

[3] Lepeletier was only 33 when he was assassinated. One of the most remarkable features of the French Revolution is the comparative youth of all the principal personages who took part in it. Danton and Robespierre were respectively only 30 and 31 at the fall of the Bastille, Camille Desmoulins 27, while Mirabeau was 40 and Marat 45.

attempted to arrest the assassin, and Paris walked quietly away. Th determined character of the man is shown by the fact that despite th imminent and deadly peril in which he stood, his first thought was not o escape, but of the punishment of *Égalité*, and making his way to the Palai Royal he again hung about for some considerable time in the hope o encountering Orléans, but failing to find him he seems to have been persuaded by friends to seek refuge in flight, and they must have provided him with a disguise. Every effort was made to effect his apprehension, and notices giving a description of him were posted far and near. In these he was described as five feet five inches in height, dark of complexion, with a bluish-black beard, and his beautiful teeth are mentioned as a noticeable feature. His attire was described as a *houppelande grise*. The pursuit was, however, vain, and Paris, disguised as a National Guard, with his hair cut *en iacobin*, made his way safely by Gisors and Gournay to Forges, the little watering-place which had been a favourite residence of Mademoiselle de Montpensier. He probably hoped to reach Dieppe, where he would have tried to cross to England. He reached Forges on the 28th of January, 1793, but here the good fortune which had hitherto attended his progress deserted him. Whether he was actually suspected of being the murderer of Lepeletier is not known, but the arrival of a stranger in the little town excited talk, and possibly something he had said or done drew the notice of the local authorities to him. Three gendarmes were sent to arrest him, who found he had supped and gone to bed. Word was sent to him of the visitors who were in waiting, and realising that the game was up he without an instant's hesitation blew his brains out with a pistol. He seems to have had very little hope of escaping, as there was found on him a paper on which he had written the following verse, not altogether without merit:

> "*Peuple dont les forfaits jettent partout l'effroi,*
> *Avec calme et plaisir j'abandonne la vie,*
> *Ce n'est que par la mort qu'on peut fuir l'infamie*
> *Qu'imprime sur nos fronts le sang de notre roi.*
> *De Paris l'ainé, garde du Roi, assassiné par les Français.*"[1]

[1] Another paper was also discovered in the following terms: "*Qu'on n'inquiéte personne Personne n'a été mon complice dans la mort heureuse de scélérat St. Fargeau. Si je n l'eusse pas rencontré sous ma main ie faisais une plus belle action, je purgeais la France d*

His body, treated with every indignity, was thrown into a hole in the forest, and thus perished ignobly one of the boldest and most courageous of spirits. One cannot help thinking that if there had been among the royalist leaders a few men of the type of Paris the guardsman there would have been no French Revolution, and the course of the world's history might have been materially altered.

The popular party exhibited the utmost fury against the dead man, a curious instance of the detestation in which his memory was held being found in the *Moniteur* of 5th February, 1793, in which it is noticed that an application came before the Conseil-General of the Seine from a citizen called Paris, who asked for authority to change his name to Fabricius on account of "*la conformité du sien avec le scélérat Paris.*" The permission was doubless readily accorded, and in the heat of popular animosity one almost expects to hear that the *Ville-Lumiere* itself had possibly thoughts of calling itself Utica or Arpinum for the same reason![1]

To return, however, to Lepeletier. The news of his assassination caused intense excitement. He was held to be a martyr, and his death was treated as a national calamity. If it had been thought for a moment that the event

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patricide, du regicide, du parricide, d'Orléans. Qu'on n'inquiète personne. Tous les Français sont des lâches!" Rapport du Ministère de la Justice à la Convention Nationale, 21st January, 1793.

[1] Numerous poems were written, expressing, generally in execrable doggerel, the national sorrow, and a tragedy in three acts, entitled, *La Mort de Michel Lepeletier*, was also published. I may quote two verses of one of these ditties:

"*Ah! pour nous quel coup de foudre!*
Le Pelletier St. Fargeau
Vient de descendre au tombeau,
Paris seul l'a su dissoudre
Comme étant son assassin
Il a peri par sa main.

Va, Paris! tu n'est qu'un traitre,
Lâche valet du tiran,
Si l'on t'arrête, brigand,
La loi te fera connaitre
Que c'est sur un échafaud
Que l'on venge St. Fargeau.

Soutiens de la Republique!
Plaignons son sort à jamais
Dans le Panthéon Français
Plaçons cet homme heroique
St. Fargeau n'existe plus,
Il est mort plein des vertus."

would have the effect of causing the Revolutionary party to falter in carrying out the execution of the king the expectation proved a vain one. When the news was brought to the Assembly Jacobins, Dantonists, and Girondins alike showed a united and determined front, and on the motion of Thuriot it was agreed that the sitting should be continued *en permanence* all through the night. The posts were doubled, and the forty-eight sections were warned to be on their guard. On Monday the 21st Louis XVI. went to his death with no less composure than had been exhibited by Lepeletier, no farther manifestation in his favour being attempted.

Three days afterwards Lepeletier's funeral took place. No effort was spared to make it a memorable and impressive spectacle. The blood-stained corpse was exposed in the Place Vendôme (the name of which had been changed to Place des Piques), on the pedestal from which a statue of Louis XIV. had been recently thrown down, and the President of the Convention placed on the head a wreath of oak leaves and flowers. The last words which he was related to have uttered—"I am about to shed my blood for my country. I trust that it may serve to consolidate liberty and equality, and bring our enemies to light"—were inscribed on the pedestal.[1] As a matter of fact his last words were, "I am very cold."

An immense procession accompanied the remains to the place of burial in the Panthéon (then called the *Temple des Grand Hommes*). Behind the coffin came as chief mourner the young daughter of the dead man. She had been formally adopted by a vote of the Convention as the child of the Republic, and with the curious sentimentality of the French she was given as companions in her sorrowful progress a number of children of her own age, that she might feel she had not only been provided with a parent, but also furnished with brothers and sisters.[2] Arrived before the Panthéon addresses were delivered by Barrère, Vergniaud, and the brother of Lepeletier. The members of the Convention ranged round the coffin swore to maintain the

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[1] *Moniteur*, 27th January, 1793.

[2] Various halts were made by the procession at the Jacobin Club in the Rue St. Honoré, the Palais Royal, the Oratoire, the Pont Neuf (where a salvo of artillery was fired), the Hall of the Cordeliers, etc.

safety of the country, and all divisions of party were cast aside in the common sorrow.[1]

Lepeletier was made a national hero. His bust was placed in all the sections of Paris, and in every commune throughout the country. The picture by David, of his dead body lying in state in the Place des Piques, was set up in the hall in which the Convention held its sittings, and engravings of it made at the public expense were distributed far and wide. Regiments called themselves after him, and a section of Paris and two streets took his name.

Alas for the fickleness of popular favour! Ten years later the martyred hero had been practically forgotten, and his body was expelled from the Panthéon as unworthy of a place in the national Valhalla. It now rests in the chapel of the *château* at St. Fargeau.

His daughter, who succeeded him and married her cousin, M. Lepeletier de Mortefontaine, was of the most pronounced royalist sympathies, and spent her life in atoning as far as possible for what she deemed the errors of her misguided father. She purchased, at great cost, from the son of David, the famous picture which had formerly stood in the Hall of the Convention, and I was informed at St. Fargeau that it now stands in the *château* with its face to the wall. Madame de Mortefontaine left two daughters, and Madame de Boisgelin, the elder of them, succeeded to St. Fargeau. It is now held by the latter's son, and when I visited the place I found that through the extravagance of the present proprietor the *château* was for sale. Whoever may have the good fortune to become its possessor, it is hardly likely in the future to be associated with more notable historical figures than the long line of eminent personages with whom it has been connected in the past.

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[1] Loud protestations had been made by the revolutionary leaders that all animosities and differences should be buried in Lepeletier's grave, but the very evening of the funeral in the contest between Danton and Rabaut de Saint-Étienne for the Presidentship of the Convention, scenes of indescribable excitement and violence took place. Danton was unsuccessful, his opponent being elected.

No. XIX.

THE ANTONINE LINES AS A DEFENSIVE DESIGN: A COMPARISON IN ANCIENT AND MODERN PRINCIPLES OF FORTIFICATION.

BY

MAJOR RUCK, R.E., F.S.A.Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society on 17th January, 1901.*)

Having had the honour in 1893 to take some small part in the making of the record of the plan and sections of the Antonine Wall, as it then existed, and at about the same time being engaged in the large scale Ordnance map of the city of York, where a great deal of excavation was going on, in connection with a new drainage scheme, and where Roman remains, such as brooches, stone coffins, and coins, ancient walls, roads, and bridges were continually appearing in evidence, it was quite impossible for me not to become deeply interested in all Roman military archæological work, especially as at the same time we were engaged in making the new survey of the counties of Edinburghshire, Haddingtonshire, and Fifeshire, bristling in places with British hill forts, some of which had been previously and wrongly recorded as Roman works on the old map, and it became very important to rectify these errors and designate the same by their correct titles. This, with the kind assistance of Dr. Joseph

Anderson of Edinburgh and Dr. D. Christison of the same place, it is thought has been accomplished on the new Ordnance maps. It was, therefore, with great pleasure that I received an invitation from Mr. Black and Mr. George Neilson to contribute a paper of impressions on the report of the Committee on the Antonine, which of course I at once set to work upon and have now the honour to submit.

I have attempted—as a person who has been absent from his country for five years, and who has not consequently moved in the society of any of our Roman wall students or enjoyed the privilege of hearing their arguments—to work out my own salvation, and to find a way out of the maze of conundrums which have seemed to beset me on every side, and have endeavoured to establish a basis of such a nature as would enable me to obtain some means of comparison in regard to the magnitude of the work of the Antonine Wall. How many men would it require to garrison and to construct it, and in what time different portions of the work could be constructed, and which portions would take up most time; whether the generally accepted principles of fortification were carried out, when compared with modern methods, or rather with those methods which have obtained in the Peninsular war, especially as regards continuous lines,—that is, during a time when we had varied experience of this method of defence, and when the long range of firearms, including guns or cannons, was not such as greatly to change the fundamental principles from those which now hold good? The basis once established, having found that the Roman principles of military engineering differed in no way from those in vogue at the present day (the difference due to new weapons being excluded), by a few arithmetical computations we obtain some solid data as to the number of men, the amount of material, and time required to construct this great work; and then we get a fair idea of what the magnitude of the work was as a whole, and we can distribute the available forces for construction work, guard duties, and field army duties. This conception of the work will help us to gain an insight as to what was the order of construction of the different parts, and may lead us on to calculate the magnitude of that enormous replica in masonry further back in the country, known as the Hadrian Wall, and to see what the sequence of

construction was likely to have been from the time of the first tracing out by the Roman engineers of the Sod Vallum of the Antonine Lines until the time that the Hadrian Wall, with its front-facing southern agger, its military road, its front-facing masonry rampart, its intermediate front-facing northern agger became a self-contained, combined structure as well as a vast longitudinal, closed-in, practically impregnable work against all comers from whatsoever side they came.

Before going into our arithmetical calculations, I must, at the risk of wearying my hearers, go over the good old and somewhat pedantic-sounding groundwork of first principles upon which our accumulated knowledge of fortification work is based, with a view to forming for ourselves a series of stepping-stones to help us on our way later on in unravelling some of the secrets of the Antonine Wall.

So beginning, fortification may be defined as the careful preparation of ground in such a manner that the defenders may use their weapons with the greatest possible effect, and with the least interruption from the enemy. The general principles of fortification may be, and should be, studied as a branch of strategy and tactics. In the earliest days with which we are fairly well acquainted, namely, in the times of the Greeks and Romans, and in the early days of firearms, when the range of weapons of offence and defence was much less than it is now, the ground was always prepared for the most advantageous use of the existing weapons over as large a part of the area of the terrain of attack as possible. In the case of the Romans, by the accessory of the fosse exterior to the ramparts, and in mediæval to later days, by bastion and ravelin, horn works and lunettes, glacis and covered way. The effective range of the javelin, bow, and onager, in ancient times, as well as that of the musket and smooth-bore cannon in later days, limited the depth of the line of defence, not only in the continuous lines of the Romans, but also in the old bastion systems of our ancestors in Europe and in this country. The old system of outworks covering only a minute portion of the terrain played no longer a leading part when rifled weapons were introduced, so they by degrees became diminished and eventually obliterated in modern fortifications to meet the altered condition of affairs. The necessity for delaying

an enemy by a material obstacle, in order to keep him under the destructive zone as long as possible, such as by a fosse, in the case of the Romans, or by a ditch and escarp, ravelin, horn works, etc., afterwards, no longer exists to the same extent; consequently, ditches and escarp are now lessened in importance. We see, therefore, that before deciding on the proper mode of constructing fortifications, it is necessary to have a knowledge of the weapons and modes of attack in use, and of their possible development.

As we are now dealing with the subject of the Antonine Wall constructed by Roman engineers, who were no mean exponents of the art, we will for the sake of realism place ourselves in imagination in their places, and consider what our methods of procedure would have been, when negotiating the task which confronted them, on arriving in the locality situated between the Firths of Clyde and Forth, with an irritating and troublesome horde of barbarians to be kept within bounds to the north of them. Evidently the protected area must be defined by a barrier of some sort, which could not be passed without an expenditure of time and labour by the enemy. This might be a natural barrier, such as a precipice or river, or an artificial one, such as a ditch or wall, and, according to our principles, should be of a depth sufficient to keep the enemy at such a distance that he could not use his weapons effectively without coming into the destructive zone of our own weapons. Keeping him at a distance would force him to expend an excessive quantity of his ammunition, in the shape of spears, arrows, and stones, with an uncertain result, and would protect the nucleus of our own work, consisting of the main fortification lines and their communications. He must not be able to get round our flanks—that is, we must have the '*command of the sea.*' The question at once arises,—how should the ground best be occupied by our own works so as to effectually oppose the enemy's modes of attack in use? A continuous line of parapet and fosse is a formidable barrier, but is usually too strong in some parts and too weak in others, besides requiring supporting points so that if an enemy passes through it at one point it should not involve the loss of the whole, and how should we hold this long line? Not by a continuous line of men, but by most concentration of force on all

Wall, the intermediate works or supplementary batteries should be placed s that they may command the country a long way in advance. There shoul be free communication about the interior of the fortress and to the fron and it should be so arranged that the movements of the troops defendin should not be seen from the outside. Permanent works are much mor secure against a *surprise* and *open assault* than are field works, whos ditches are seldom of much use as obstacles, and which have usually ope parapets. It is also of importance to the defence to cause the assault t be commenced at as long a way distant from the lines of defence a possible. This form of attack, namely, surprise and open assault, i thought to be that which the Romans would have most likely been sub jected to, and it appears that they took every precaution known to the generals to guard against it.

As a rule, in attacking a chain of detached forts, in a modern fortres without continuous lines, it will be necessary to take two of them, an to silence as well the two forts which flank them, in order to make a ga sufficiently large for penetrating to the attack of any interior works, but wit forts at large intervals on continuous lines it would be only necessary t take one. In an attack of a modern fortress, on arriving at the counterscar it will be necessary to deal with the flanking defences of the ditch. Th design of a good key fort should secure it from open assault, provide fo all the weapons it possesses being used both to the front and to the flank at short ranges, and contain secure accommodation for its garrison, ammun tion, and stores. Taking an attack by surprise or open assault, as tha to which the Romans would have been chiefly liable to provide against what was wanted was watchfulness, a material obstacle, and the power c resistance by a small garrison, together with the power of developing heavy fire over the near ground, and if the enemy threatened any particula point, capability of passing men and heavy weapons to intermediate position between the forts or camps. The power of heavy fire over the near groun necessitates getting rid of all 'dead' ground in the ditch, as well as unde the parapet. This can be done when required by prolonging the superic slope of $\frac{1}{6}$ to the front in the form of a glacis until it reaches a depth c 10 feet below the natural surface of the ground, and by placing in th

ditch so formed a palisade, leaving the counterscarp at the natural slope of the ground, and constructing a small glacis to increase the cover for the palisade,—the command of the whole work being reduced to a *minimum* to render it inconspicuous from the enemy's side. This form of construction seems to have been pursued in some degree in the case of some of the ramparts at Ardoch and Rough Castle, where the exterior slope is extended to the base of the ditch without any intermediate berm. Many variations in the organisation of the rampart would be made by changes in the conditions of the slopes and command, such as the inclusion of a lower parapet in front of the main parapet, below its line of fire and just above the crest of the glacis for the immediate defence of the ditch, the slope in front of it running evenly down to the bottom of the ditch. It appears as if the Romans had rung the changes in their design, according to these conditions and slopes of the ground, and were prepared to utilise such a lower parapet in some cases, and this is especially noticeable in the sections of the inner rampart at Ardoch and on the southern agger of the Hadrian Wall. Such a parapet would act also as a screen for a patrol path on the safe side of the ditch for observation purposes.

The Antonine defence being on the system of continuous lines, it will be useful to notice that in modern continuous lines it is considered unnecessary to supplement the parapet by quick-firing guns '*en tourelles*' or in towers, because the frontal fire is considered to be very great, except where it is of great importance to keep the numbers of the garrisons at a minimum. Covered ways are *always* provided for in continuous lines in modern fortifications. Entrances from the covered way to the interior should be *numerous*, and defended from some position, quite separated from it, so that in case of a surprise or assault the defence may be conducted coolly and without disturbance from the retreating troops. In the Antonine Wall, it is quite a question whether the expansions at intervals on the south side of the vallum might not have been protecting stances for entrances to and from the interior, defending the same by flanking these entrances, and it seems equally possible that they might have been placed there for the reception of men or of stores or weapons. The fact of two expansions being only 133 yards apart at Croy, at a precipitous point where it would have been

defiles, are usually placed where the defile narrows in, it being desirable to stop an enemy where a few men can do it. A *single* fort in a defile might do it, but the continuous lines give a longer front to oppose the enemy, and the difficulty of protecting the flanks satisfactorily is avoided. In the defence of a salient ridge a good big ditch is the best obstacle. If possible, the lines should be placed at some point where the ridge widens out, so that they may present a longer front than the assailants. On a ridge, two or three lines of works can often be constructed, those behind firing over those in front; the front lines being organised entirely to repel the close attack, whilst those in rear mount guns for distant fire.

Applying these principles to Croy Hill (see Section A7, Croy No. 12*a*, and A8), Croy No. 11 was the first trench or the ditch which it formed halfway down hill, strongly occupied, as the immediate defence of the ditch as well as the ramparts in rear. Were the two expansions, 133 yards apart, connected with this double defence as '*places d'armes*' or places of assembly for defensive purposes, either to guard a sally-port by flank defence (in which case they appear to be too far apart), or for the assembly or parade grounds of the night patrols on the ramparts, or in the ditch, or along the berm? If for the latter purpose, why should the expansions occur in pairs and be of the same height as the vallum? A parade place of assembly, unless for expected alarm, would be in a sheltered spot lower down than the crest of the vallum. As the dimensions of these expansions are about semicircular, they would not be of the best shape for flank defence of an entrance which would preferably be rectangular, and at twice hurtling distance, or only 200 feet apart, instead of nearly 400 feet. Whatever the purposes they served, they seem to have been intermediate supplementary works strengthening the long line of vallum in some way or other, either as places of assembly for men, stores, or for weapons. The fact that they occur in pairs, except at Bonnyside, where three or more are suspected, tends to induce the impression that they were connected in some way or other with a sally-port, and within striking distance of an enemy following in on the retreating defenders. If they were ramps on to the vallum to enable the troops from the military road to quickly get on to the ramparts at night, and to relieve guard, it might

save confusion to have two distinct places of assembly—one for those going on duty and one for those coming off duty on the section of rampart told off to them, and would make it possible to have the rampart continuously manned. The subdivisions of the lines into subsections would be facilitated, and the guard coming off duty would always come off the ramparts at a spot nearer home, *i.e.* the nearest camp, than those going on duty, who would march to the furthest ramp away and push, as it were, the old guard in front of them, as they relieved them, thus insuring the watchfulness required at all times all along the lines. All these are considerations which suggest themselves as theories only, to account for the expansions. The expansions as found are fairly equi-distant from the forts or camps, which lends itself to the theory that they divided the wall into subsections between the forts for organisation purposes, which of course would be necessary for the distribution of the patrolling parties, especially at night time. As the expansions seem to be pretty evenly distributed all along the vallum, and not guarding only weak points, some regular purpose must have been provided for by them, either as a general strengthening of the whole line or for a regular organised subdivision of the lines for administrative purposes. If the latter, one would expect to find the double expansions at a uniform distance from each other and the camps, with a single expansion halfway between any two adjacent forts, or else uniformly distributed all along at a distance of about 133 yards, and they would be supplementary to the building of the vallum. The administrative use of them would not be immediately apparent until it was subsequently found necessary to ensure constant vigilance night and day, especially at night time, or they may have been part of the whole designed work, and built afterwards as a matter of construction. On the whole, it would appear safe to surmise that the expansions were designed for increased defensive and improved administrative purposes combined.

With regard to the relative strength of the supporting forts or camps, this would depend to a great extent on the chances of locality. Where most vulnerable to an enemy's attack, and on the line of the main approaches they would have to be strong, such as at Rough Castle. Those facing Kilsyth hills, where an enemy could concentrate in the mountains

unperceived and deliver a sudden attack at night, would also have to be strong. In modern construction of fortifications the edge of a steep-sided plateau is the part of it that must of necessity be held, and it depends on the exact conformation of the ground in any particular case whether it is best to do this by means of separate works, on the salients, or by a continuous line. Dueira lines in Malta are an instance of a case where it was necessary to adopt the latter alternative. The manner in which the works in a long line of fortifications should be disposed is the first question which has to be decided on in connection with the defence of any particular place or territory, the basis of the whole and the main object for consideration being the strength of the field force and the labour and time available. The defences have to be interdependent, and not form a line of scattered units. How far apart should be the pivot forts depends on the ground and approaches, and the relative strength of the defending and attacking force, and may vary from 500 yards to 5 miles or more. The *former* might be the distance, either in the case of some very uneven ground, which it is nevertheless necessary to defend in detail, or to the numerical inferiority of the defending garrison, or to the nearness of the place to be defended, *i.e.* the objective. The *latter*, namely 5000 yards, might be the distance either if there were very few lines of approach to the lines, or, in case of lines of great importance and very large size, such as the Antonine, and therefore with a numerous garrison. Only key positions need then be strongly fortified, as was the case in our wall.

The calculation of the garrison required for manning the parapets for a system of continuous lines is best made by the application of the formula of the late Sir John Jones, R.E., one of Wellington's chief engineers, and who constructed the lines of Torres Vedras. This may be taken as a guide for us. It was two men per yard run for all *front* lines, and one man per yard for all *rear* lines, and was calculated for *field works*. In the case of *permanent* and *semi-permanent* works, such as the Antonine, we should be safe in calculating at the rate of one man per yard run throughout. A deduction has to be made for the spaces occupied by the artillery, also an addition or reduction from these numbers being made by the chief engineer in all cases when deemed expedient from local causes.

It does not follow that the number of men calculated as required for a fort should always be in it. There should be a permanent garrison for the work, who should always be in it. These should know their way about, but the reliefs who belong to the fort had better be out of it, unless when actually wanted on duty inside the fort.

In addition to the garrisons of the forts, a field force is required: first, to watch; secondly, to guard the intervals between the forts on the lines; thirdly, to make sorties; fourthly, to make counter approaches; and, fifthly, to strengthen the position by making additional works of defence, such as shelter trenches or a fosse. The amount of the necessary force depends upon a variety of circumstances, but it can best be arrived at by answering the question, What has the enemy to get by penetrating between the works? and with what force is he likely to try and do it? We will do well to take Sir John Jones's estimate for the Antonine Wall. An addition must be made for cooks, orderlies, and sick; for the Romans we will take it as one-tenth, for they would be fairly stationary, and probably able to avail themselves of the services of auxiliaries, civilians, and others. In constructing the Antonine Wall, the forts would first be constructed with the number of men who could be economically employed in building them, all the remainder of the workers for construction purposes being employed in clearing the ground in front and in constructing the intermediate lines and trenches, civilian labour of a suitable nature being employed if available, and the working parties would have to be at their full strength at this construction period. With regard to *details* of construction, ramps leading up to the rampart up which *guns*, or heavy weapons and stores, are taken should be one in ten or one in twelve if possible. They should be made as flat as possible, and the longer they are the flatter they should be. In the expansions of the Antonine Wall, taking the slopes in rear of the expansion as if parallel to the present slope to a height of ten feet, namely, that of the vallum, we get a slope of one over six, which is, if in the case of a ramp, more suited for men to go up than for guns or heavy weapons. The counterscarp of the ditch should be *rounded* on top, as there will be difficulty in getting at the head of a scaling ladder. An overhanging kerb on the face of the escarp is a good thing, as it prevents the scaling ladder

from lying flat against the side, and renders the ladder springier and more liable to be broken by the weight of a man on it, and also renders it impossible to slide the top of the ladder up into position. If it be possible to give the escarp a *facing* of hard stone, such as granite, it will increase the difficulty of commencing a breach. This principle seems to have been applied in the fosse at Rough Castle, giving perhaps two platforms of sods, one above the other in some places, thereby getting a double line of fire. An escarp 40 feet high is supposed to be secure against escalade. It should be *at least* 10 *feet* high to necessitate the use of ladders; with less height men will help each other up. *Fifteen feet* is the minimum that should be used. Counterscarps should be higher than this, or men will jump down them without injury. Detached walls should be angular at the top, so that there may be no landing-places there for men to stand on or pull ladders over.

The high kerbs at Rough Castle, being in the nature of retaining walls, batter as they get higher, thus complying with the modern rule for retaining walls. Detached walls are more easily breached than retaining walls, and the Romans do not seem to have employed them as an obstacle, except perhaps, for instance, at the foot of the counterscarp. The effect of the soil on the design is very great. On an earth site, any increase in the depth of the ditch involves an increase to the escarp and counterscarp walls, if such be used, and more earth moved in order to get them in, even if they be not actually increased in height. In such a case it is best to settle on a good form of ditch, and to get from another place any earth that may be required to complete the parapets. An earth site or a sandy site lends itself to the V-shaped ditch, whereas on rock it would usually be best to adhere to ditches with vertical sides. It is not necessary to take such pains to conceal a natural rock escarp as a built one. The Romans made, we know, a fastigiate ditch chiefly on a sandy or earth site, and at Croy Hill did not take over-much pains to conceal their escarp, as it was on a rocky face. A work on a rocky site, where the interior slope can be revetted, and when the stuff will stand at a steep angle, need not cover quite so much ground as one on a sandy or clayey soil. The Romans by making their stone foundation to the vallum, and building it of sods which stand at a steep angle, had this in mind, and saved material as well

as keeping their parapet dry. The rubble drain foundation which they made to the vallum seems as if it was a vast longitudinal agricultural drain, with intermediate culverts, at the lowest antisynclinal points in its course.

Having fixed the positions of the key forts approximately, the Roman engineers would have to fix approximately the crest line of the vallum, so that the near slopes of the hills might be conveniently swept. The crest line will usually be ten to fifteen feet, according to modern practice, above the level of the ground, the height depending greatly on the nature of the rampart, whether solid or casemated, partly on the amount of cover desired, partly on the slope down which it is necessary to fire. It may be that the position of the crest line determined thus may indicate that the ground should, in whole or in part, be taken up by a continuous line. This is the case, for instance, in Malta, where it is necessary to occupy Dueira hill with a *continuous* line nearly a mile long, there being no single position on the hill from which the whole of the slopes can be seen. For these reasons, as well as the fact that the Antonine Wall was to act as a rigid barrier line, the Romans decided on continuous lines. In the work of excavating the fosse and heaping up the remblai on the counterscarp side, the crest of the outer mound may be varied in height above the natural ground, in order to adjust the deblai and remblai for economical reasons. An increase in size takes place in the disturbed soil varying from one over thirteen in sand to one over three in hard rock, and the proper allowance must be made for calculating the deblai and remblai of any particular work. Defensive qualities, however, should not be sacrificed to economy, and in some cases it may be found necessary to remove part of the deblai from the site altogether, in order that the work may not be unduly raised or conspicuous.

Did the Romans see to this? A glance at the sections will show that they did, as for instance at Bonnymuir for defensive reasons, and also on the eastern slope of Croy Hill. In those cases, where they used the deblai in ridging up a counterscarp, was it to deepen the depth of the ditch to prevent men from getting down easily; or to get rid of excess soil easily by heaping it up near the edge of the ditch and not spreading it evenly over the surface of the natural northern slope, or was it with the object of raising

the height of the counterscarp to more nearly approach the level of the opposite escarp cutting with the berm, thus making the escarp more invisible from the enemy's side? Again, in the case of the highly ridged counterscarp, was this provided for by an increased width of exterior berm, as the highly ridged counterscarp giving cover to the enemy would enable him to rush the vallum more easily, and therefore would require to be met either by a greater distance between the escarp and vallum or by a double row of fire from a secondary parapet immediately defending the escarp side of the ditch? See Barrhill section No. 1, where the edge of the escarp is only 30 feet from the base of the vallum, and the ground in front of the high outer mound drops rapidly to the north, rendering this section liable to a sudden rush from the northern side by a concealed enemy. Note the ditch is full width here. Take Seabeg section No. 2. Here the edge of the escarp is only 23 feet from the base of the vallum, but the ditch is made full width, and the counterscarp heightened as much as possible artificially to make a better obstacle and conceal the escarp by cover, the outer mound being sloped so as to keep the attackers as *long as possible* under fire from the ramparts. In Bonnyside section No. 3, note the width of the ditch and the even upward slope of the outer mound, purposely sloped upwards to the north and not parallel to the natural surface; again, in Bonnyside section No. 1, in the same way, as well as the section of trenches at Ardoch between the inner and outer ramparts, the object being to keep the advancing enemy under fire command as long as possible, the defenders gradually retiring from one trench of *vantage* to another in rear till the inner rampart is reached. The same arrangement of outer mound holds good in Rough Castle No. 1, but in Bonnyside No. 2 the command of the vallum side being better, the ground all sloping down slightly to the north, the slope of the outer mound does not slope upwards to the same extent, it being unnecessary. In Ordnance Survey, sections A7 and A8, when the counterscarp and mound are unseen from the vallum, due to the nature of the ground on the slopes of Croy Hill, the profile of the work shows that the Romans cut the fosse about half-way down the slope of the hill, thereby securing the obstacle within range of their weapons, by advancing to meet the enemy either at the brink of the steep slope

terminating in the bottom of the ditch or by waiting for them when scrambling up in a breathless condition on towards the vallum. If the fosse had been cut at the foot of the hill, it would have necessitated a longer line and consequent expense, besides not being so defensible without, the Romans having to go a long way down hill and so endanger themselves by being liable to be cut off. As every obstacle should be under the fire of the defence, according to modern practice, and it is thought that the Romans knew this fact quite well, it seems quite likely that at Croy Hill the Romans were prepared to sally out and attack the enemy when crossing the fosse below or appearing over the brink, otherwise as the fosse is so small it would not seem to answer any useful purpose of defence, as it would rather be of assistance than an obstacle to the enemy, enabling him to erect scaling ladders in its base. If the fosse, on the other hand, was used at Croy Hill for manning at night, it would be useful here as a means of communication for advance sentinels, and some means of retreat into the interior of the lines would have to have been provided for.

Looking therefore to the general line of sections, it looks as if the Romans always counted upon having an enemy within their spear, javelin, or hurtling zone for a clear distance of 100 feet minimum to 150 feet from the vallum with a ditch in between if possible, and it is a question whether in places where the enemy might conceal themselves behind the ground in front, and rush the defences, whether the Romans did not modify their profiles by increasing the width and depth of the ditch, and erecting a double line of parapets, with facilities in rear of the ramparts for concentrating to meet these sudden attacks by having parties of men assembled at intervals,—for instance, on the expansions,—to be ready at any time, night or day, to repel the enemy and sally out to drive them away, besides always having the upper hand in points of command. It will be found that they always contrived to get the minimum of 100 feet clear hurtling zone, for whether they increased the berm on their own side of the ditch or increased the space on the enemy's side of the fosse, they invariably stipulated for this minimum of danger area to the enemy, and when the ground in front did not form an obstacle in itself they included their obstacle, the fosse, somewhere within this distance of 100 feet.

The Romans were far too experienced and skilful as engineers not to practice economy, both in regard to material and to labour. Witness the construction of the vallum with its costly kerbing and culvert system, which being a real economy in the long run enabled them to build up a smaller rampart with a very durable wall of turf superstructure; the V-shaped ditch of minimum depth to answer its purpose, obtaining depth for the counter-scarp by piling up earth from the deblai; the saving of all the costly work of masonry construction and cutting stones only, for the absolutely necessary work connected with the forts, their gates, and for foundations generally. No extravagance was incurred when not needed, as in the military road for instance, no kerbs being required, there being no side pressure or thrust, such as in the vallum, to be resisted, and the drainage could be simply arranged for. Economy was also practised by having the supporting forts appuied with the vallum and not behind it. It may be taken for granted that the Antonine Wall construction was only just sufficient to answer its purpose, being begun in the cheapest way possible, and strengthened and more money expended upon it as it became necessary by experience.

Reasoning on this basis it would seem as if the Antonine was at first a sod wall pure and simple, with military road and supporting forts. As the strengthening process went on, the ditch, which no doubt formed part of the original design, was added; supplementary works and accessories to forts, masonry gates, and buildings for the convenience and comfort of the troops were also added. The wall may be taken as an advanced obstacle on advanced lines built at first at the farthest limits of the country proposed to be occupied and in the cheapest way; and as the more restricted area became necessary owing to withdrawal of troops for political and military reasons, the Hadrian Wall was "reconstructed" and finished as a second line, and from experience gained on the Antonine it was made of a more solid form, in order to form a more durable barrier line in a more civilised district for all time, and necessitating a far smaller number of men proportioned to its durability and strength to garrison it. Everything seems to point in this direction when contrasted with later experience in connection with the withdrawal of troops from an occupied foreign land. No extravagance was incurred in the Antonine, whatever may have been the case with the Hadrian.

The ditch was the smallest depth commensurate with efficient defensiv qualifications, the vallum the minimum height, the ditch as far as possibl following the lines of least resistance to its excavation, whilst conformin with defensive necessities; when it had to come out of rock, it was mad as small as possible on the shortest lines. The vallum would be the governin line of defence, and if the ditch followed after, it was made to do it a cheaply as possible, and it had to furnish a formidable obstacle under fir range of the vallum where feasible, unless obstacles such as rocks wer encountered. Where the steepness of the ground compensated for the smal ditch and its excessive distance from the vallum a berm of varying siz would be necessary, for the purpose of preventing damage to the escarp wal in soft soil by the pressure of the weighty rampart, as well as in order t obtain the requisite hurtling zone and view in front of the vallum fo *command* purposes.

A few calculations are now made with a view to seeing what a enormous army the Romans would have had to keep up for the defenc of the wall, as to the number of men and the time it would take t construct the works, and the great expense that would be incurred to th country by permanently occupying this advanced line in a passive defensiv manner, varied by occasional counter attacks against an irritating and agil enemy. Taking the distance of lineal parapet of the lines, including th rear and flank lines of the supporting forts as 40 miles, and allowing 1½ men per lineal yard, as in Sir John Jones's formula for the lines at Torre Vedras for the Antonine Wall, which we will put down as a *semi-permanen* work, treating the vallum as a field work, and the forts as permanen works, we get for the whole field army to garrison and construct th Antonine

$$40 \times 1760 \times 1\tfrac{1}{2} = 105{,}600 \text{ men.}$$

If the whole be treated as a *permanent* works, considering the ditch adde to it, at one man per yard, we have $40 \times 1760 = 70{,}400$ men. Taking int consideration the fact that the key forts were at such long intervals apart we cannot think that the field army was meant to be a weak one; therefore we may take it that against an enemy such as the Romans would hav

had to keep at bay a body of 50,000 would have had to be provided for the Antonine, or at the rate of 5 men for every seven yards of lineal parapet for the whole lines.

50,000 *men* would form a large army corps for a modern general, but Lollius Urbicus would have had say (for example) 25,000 regular troops and 25,000 auxiliaries, besides labourers and civilians hired from the country side. The 25,000 regulars would include those three legions who, by the inscriptions on the tablets, performed so much of the work of the vallum, the strength of each legion being taken according to Vegetius at 6100, including engineers, foot soldiers, and artillery men, with 300 cavalry men or mounted scouts per legion. If we allow as many auxiliaries as regulars, our garrison, calculated according to modern rules, approaches very nearly to what we would expect from the tablets and ordinary building practice in fort construction to enable the whole work to be completed in a reasonable time (say six months). Until A.D. 200 or so the legions were wholly composed of Roman citizens; after that date it appears that imperial Roman citizens were included from all parts of the empire, and it is lamentable to find that the discipline and power of the Roman arms and the empire generally began to deteriorate after this date, instead of increasing, a circumstance which we sincerely hope will not come to pass in this country when the realisation of a grand English-speaking imperial army in our future history becomes an established fact. For watching the walls at night time a double sentry every fifty yards should be placed for a watch of three hours' duration, 2816 men as sentinels would be required every three hours, or 11,264 men for the whole lines for the whole night of 12 hours, which would only give each man three nights in bed out of four, far too small a proportion; so *single sentries* every 50 yards, making a double sentry every 100 yards, will be found all that can be spared, giving each man seven nights in bed out of eight when the mobile field army were at home. Assuming there were twelve forts in the lines, and the distance between any two of them averages 6400 yards, 128 pairs of sentinels would be required for each section to be relieved every three hours; and if each section—say from Barrhill fort to Westerwood fort—be divided into three subsections, averaging 2133 yards apiece, then 43

the lines and forts, and the immediate protection of the works under const tion, and if work in the quarries did not delay them and difficultie transporting materials, it would appear that the forts, road, and vallum m be constructed by 24,000 men (including the legion for protection of w under construction), in six months, allowing a margin for unforeseen co gencies, the remaining 26,000 men being ready for attack and defence field army of a mobile description, whilst the vallum and forts were b built.

Assuming the vallum and forts finished, and the ditch or fosse subseque begun as an obstacle for the purpose of strengthening the lines, how m men would it take and what time to construct the fosse? The area of V-shaped fosse is one half of 40 multiplied by 12 ft., equals 240 sq feet, and allowing as a task for one man in four hours 40 cubic feet of excava as an average in ordinary medium soil throughout the fosse, we have for mile of fosse 240 × 1760 × 3 divided by 40, equals the number of task men for four hours equals 31,680 men-days for four hours a day, or 15, men-days at eight hours a day. 100 men will dig out a mile of fosse in days in ordinary soil; for forty miles 4000 men a day will take 158 days under six months, and another 3600 men for the military road in the s time. Reasoning on this basis, one man per yard for continuous lines, a Sir John Jones's formula for Torres Vedras, we get a garrison of 70,000 required, but reduce it to 50,000 as the enemy are not so formidable as to considered on an equality. Dividing up this 50,000 men we take 24,00 them for construction and immediate protection of works, leaving 26,00 an active mobile field force, and we calculate we can construct the vallum forts, military road, and clear the ground in six months. We then put another 6000 men on to the ditch, including 4000 diggers and 2000 spread and find that they could complete the same in six months, including a ma for unforeseen contingencies. If 16,000 of those who constructed the val and forts were put on to the ditch we should finish it in 40 days; by emp ing more men on the works and reducing to a minimum the field army, whole work, vallum, forts, road and ditch could be finished in two mo if everything, including transport, material, quarried stones and la was to hand and the weather dry and everything went smoothly. But i

thought that it would be necessary to have a big force to protect the quarrymen, of whom it would require 3000 to do all the stone work in four months.

It has already been shown that 50,000 men is only sufficient to give one sentry every 50 yards as a night guard, so that after the line was finished there would not be many men available for offensive warfare at this rate without weakening the protecting force on the lines themselves. A number of minor suggestions occur based on details such as the dark lines in the vallum. These may, it is considered, be fairly accounted for by the theory of uneven subsidence and unequal shrinkage. They chiefly bifurcate towards the edges, as owing to the batter the centres of gravity of the upper exterior rhomboidal superstructures fall nearer to the centre line of the vallum, tending to tilt the outside two-thirds of their sod bases upwards when resting on a synclinal bend of turves below them. We know that exposure to the rain, unequal thickness of the turves, unequal dryness of the layers, variation in the hardness of foundation, all would tend to unequal subsidence, and, it is thought, cause these peculiarities of the lines in the sections. What we do not know is whether one row of turves was pegged down to the rest, as in modern work of sod revetting by wooden skewers. Sod revetments intended to act as walls to support earth behind should not be at a greater slope than $\frac{5}{1}$, but sod mounds will stand at almost any slope, for permanent defence, however, like the Antonine mound exposed to all weathers the slope of $\frac{2\frac{1}{2}}{1}$ is a safe one.

Trifling circumstances suggest other reflections such as these: Was the stone found at Section Bonnyside No. 3 placed there as a kerb to retain the heaped-up earth of the outer mound? Do the expansions on the outer ravelin flanking the north entrance to Ardoch furnish any clue to our expansions? Do not the frequent stones found in the outer mound point to the fact that they came out of the ditch whilst being excavated, and, being posterior to the vallum, were not put aside to use in the rubble foundation of the latter structure?

Does not the distance of from 130 to 140 yards between any two consecutive expansions, differing by only 30 yards from the distance we have ascertained from our basis or calculation derived from modern practice as the distance we can put our double sentry, namely, at 140 yards

Again, looking at Croy Section No. 8, was the ditch occupied here, and was there an exit through the vallum indicated by the protraction of two feet beyond the north kerb, a descent by steps or by a ramp from the top of the vallum being made? No protraction being visible to the south side, it is to be borne in mind that the slope of the base of the vallum does not seem to warrant a protraction of two feet north without a reason. To get full effect from their weapons on Croy Hill, it is thought that the Romans would have had to issue out to command the ditch from the heights above in some cases. See also Section A8, where protracted lines occur as well, and where there is also a southern expansion. To get onagers out of the forts to these high expansions on the top of the hill would have taken some considerable time, and we think here the onagers would have been better employed in the forts. The fact of there being no kerbs to the expansion makes one inclined to think that the slopes were the natural slopes of the ground, namely, about 26 degrees, being a ramp of ascent for men only, and not for heavy weapons.

The white plastered-looking front to the vallum, where the south expansion leans on to it, looks like earthy clay packed in between the faces of the junction of the vallum and the overhanging face of the expansion, or exuded liquid matter from the joints, and as if this white clay, perhaps waterproof, was layered on the earth side of the rows of turves with the underneath grass surface of the above row bedded into it. The rows of turves being levelled uniformly by this means, why does the clay bedding disappear in a vallum with peat sods preponderating, as at Bonnyside? Were the peat sods dried here by exposure before use and no clay bed considered necessary? Looking at Section 12A Croy, or A7 at the second expansion, the vallum has fallen away to the north side, although the north kerb is 15 inches higher than the south. The width of the vallum's base is 16 feet, 4 feet of which lying between the north kerb and the centre is very well packed. Does not this fact lend itself to the idea of an exit from the vallum to let men out to defend, from the edge of the cliff overhanging it, the fosse, which lies 40 feet below. As the slopes of the expansions appear to have been very easy ones, there was no chance of the expansion falling down; and if there was, it did not much matter, as

the slopes could be easily ascended by men. There were, therefore, kerbs and no laying of clayey matter to keep the turves level, so as make the structure more stable by reducing the inequalities in the thickn of the turves. As there were no kerbs, we do not think the expansic were meant to carry an abnormal weight. The black lines in the sectic of the expansion would not be so distinct against the red earth withc the intervening whitish clayey layering. At Bonnyside No. 1 we shou look out if there are any signs of an exit, for there is an expansion he The layers project 6 inches beyond the north curb of vallum, and not the south, and the berm has some of its surface laid with stones. T scarp and counterscarp seem to have been strengthened here by supporti stones; at a distance of 133 yards or so east there is the trace of anoth expansion and possible *clavigula* on the outer mound, and at about 1 yards east of this is another undoubted expansion. Bonnyside Secti No. 3 is at about the right distance for the next expansion, but there nothing structurally peculiar about this section, except the large stone the counterscarp edge. Was the bottom of the ditch wet, due to a dan soil near Bonnyside, and were there any foot bridges across? Do the da lines here, very distinct, indicate turves of a peaty description?

So far as we can read, the riddles which present themselves in t details of the construction of the Antonine lines and forts, they have most cases several plausible solutions, but admit of only one really corre solution, and that is the one which, after studying all possible answe absolutely convinces me that it is the only rational one. For instanc The expansions may have been *places d'armes* for men, weapons, stores; they may have been flanking places for an exit, or simply plac of assembly or parade grounds, where men could quickly assemble disperse. The supplementary mound on the escarp, where it existed Roman works, may have been either to give an additional line of fi directly into the ditch or to deepen the ditch on the escarp side, or form a support for *fraises*, or an obstacle constructed to prevent climbi up the escarp wall and superior slopes, as well as forming in itself a patr path. The stone kerb 14 feet from the edge of the ditch, escarp side, Rough Castle No. 2, an intermediate kerb, may have been to hold up

second turf mound as an additional line in front of the vallum for a double defence; and there are two heightened curbs acting as retaining walls to the increased thickened vallum of 16 feet wide, and which, according to modern principles, would have been strengthened at this point. The facing of the scarp and counterscarp at Rough Castle with stone is also at once diagnosed as an increase in strength, according to modern practice for supporting forts.

These various riddles, to be accurately solved, require a very careful study of each one individually, and a comparison with other Roman works, and also with modern practice. It is thought that there was a good reason for all the variations observed in this great work, and, if these few reflections will be of any assistance in directing the attention of other and fresher minds to this interesting study, that the riddles, which yet remain unsolved, will yield eventually to the careful and analytical researches of the patient investigator.

Before we close this record of hasty impressions, what can we do to clear up the historical differences as to the relation of the Antonine Wall to the vastly more elaborated Hadrian Wall further south? Can we deduce anything worthy of our attention by reasoning on a rational basis of the probable sequence of similar structures in more modern times, so as to build up a theory which will fit together as a whole? Julius Capitolinus, the inscribed tablets, and Vegetius seem the most reliable authorities. Gildas says that the sod-wall, which must evidently be the Antonine, was made by the Britons of sods in an unskilful way. This is evidently an imaginary statement, for it has been proved by us up to the hilt that this wall was made in the most skilful way after Roman design and by the Romans themselves, who in the truest sense of the words have proved themselves to be past-masters in the art of fortification. We cannot, therefore, pay much heed to Gildas. Bede and Nennius we do not regard as much more accurate historians than Gildas on this particular point. Now, putting ourselves in the place of the Romans, advancing as far as practicable into a strange country, would we not go on as far as we could, carefully noting the country we pass through?—say up to the north of Ardoch, where we established a camp; and then, having observed

in our progress the tantalising line of defence between the Clyde and Forth, resolve to draw the line at that barrier, knowing that as long as had *command of the sea* our weak flanks would be secure. Having b the Antonine Wall, we find we require a large and expensive garris to keep it up, and to be able to assume occasionally the offensive as best defence. Afterwards finding the wall too far away from our base, a necessitating a very large and expensive army, we withdraw farther sou leaving the wall in the hands of people (the Meatæ), whom we treat a buffer state, who, by the way, if unfriendly to us, had *not command of sea* without our aid, and were therefore liable to be outflanked. We theref decide on building for permanent occupation another wall, which, though v costly in its first construction, would by its strength enable us to reduce garrison in proportion inversely to this added strength. We therefore co mence to build the Hadrian Wall between the Solway and Tyne, the flan of which would be much more secure. To commence it, therefore, construct a long line, viz. the south agger, with fosse, for our mobile fi army to start from and retire to if required, and in order to protect t heavy stone wall (which would have to be afterwards made leisurely peaceful quiet, if possible, and in sections) from being outflanked and tak in rear whilst under construction. This masonry wall, of course, like t vallum of the Antonine, takes the best ground for observation and defen Reasoning from our experience on the Antonine Wall, we see what an enormo garrison would be required to maintain and defend the Hadrian Wall. W therefore have to strengthen the lines to reduce this garrison by completi the intermediate northern agger in the simplest and cheapest way—th forming another rampart between the original vallum or southern agg and the majestic masonry wall which takes the place of our vallum in t Antonine, enabling the defence of both the north and south sides be made by a small garrison, who could, if necessary, by throwing entrenchments between the north rampart and the masonry wall, co pletely secure their own protection during the construction of the seve sections of the masonry wall and afterwards. It certainly appears as if t whole of the Hadrian Wall installation was built on a preconceived pla forming one design, the dominating structure of masonry taking the best li

afforded by the ground, the protecting south agger the second best line, varying in distance according to the lie of the land. If the south agger had been built independently before the masonry wall had been thought of, why did it not take the best ground like the Antonine vallum? The military road has to be close up to the masonry structure, for facility in handling the big stones which have to be manipulated. There must be ample room between the military road and the fosse of the south agger for construction purposes, turning the stone carts and parking the stones, and for stone-masons' huts for dressing the stones. After each section of the masonry wall is built, then it is time to think of strengthening its defence, thereby reducing the number of the permanent garrison who would eventually occupy it when finished; also in order to make each section in course of construction into a close work of defence if necessary, in case of attack before the whole line of masonry wall is finished. The easiest way of doing this is to complete the northern agger, which answers several purposes; but it is not worth while filling up a portion of the ditch of the north and south agger by refilling it with the mound of the south agger, for even if the south agger remains where it is standing, there is the usual hurtling zone of 100 feet available for the north agger, and the marginal mound of the south agger, where it exists, is only on all fours with the intermediate trenches between the inner and outer ramparts at Ardoch and other places, besides having the wide ditch which forms so good an obstacle against attack from the north side. Besides, the distance between the north agger and the masonry wall is so narrow in places that the same force could hold both sides of the enclosed work if necessary. The Romans knew that the more permanent their work was the fewer men per yard were required to hold it, and this would mean the greatest economy in the long run if it had to be held permanently by a large army for many years.

We now proceed with the deductions made by a comparative estimate of the price of the Antonine and Hadrian structures. As regards the earth required for the enlarged northern agger, there seems to have been a likelihood of the northern fosse being constructed before the masonry structure commanding it, as it could be done in shorter time, while the earth available

from the foundations of the masonry wall as excavated, with probably some spare earth in places from the joint north and south fosses, could be used for the completion of the northern agger. This is a matter of calculation and measurement, and could be readily ascertained. It appears likely that as each section of the masonry wall was finished the enlarged northern agger was then commenced and completed. The next section of masonry wall would then be ready for its protecting *parados* in the shape of the northern agger.

Assuming that the Roman army were marching on two roads, one up from Carlisle to the Antonine Wall say at Barrhill, the other up to Camelon and Falkirk *viâ* Inveresk and the east road, according to modern practice each 25,000 men would occupy ten miles of length of road. The cross connections of these two main roads necessary to keep up lateral communication would not have been good ones, due to their interception by mountain chains and streams, and we do not know, except by the position of hill forts and camps, whether the Roman army of occupation for the Antonine Wall came up all in one body or in two or three separate columns. The Romans were acting on 'interior lines' in defending the Antonine Wall, assuming both roads of advance converged towards the centre of the Wall of Hadrian. But if one body was using the East Coast road along the shore line from Newcastle-on-Tyne as a base, and the other using Carlisle as a base, they would be acting on 'exterior' lines. From our knowledge, however, of the country and Roman roads of approach we think the East Coast road was not used, unless there were three columns of advance, except *viâ* the present Waverley route of the Midland Railway, namely, parallel to the Gala Water. It is curious to note, as showing how little geographical strategy alters, that during the army manœuvres in Wiltshire in 1898, our commissaries, without having consulted any antiquarian authorities whatsoever, planted their principal camps on the very identical sites on which the Roman legions rested during their conquest of Southern Britain.

In addition to principal bases in warfare, there are secondary bases, and as an army advances into a hostile country so day by day it gets more distant from its base, and begins to feel less secure, and it is most desirable to provide a new 'point d'appui' before going

onwards, as well as a new base. The defender, on the other hand, as he is obliged to retreat, covers himself with a new line more in the interior; indeed, France has now already a second line with very strong fortresses. Compare this with the Antonine and Hadrian constructions. Vegetius, living in the time of the Emperor Valentinian, at the close of the 4th century A.D., might have been quoted word for word as a nineteenth century military writer on principles of war, his words being full of wisdom and philosophy, and far from being mere exercises in archaeological curiosity. Hadrian, Trajan, and Antoninus were great builders of walls, from the shores of the Black Sea to the banks of the Clyde, but all the ability of these engineers and the lavish expenditure of the exchequer were in vain. If large numbers of men, broad rivers, and intricate mountainous districts cannot keep out invaders and protect a state, neither can a lengthy wall in the long run if the nation becomes effete, corrupt, and passive. The lines of Torres Vedras covering Lisbon answered their purpose effectively, and were justified by the topography of the theatre of operations; but the long line of works in Belgium in 1705 from Namur to Antwerp were carried by Marlborough. Look then at the Chinese wall, 2000 miles long, 40 feet high, and wide enough on top to drive two coaches and four abreast; look at it now,—in places not 100 miles from Pekin it has dwindled down to a miserable mud wall, not 20 feet high, and of no thickness, and with gaps in it from a quarter to half a mile in width, large enough to admit a brigade. It is a sad example of official negligence and corruption. Close to Pekin, however, where it was under the immediate eye of the Empress, it is a magnificent structure built of immense blocks of granite.

In fact, with regard to boundaries, we find that certain frontiers give military chances to brave and enterprising armies, but that no frontier, however massive, or however strengthened by nature or by art, can prevent a luxurious, inert, or corrupt race from ruin. That great authority on fortification, Sir G. Clarke, R.E., says that the best "fortification, judged by results, has been improvised by stress of circumstances, unspoiled by the debasing influence of the text-book, and not demoralised by the technical possibilities opened out by large expenditure." Does not our

Antonine Wall come under this category? We look upon the Antonine li in the same light as those of the lines constructed in 1877 against the Russi by the Turks to cover Constantinople at Gallipoli as a model of economi construction for the purpose required. These lines at Buyuk-Tchekme were as remarkable in strength as Constantinople was in its geographi position. Out of their 20 miles of length twelve of them were occupied broad lakes and the remaining eight by swamps and impassable thick whilst a ridge of from some 400 to 700 feet high commanded them, cove with redoubts. 30,000 men actually occupied them, but according to mod rules 60,000 would have been none too many had they not naturally be so strong. 30,000 men here were a more powerful force than 60,000 the lines at Plevna. Look at Masséna sullenly retreating after lo observation from the lines at Torres Vedras in 1811. In these celebrat lines the first line was 29 miles long from sea to sea, the second line miles long, and from 6 to 10 miles in rear of the first, the third li were quite short and intended only to cover a forced embarkation. T second line was the strongest, the others appendages, the third a mere pl of refuge. There were five practicable roads for guns in the first line a four in the second. The aim was to defend these roads, and strength the fighting positions between them without impeding the movements the defending army. The loss of the first line would not have been very serious, except for the bad moral effect and loss of prestige whi would have ensued, as the second and stronger lines always lay behin To occupy 50 miles of lines and man 150 forts at Torres Vedras took qu a few men, but they were there available. The Russians tried a simil structure at Drissa in 1812 and it was a failure, but Soult was success at Bayonne. The Americans seem to set great store on lines, especia when the land defence is supported by sea power. In the case of Canad if the Americans were to attempt to invade the Eastern province, No Scotia through New Brunswick, they would soon find themselves before second Torres Vedras, the right flank of the lines resting on Northumb land Sound, the left on the Bay of Fundy with the Petticodiac River front, and a strong second line behind with flanks resting on Cumberla Basin to the west and Bay Verte to the east, whilst the Intercolon

Railway in rear of them would bring up men and supplies from Halifax and Sydney (Cape Breton).

When a state proposes to invade its neighbour it should first organise a solid basis of operations, a zone from which to raise reinforcements, provisions, and ammunition. On this zone there should be some strong 'points d'appui,' otherwise it will be liable to raids and enterprises against its flag which would be detrimental to its utility. The Hadrian line seems to answer most of these requirements, whilst the Antonine, not being on so permanent a footing, saved the danger of such an elaborate and far-reaching frontier defence as the Hadrian without an over-multiplication of forts or entrenched camps. The *Antonine* was more compatible with *mobility* than the *Hadrian* (after final completion); for permanent works, if used for fighting purposes, signify immobility. The Antonine would give the offensive army many a safe debouché over towards the enemy, and would cover a retreat and check the pursuit. The Hadrian would form a position from which the advanced forces could fall back, recruit in safety, recuperate in men and stores, and there await the arrival of reinforcements. An invader who has sufficient force can seldom be prevented from entering a mountainous country, whether by the nature of the roads or by the hill forts as we have proved in India and in South Africa. The Romans practically surrounded their Empire, whether by the banks of the Tigris, the Danube and the Rhine, or north on the line of the Solway and the Firth of Forth, with a series of military posts, their headquarters being frequently placed behind in a central camp or colony, whence they could with ease reinforce any part of the second line. Rapid communication with every part of the Empire was secured by the admirable military roads which invariably accompanied the progress of their arms. No question of cost was allowed to interfere with the excellent structure and perfect preservation of their main highways. For centuries the Empire expanded and the armies were continually advancing. But then came a time when the progress of the Empire stopped and forts, walls and vast dykes took the place of powerful armies ready for the fray. The end of the Empire was then at hand, the merely defensive attitude behind lines of forts is a sure sign of national decay. The Romans became timid when waiting, victory being uncertain, and before long the very roads made by them became easy avenues

of approach for barbarian invasions, yet these roads were originally built fo immortality, and are still found frequently in all parts of the Eastern worl Looking at these considerations it appears probable that the line from th Solway to the mouth of the Tyne was a principal base, and the Antonin Wall only an advance or secondary base in point of strength and no entirely in point of time; that the southern agger of the Hadrian and it fosse and northern mound were in the nature of a field work line o defence for an advancing mobile army, and that it was designed t be strengthened as time went on by the construction of the masonr wall and intermediate agger, at a time when the advancing army ha pacified the country to the north of it, building in its turn the Antonine as a advance semi-permanent base for a mobile army, and when the country to th north of the Solway line was quiet enough the masonry wall and north agge were completed, during which time the Antonine Wall may have been held What exact intervals of time elapsed during this construction period it is no within our power so far as can be ascertained to determine with any approac to accuracy, except perhaps by further excavations leading to further find and the historical information obtained thereby. In enunciating thes principles of fortification, I have been much assisted by a perusal of the work on this subject written by Col. Lewis, R.E., who himself has designed an estimated for 11 miles of continuous lines in modern times; and for th parallel with modern lines and strategical geography, to the works of Mr Maguire, Barrister-at-law of the Temple, London, a well-known militar historian and geographer.

[Appendi

ESTIMATED COST PER FOOT RUN OF THE ANTONINE LINES

FIRTH OF FORTH TO FIRTH OF CLYDE AT CIVIL RATES FOR THE WORK ESTIMATED FOR.

Part of the Building or Work.	Description of the Work to be performed, and of the Materials and Labour required.	No.	Length.	Breadth.	Height.	Content.	Item of Schedule.	Price.	Amount. £ s. d.	Remarks.
Base Stones,	Freestone roughly dressed and bedded in mortar,	2/	1′ 0	1′ 0 Ft.	8″ cubc	1 4 $1\frac{1}{3}$.	620 622	2/7	3 5	
Rubble foundation,	Picking up and carting stones to place required and handpacking in position (say 3/- per Y.C. for stones and 10d. for packing),	1/	12′ 0	1′ 0 Yd.	1′ 0 cubc	12 0 $\frac{13}{27}$.	* 31	3/10	1 11	
Internal portion of Embankment (less revetted faces),	Dig common ground and throw into heaps,	1/	10′ 0 Say	10′ 0 Yds.	1′ 0 cubc	100 0 4.	1	6d.	2 0	
Upper portion,	Raising do. 5 to 10 ft. high,		Half	above	=	2.	37	$1\frac{1}{2}$	3	
Embankment,	Extra to forming ground in layers to form Embankment,		As	above	=	4.	28	$3\frac{1}{4}$	1 1	
Outer faces,	Sod revetments as item (Sods found on Govt. property),	2/	10′ 0 Per	1′ 0 100	F.S.	20 0 $\frac{20}{100}$.	51 52	42/	8 5	
Top,	Covering top portion with 3 in. mould and sow with grass seeds,	1/	6′ 0 Per	1′ 0 100	F.S.	$\frac{6}{100}$.	25	1/7	1	
						Total for the Vallum—price per lineal foot				= 17 2
Ditch,	Dig common ground and throw into heaps,	½/	40′ 0 Say	12′ 0 Yds.	1′ 0 cubc	240 0 9.	1	6d.	4 6	
	Forming surfaces of ditch and bank to required slope,	4/	22′ 0 Per	1′ 0 100	F.S.	$\frac{88}{100}$.	29	6d.	5	
						Total for the Fosse—price per lineal foot				= 4 11
Military Road,	Picking up stones and hand packing as above,	1/	15′ 0 Say	1 0 ½ Yd.	9″ cubc	11 3 $\frac{13}{27}$.	as above	3/10	1 11	
	Top surface of do. broken to 2 in. gauge, say 5 in. thick,	= ½	above	Yd.	cubc	$\frac{1}{4}$.	960 + 3/	5/9	1 5	
	Blinding top surface with soft earth or gravel,	1/	15′ 0	1′ 0	Y.S.	$1\frac{3}{8}$.	964 977	$1\frac{1}{4}$	2	For the road 3 6
						Total price per Foot Lineal, . . .				£1 5 7
						Add contingencies, say . .				4 5
						Or £4 10s. 0d. per Yard Lineal.				£1 10 0

Taking the price of the whole work at civil rates for labourers at 3s. a day

The price of the construction of 40 miles of Vallum and Forts works out to	£181,280	0
The price of the construction of 40 miles of Fosse works out to .	51,920	0
The price of the construction of 40 miles of Military Road works out to	36,960	0
Total for Antonine Lines, ...	£270,160	0
Adding contingencies at 4s. 5d. per lineal foot,	46,640	0
Total for the whole Lines amount to . . .	£316,800	0

1. Assuming it costs the bare sum of £270,000 for the work without allowing 20 per cen for contingencies, and the soldier's wage is half the civilian's, namely 1s. 6d. a d extra working pay average at modern rates, we find that the time it would take to e pend this £270,000 in the work, employing 20,000 soldiers every day, just amoun to six months, which is the time we calculated it would take to do with an arm of 20,000 men working 8 hours a day on page 462 by another method of comput tion, which forms a very satisfactory check on these estimates and calculations.
2. Adding contingencies for the unforeseen at about 20 per cent., we have shown th the whole of the Lines would cost for construction work, leaving out the pure regimental pay of the soldier which always goes on, the sum of £316,800—s £317,000—price of Antonine Wall.
3. Comparing the price of the Hadrian Wall with this by a very rough comparative estimat as the expense of the masonry wall of the Hadrian is the chief item and does not exist the Antonine; assume for curiosity's sake that the Hadrian Wall is twice as strong ar twice as long as the Antonine and we get a rough approximate estimate of the Hadri Wall as four times that of the Antonine :—viz., 4 × £317,000 = £1,268,000 price Hadrian Wall.
4. But as the Hadrian Wall is assumed to be twice as long and twice as strong as th Antonine, the strength of the permanent garrison to hold it can be reduced to number not far exceeding, if at all, that required to hold the Antonine Wall, which regimental pay rates for purely military duty works only, would amount in a ye for say an army of 60,000 men at 1s. 6d. a day a head to £1,620,000 or more tha the price of constructing the whole work. This shows at once the economy constructing a very strong work, thereby enabling a smaller garrison to hold i This calculation is only for the bare military pay of the soldier, taking no accou of his arms, ammunition, clothing, food or equipment, etc.
5. It is thought this financial argument, *i.e.* the expense increasing as the soldier gets farth away from his base, is in favour of the theory that the Hadrian Wall was built for pe manent occupation subsequently to the Antonine. For it is not likely that the lowlanc of Scotland at that time would have been a very lucrative acquisition, but rather a ve costly one, and if the Caledonians could be kept back at the Hadrian Wall at le expense than at the Antonine, it seems likely that the practical Roman Empire woul have begun after a time to realise this fact and determined to construct the finishe Hadrian Wall subsequent to their costly experiment on the Antonine lines— the more business-like method of procedure.

No. XX.

ANNUAL EXCURSIONS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1900 AND 1901.

1900.

THE Excursion took place on Thursday, 30th August, the day's programme including Dirleton and Tantallon Castles and Whitekirk Church. Among the members present were J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., *Vice-President*, Professor Cooper, D.D., Peter Sturrock of Baltorsan, late M.P. for the Kilmarnock Burghs, James Caldwell, F.S.A. Scot., Robert Guy, J. T. T. Brown, Robert Brydall, F.S.A. Scot., John Mann, C.A., J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., *Hon. Secretary*, the Rev. W. Young, R. Hunter Dunn, James T. Bell, T. B. Fotheringham, etc.

The excursion party left Queen Street Station at 8.45 a.m., and, changing carriages at Edinburgh, travelled to Dirleton. There the interesting ruins of Dirleton Castle were visited under the guidance of the Rev. John Kerr, minister of the parish, who read a paper upon the history of the fortress as follows—

The Castle of Dirleton is first heard of in connection with the De Vaux family, which on the Continent has played a very important part, various great Dukes, Sovereign Counts, and Kings having borne the name. Members of the Norman branch accompanied the Conqueror to England in 1066, and their descendants became Lords de Vaux of Pentney and Beevor in Norfolk, of Gillsland in Cumberland, and of Harrowden in Northamptonshire.

"The learned antiquary and historian, Sir James Dalrymple," says Nisbet, "observes that the ancient sirname Vaus in Latin charters called de

Vallibus is the same with the name of Vaux in England, and is one of t first sirnames which appear there after the conquest. One of the fam came to Scotland in the time of King David the first, and in the reign his grandson and successor, Malcolm IV., mention is made of Philip Vallibus, who had possessions in the South; and soon after that we find t family of Vallibus or Vaus proprietors of the lands and barony of Dirleto in East Lothian, and also of Golyn and Fentoun."

The Castle ruin displays three distinct architectural features. The olde (marked in black on plan) is, of course, the de Vaux Castle, of which goodly portion still stands, and carries us back we may safely say to beyo the middle of the 12th century. The large round tower to the west of t entrance and the smaller square and round towers further west have t characteristics of the period—fine regular ashlar work, thick walls a narrow loopholes, with wide interval bays and angular openings at top a bottom. The round and domed ramp at the south-east angle is evident a remnant of the original edifice, and formed the sloping base of a rou tower. The original castle was built on a hard igneous site, not high, b very secure, and was surrounded by a moat which was supplied from a la near by.

In the year 1174, John de Vallibus was one of the hostages given to t English for the ransom of the Scots King, William. In 1244, another Joh Dominus de Dirleton, is mentioned as one of the Magnates of Scotla in the Pope's ratification of the peace between England and Scotlan According to the *Glasgow Chartulary* 413 and 417, this gentleman in 12 gave 10 merks yearly out of his lands of Golyn to the See of Glasgo Again, his grandson, John, was second husband of Dervorgill, widow of S John Baliol, and mother of King John Baliol, whose claim to the crow came to him through her. In 1291 he swore fealty at Berwick to Edwa the First. In 1298, when Edward I. invaded the Lothians, and Wallace f back before him, Dirleton Castle was one of the few which held ou Edward passed it by, but sent the fighting Bishop of Durham, Anthony Bec to attend to it. Beck found the task no easy one, and sent to the King f further instructions. "Tell Anthony," replied His Majesty, "that he right to be pacific when he is acting the Bishop, but that in his prese

business he must forget his calling." So the castle was stormed, and for some time it was held by an English garrison. In 1306, the Wardrobe accounts of Edward I. contain entries of provisions and ammunition for the Castle of Dirleton. John de Vaux seems to have been fickle. In 1304 he was a principal party to an agreement between Edward and "John Comyn and his Aydents." Two years after he is spoken of as a friend of Robert Bruce's, and an order is given by Edward to Aymer de Valence to seize on his person and send him to the King, and give the Castle of Dirleton to the keeping of John de Kyngeston. Again he made his peace with Edward, as on 30th September, 1307, he is included in a list ordered by the King to proceed against Bruce in Galloway. After Bannockburn, 1314, the Castle again came into the possession of the family. Thomas, who was a leader of the Scotch army at Halidon Hill, fell at Nevil's Cross, 1346. His successor, William, was taken prisoner. On his release he held various high offices under King and Parliament, and died in 1364. He was succeeded by William, his elder son having been killed at the siege of Berwick in 1355. William died in 1392, and was succeeded by two co-heiresses, one of whom—Christian—married Sir John Haliburton, and so the name de Vaux vanishes from the scene. It may be noted that one of the family connection, Mr. George Vaus, was Dean of Glasgow and Secretary of State to King James II. The most direct inheritors of the name are the Vans Agnews of Barnbarroch, whose crest, a lion rampant, holding scales in dexter paw, and motto, "Be Faithful," and other insignia, are said to be from the arms of the Dirleton de Vaux.

The second and most imposing part of the ruin is what remains of the work of Walter Halyburton, who was Lord Treasurer of Scotland and one of the Wardens of the Marches, and who in 1440 became Lord Halyburton of Dirleton, and retained the estate for fifty-seven years. While he was a supporter of the young King James I., for whom he was held as a hostage on his liberation in 1424, he was friendly also with the usurping uncle, Robert Duke of Albany, whose daughter he married. The ruins are a testimony to the Baron's great wealth and the lordly style he kept up. The massive arched entrance, with drawbridge, gates, and portcullis; the great range of buildings on the east, where the wall varies from thirteen to

system was losing its grip, and the baronial lord kept the great hall only for state occasions, preferring private rooms instead of dwelling in the midst of his retainers. The buildings exhibit the more domestic accommodation of the mansions of the time of King James VI. Dirleton, instead of going to Logan, went to Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, who saved the king from the conspirators and killed Alexander Ruthven with his own hand. He was created Lord Dirleton in 1603, Viscount Fenton in 1606, Earl of Kellie in 1619. These titles now go with the Earldom of Mar. Erskine died in 1639, having parted in 1631 with Dirleton to James Maxwell of Innerwick, gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Charles I. In 1646 he was created Earl of Dirleton and Lord Elbottle. In 1649 there was a trial for witchcraft in the Broad Hall of the castle before the chamberlain of Dirleton and others. A witchfinder found the devil's marks on the two —man and wife—who confessed that they had had a visit from the devil and sold themselves to his service. They suffered the usual penalty. Maxwell was a zealous royalist, and the castle was held by mosstroopers in the interest of Charles II. in 1650. When Cromwell, after defeating Leslie and proceeding to Edinburgh, found this and other strongholds a nuisance, as they came between him and his base of supplies at Newcastle, he issued a proclamation on November 5 against these irregulars which meant business. His lieutenant, Major-General Lambert, appeared before Dirleton three days after, closely followed by General Monk with 1600 foot and five guns, and the two made short work of the castle. "Their great shot played, and the fourth shot of their mortarpiece tore the inner gate, beat down the drawbridge into the moat, and killed the lieutenant of the mosstroopers, so that they called for quarter, which would not be given them, nor would they agree to surrender to mercy but on reverence, which was consented unto. They took the governor and captain of the mosstroopers and sixty soldiers. Two of the most notorious of them and the captain (Wait) were shot to death upon the Place. They took in it many arms and demolished the house." So endeth the story.

Maxwell, the owner, died in 1653, and left no male issue. His two daughters were Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, and Diana, Viscountess Cranbourne, mother of the third Earl of Salisbury.

In 1663 Dirleton was purchased by Sir John Nisbet, then the most emin lawyer at the Scottish Bar, afterwards Lord of Session and King's Advoca "It stood him a great soume of money, and was looked on as a great barga and purchase at that tyme." Nisbet did not care to repair the ruin, but bu Archerfield. He was descended from the Nisbets of that ilk, a great gran son of Henry Nisbet, Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1597, second son of S Patrick Nisbet of Eastbank, Lord of Session, born 1610, Advocate 163 Lord Advocate, Lord of Session (the last to hold the two offices togethe 1664, resigned 1677. He was a great scholar, but, according to Burnet, loved money too much. He wrote *Dirleton's Doubts and Decisions*, 1665-7. H only surviving child, Joanna Nisbet, was married, first to Sir William Scott Harden Kt., and second to Sir William Scott of Thirlestane. On his dea in 1687, the estates passed to his nephew, William Nisbet of Craigentinn member for the county of Haddington in the last Parliament of Scotland ar the first of Great Britain. He was a supporter of Scottish national rights, ar in 1695 subscribed £1000 to the Darien scheme. William Nisbet of Dirleto married Mary Hamilton of Belhaven, by whom Belhaven estates cam Their son married Mary, eldest daughter of Lord R. Manners, by whom t Bloxholm Estate, in Lincolnshire, came into the family. Their only chi married Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin, Ambassador at the Court the Sublime Porte, well known for his researches in Greek antiquities, t giver of the Elgin marbles to the British Museum. The daughter of th marriage was Lady Mary Nisbet Hamilton, who married in 1828, Robe Adam Dundas, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, sixth son of Lor President Dundas of Arniston. Their only daughter, the present lady the manor, is married to H. T. N. Hamilton-Ogilvy, son of the late Sir Joh Ogilvy, Bart., of Inverquharity and Baldovan. The next heirs to the esta are the Grants of Kilgraston.

After a hearty vote of thanks had been awarded to Mr. Kerr for h valuable paper, the Society drove to North Berwick, and after lunching i the Imperial Hotel, proceeded to Tantallon Castle, where after a carefu inspection of the ruins, Mr. Dalrymple Duncan read the followin paper—

TANTALLON CASTLE was probably erected by William, first Earl of Douglas, who in 1371 obtained possession of the lands on which this fortress stands, along with the adjoining Barony of North Berwick.

William Douglas was created Earl of Douglas in 1356-7; but, having married Margaret, daughter of Donald, 12th Earl of Mar, he was in her right generally also styled by the latter title. Being descended from the Comyns, the Earl, on the death of David II., in 1370-71, appeared inclined to dispute the succession of Robert II. to the throne. The grounds of his claim have been examined by the late Mr. Riddell, and appear not to have been altogether without foundation; but as he saw clearly that the High Steward's party was extremely powerful, he wisely decided to pass therefrom on condition that Robert's daughter was given in marriage to his eldest son, and that he himself was appointed warden of the marches. It seems probable that the Barony of North Berwick formed part of the consideration, on account of which Douglas withdrew his claim. It had been possessed by the Macduffs, Earls of Fife, during the 12th, 13th, and part of the 14th centuries, and on the death of Isabel, the last Countess, must have passed along with her other estates to Robert, Duke of Albany, third son of Robert II., who in all probability was compelled to hand it over as an additional sop to his father's formidable rival. Be this as it may, for no written grant has been recorded, there can be no question that two years afterwards (1373) the Earl of Douglas obtained a Crown charter constituting his village of North Berwick, a burgh with a port and custom-house.

On the fall of the Black Douglases in the middle of the 15th century, the Red or Angus Douglases rose in their kinsfolks' ruin, and George, fourth Earl of Angus, had bestowed on him in 1457 the Lordship of Douglas and the appendant domains. He had, previous to this, received in 1452 a grant of the great customs belonging to the King in the burgh of North Berwick, and of the King's Castle of Temptalon and lands thereto belonging, erected into the barony of Temptalon on 31st June, 1452.

The Castle was a favourite residence of the most notable of the Earls of Angus, Archibald "Bell-the-Cat," and here he gave shelter to Sir Ralph Sadler, the English Ambassador, after the failure of the negotiations for

the marriage of Mary Stuart and Edward VI. Sadler reported the p poorly furnished, but sufficiently strong to shelter Angus from the malic his enemies.

Scott, as all will remember, makes Tantallon the scene of the visit by Marmion to the grim old chief of the Douglases, and well describe situation:

But scant three miles the band had rode
When o'er a height they passed,
And sudden, close before them, shewed
His towers, Tantallon vast.
Broad, massive, high, and stretching far,
And held impregnable in war.
On a projecting rock they rose,
And round three sides the ocean flows,
The fourth did battled walls enclose,
And double mound and fosse.
By narrow drawbridge, outworks strong,
Through studded gates an entrance lay,
So the main court they cross.
It was a wide and stately square,
Around were lodgings fit and fair,
And towers of various form,
Which on the court projected far,
And broke its lines quadrangular.
Here was square keep, there turret high,
Or pinnacle that sought the sky,
Whence oft the warder could descry
The gathering ocean-storm.

"Bell-the-Cat" was succeeded by his grandson (his son the Maste Angus having been killed at Flodden). The new Earl married Marga Queen Dowager of Scotland, and on Albany's departure for France in 1 was nominated one of the Council of Regency, in which his power latt became paramount.

The Earl of Arran and others of the chief nobility formed a p against him, and a bloody conflict between the two factions took pl in the High Street of Edinburgh in 1520, when Arran's party was wors This affray became known by the name of "Cleanse the Causew Angus was driven into exile in France for two years, but returned in 1 and was again appointed one of the Council of Regency. Succeeding

getting an act passed declaring that as the King had now attained the age of 14 years the full royal prerogative had vested in him, Angus, as in possession of the King's person, had virtually nothing short of uncontrolled power. Two attempts were made to liberate James out of his hands, but it was only in 1528 the young monarch succeeded in escaping. When he did so Angus was forthwith deprived of his office of Chancellor, and he, his brother and uncle, were declared forfeited by the parliament. Angus retired to his Castle of Tantallon, where he was, in September, 1528, besieged by the King, who, however, withdrew his troops in November, leaving only a small detachment to protect the artillery. Angus thereupon swooped down with 150 horse and captured the guns. He did not, however, retain his prize but sent it to James, charging the commander of the royal forces to inform the King that his loyalty to him was unshaken, and that if it had been represented otherwise he had been foully slandered.

Angus's magnanimity in not seizing the cannon had no effect upon the implacable King, who declared that while he lived the Douglases should have no resting-place in Scotland. Angus accordingly retired to England, and the siege of Tantallon was resumed.

Pitscottie thus describes the siege: "Ffarder the king made procliematioun into Fyfe, Angus, Stretherne, Stirlingschyre and Lowtheane, Merse and Teivedaill to compeir at Edinburgh the 10 day of December anno I^m V^c and xxvii zeiris, that they may compeir the said day at Edinburgh witht xl dayis wictuall to pase witht him to Tamtallane to seige the samin; and to that effect gart send to the Castle of Dunbar to Captane Morise and thair borrowit sum artaillze and layit great pledgis for the samin, because the castell was then in the Duik of Albanieis handis and the artaillze thairof his awin, bot it was ewer at the kingis plesour quhene he had ought to do and be the command of the said Duike of Albanie. Bot zeit for restoiring and deliuering of the samin and obserwing of ane goode order caussit the lordis to pase in pledge for the said artaillze quhill it was deliuerit againe; and ressawit the samin in maner as efter followis, that is to say tuo gret cannonis, that is to say, thrawinmouth and hir marrow, witht tua greit battartis and tua myans and tuo doubill fallcons and foure quarter fallcons witht thair powder and bullatis and gouneris for to wse them conforme to

the kingis plesour. Syne passit fordwart to Tamtallan and seigit the sa
the space of xx dayis, bot they come no speid; quhither the castell
so strong or the gouneris corrupit be the Earle of Angus moyans, I
nocht tell. Bot the king left it and was constranit to depairt hame
Edinburgh againe withtout ony succes of wictorie or ony hope of
winning of the said castell, bot had baitht mony men and horse sl
at the persuite of the said castell; and at his returning had ane nc
captane of weir slaine callit Dawid Falcunar quho was slaine and murdr
cruellie be the hands of Archebald Douglas wmquhill thesawrar and fa
brother to the said earle. At quhose slaughter the king was hev
displeissit and lamented the same greatlie, casting all the ingyne that
might be his consull to obtene the castell of Tamtallan, knawand weill
he had the castell thair wald be no ressorting the earle nor to his frei
into that contrie. Thairfor he caussit sindrie lordis and gentillmen to r
moyans witht the said captane callit Simon Penango, promissand to l
great giftis and rewairdis batht of land and geir, witht the kingis spe
favouris and remeit of all thingis bypast to the said captane and his brot
and his freindis or serwandis quhome he desyrit excepand the Douglas
In all thingis off their offeris the captane tuik to be advyssit be ane cert
day and syne promissit to gif the king ane answer conforme to his desy
and in the mean tyme the said captane sent to the earle, Archebald a
George, to wit quhat was thair myndis, schawand to thame that he
ewill wictillit and wantit artaillze pulder and bullattis, thairfor desyrand
said earle and his freindis to furneische him thairwith withtin ane cert
day or then wtherwayis it was force to him to rander the forsaid cas
to the kingis grace or wtheris in his name that persewit it."[1]

The chronicler then goes on to say that the Earl could not supply
unfortunate Captain with ammunition or victuals, because the castle
watched both by sea and land; and, consequently, the castle was giv
up to the King, who garrisoned it and repaired the breaches in the wa
so as to be even stronger in the future than it had been in the past. T
castle capitulated on 4th December, and, along with all the other esta
of the Earl of Angus, were forfeited to the Crown.

[1] Pitscottie, Book XXI., Chapter xix.

Thereupon (to again quote Pitscottie) "the king gart garnische the Castell of Tantalloun witht men of weir and artaillze and pat in ane new captain to wit Oliepheir Sincklar, and caussit maissouns come and rainforce the samin wallis quhilk was left waist of befoir, as transses and throw passages and maid all massie wark to that effect that it sould be wnwinabill in tymeis comming to ony enemeis that wald come to persew it."[1]

Till James V.'s death Angus lived in England (where he became a member of the Privy Council), but when the king died in 1542, he returned to Scotland and his estates were restored to him. He made Tantallon stronger than ever, and is said to have died there in 1557.

In 1639 the castle, which was then the property of the Marquis of Hamilton, was besieged and taken by the Covenanters, who garrisoned it against the King's forces.

In the *Douglas Book* (iii. 274) there is printed an inventory of the plenishing in Tantallon Castle, *circa* 1670, as follows:

Four iron zetis at the enterie, and ane iron zet at the tumbler, with short perculieris.

In the wel chamber nothing except the wel, tow, and bucket.

In the chamber next tharto two old bedsteades, with ane old table.

In the chamber second to the wel chamber ane old carvet bedstead, ane folding bed, ane table, and ane old chayre.

In the stable next therto ane heck and ane manger.

In the outroume of the garden chamber ther is ane good bedstead, wanteing cover above, with ane kist; ther is ane old caise in the window, with sum broken glese.

In the inner roume therof ther is ane litle wainscot table, and in on of the window, ane fixed caise, with brods, but wantes glase; in them is 3 dooris.

In the latching ther is ane iron brace, ane galaise, ane pair of great raxes, tua litle tables, and tua furmes, with ane great chyre and ane cuting boord.

In the baikhouse ther is onlie ane table.

In the dyneing roume ther is four carpit chyres, ane old armet chyre, ane bedstead, ane bathing fatt with ane studie, and thrie fixed windowes with broades and glase, and ane wainscott table, and ane iron brace.

In the chamber called my ladies' chamber ther is ane roun table, ane brace and twa fixed windowes with caices, broades, and glase, with ane old falding bed.

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[1] *According to Messrs. McGibbon and Ross, what James V. did was to make the walls as solid as possible by building up all the passages and apertures in the thickness of the walls, so as to prevent them from being breached by cannon;* e.g., *the fine ancient gateway in the entrance tower was blocked by the erection of a wall in front of it, with only a small door and narrow passage left.* Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland. Vol. I., p. 433.

In the long hall ther is ane drawing table, twa braces, ane falding bed, with windowes and old caices.

The chamber in Douglas tower is ane ald bedstead, stanchellis in the south wind and ane caice and broades in the north, with ane old table.

In the said chamber thair is 2 old bedsteades, ane old brace, and ane folding stead, and ane window have broades and caice.

In the blew chamber ther is ane carved bedstead, ane old fir table, ane brace, on on of the windowes fixed with ane caice and glesse.

In the chamber next therto thair is ane old litle kist. Wpon the turnpyk that le up to the turnpyk twa windowes fixed with iron stanchellis, and in the east towre At the wall ther is ane windowse, with sum ald timber. In the lang laft thair is great meall girnell. Everie enterie in the house hes ane door with snekes; the dr brig has four iron bands thereon.

This list of the furniture in a mansion of the rank of Tantallon clea shows the Spartan simplicity which characterised domestic life in Scotland the 17th century.

In the beginning of the 18th century the castle and lands were s by the Duke of Douglas to Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord President of t Court of Session, and they still remain the property of his descendant, Walter Dalrymple. The castle, till then habitable, was demolished a left to decay.

Tantallon is a very fine specimen of the castles erected about the end the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th centuries in the form o quadrangle, but it is quite certain that it succeeded an earlier building the same site. One can have little doubt that the wonderful suitability the position for the construction of a place of defence must have be observed long before 1371. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a mu stronger situation for a building of the kind before the age of cannon.

As the castle was protected by the sea on three sides, it was or necessary to defend it artificially on the fourth or western side. He there was a deep ditch and a strong battlemented wall, 12 feet thick a 50 feet high, in front of which was a large outer bailey, 300 feet lo by 220 feet wide, defended to the west by a ditch and mound, while st further west there is another mound and ditch running from the rocks the north almost to the ravine on the south, where it turns eastwards a joins the inner enclosure.

The gateway tower (which served as a keep) was a large and important structure. The wall running north and south from it had towers at both the extremities. The hall and other apartments were situated along the north side of the *enceinte*, with vaulted cellars below and bedrooms above. The buildings were probably continued round the quadrangle.

The castle was long deemed impregnable. Bellenden calls it "unmovable by engine of man," and "to ding down Tantallon and build a bridge to the Bass" passed into a proverb as impossibilities.

A visit was next paid to the fine church of Whitekirk, where the Rev. P. Hately Waddell, after pointing out the many interesting features of the edifice read a note on it in the following terms—

THE church now represents three parishes, and is in the centre of the district which they originally occupied. The parish of Auldhame was on the north, and that of Tyninghame on the south, with Whitekirk between them. These were all foundations of S. Baldred, and two of them claim his grave. There are ruins of an ecclesiastical building, commonly called a Priory, at Auldhame, and distinct traces of a churchyard; but the parish and church there were not renewed after the Reformation. Of the church at Tyninghame two beautiful Norman arches and some other remains are still standing, and the church existed for worship until 1761. The history of the Tyninghame church is perhaps the most interesting of the three, as we possess its Session Records from 1615; those of Whitekirk begin much later, as several of the early volumes were lost long ago in a fire at the schoolmaster's house. There came from the church at Tyninghame many interesting relics: a Bible which used to be carried to and from the Bass in the Covenanting times, the bell which announced a death in the parish and was carried at the head of the burial procession, a basin for baptism with a boss in the centre for the laver to stand on, silver and pewter Communion plate, and leaden tokens 250 years old, which are still in use. The oak front to the Earl of Haddington's gallery here was also brought from his seat in Tyninghame church.

Whitekirk was not the original name of the church. We know from the history of the church which was found in the library of the Vatican

at Rome that the spot was originally called Fairknowe, and the ch was dedicated to our Lady of Fairknowe; but at the Reformation, w as this account says, it was given over to the preaching of heresy, name was changed to Whitekirk. A few years ago, when restoring south transept, I ventured to rededicate the window there to our Lad Fairknowe and the Holy Well. For this is a Holy Well church, was first founded as a small shrine in 1295, by a Countess of Dunbar a thankoffering for the relief she received by drinking the water of the Search has often been made for the well, but in vain. The reputatio the Holy Well and the sacred traditions of the church made this plac frequent resort of pilgrims, and there is said to have been as man 16,000 pilgrims in the year 1309. Among distinguished pilgrims a cent later was Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., who walked all the from Dunbar barefoot. Until the Reformation there were pilgrims' ho standing to the east of the church, but these were then destroyed and u by Oliver Sinclair to build a private house for himself. The building, wh still remains in the field, and which has many old pieces of masonry in it, is said to have been the monks' Tithingbarn. The Tower of church, in which there were two flats or stories, was in later days used an alms-house for the casual poor: there the children of wandering tra were sometimes born, and there often the old folks died. There does seem, however, to be there or elsewhere in the church any "squi for the use of the sick or outcast wanderers.

You will see in the south-west pillar of the tower a small door t chamber which might have been supposed to be a squint, as it is six f long and penetrates through the pillar into the wall beyond. The chamb however, which was only discovered a few years ago, shewed no sign any communication with the outside, and was probably the awmry of church when the east end was at the pillars of the tower and the al stood between them. The present Choir, the Vatican record tells us, added to the western portion of the church in 1439, "all arched w stone, agreeable to the mode of Peter de Maine." The western part of church is therefore the older, and the tower must be of the end of 14th century, or five hundred years old at least. The Nave of the chu

has been badly knocked about and altered, for the roof was once the same height as that of the choir, as you will see from the marking of the water-table on the outside of the tower. At one time it was separated from the rest of the church by a stone and lime partition, and was for many years used as a school; the proposal of one minister to use it as a granary was, however, refused by the Presbytery. When used as a school there was a door under the window at the west end, but this was built up when the law was passed for the erection of parish schools and schoolhouses about 1696.

The Porch, which is a very pretty specimen of the 15th century, was added to the original building; but you will find traces of a wooden porch inside the stone one, and a niche for the Virgin's image. On the stone porch as it now is you will see the places where wooden dooks held the iron for the lamp in front of the image, and also on the right side the leaden plug to which the "jougs" were fixed.

In contrast with the gracefulness of the porch, the rest of the building has a strong and massive appearance, with embattled tower and heavy buttresses. The little oriel window in the east wall relieves the weight of masonry, and the Bishop's coat-of-arms carved above it on the outside gives it some historical though now undecipherable tradition. The glass in this window and in the south transept is by Kempe of London; that in the west window presented by the Earl of Haddington is by Hardman of Birmingham. The groining in the centre of the church under the tower is, I believe, not altogether usual; the more common form being the plain barrel-vaulting. On the shield in the centre of the groining are carved two crosses, the Latin and the S. Andrew; whether that is what they are really meant for and whether such a combination has any special meaning, I cannot tell.

The restoration of the church took place about sixteen years ago, under the direction of Messrs. Wardrop and Anderson, and everything was done to retain the dignity and simplicity of the ancient building.

Mr. Hately Waddell having been thanked for his kindness and courtesy, the Society drove back to North Berwick and returned to Glasgow in the course of the evening.

interval after terrible sufferings, indicated by the fact that he had actually gnawed the flesh off one of his arms. His ghost is said to have haunted the Tower till eventually it was exorcised. A similar legend is related of Haughton Castle in Northumberland.

The hall contains a fine fire-place, and two of the windows are furnished with stone seats.

At each angle of the upper part of the Tower is placed a corbelled turret ornamented with a cable moulding.

Spedlins was for centuries the property of the Jardines, a family which is said to have come to Scotland in the train of the Bruces, and which latterly wielded very considerable influence on the Borders.

From Spedlins the Society proceeded to Lochmaben, on the outskirts of which they visited the curious earthwork known as "Woody Castle." The interior is circular and quite level, the diameter being 220 feet, and the surrounding rampart about 3 feet in height inside and from 7 to 12 feet outside. General Roy considered it Roman. A deed of 1456 mentions certain Lochmaben lands *cum uno manerio vocato Wedy Castell.* This at once raises several suggestions—first of all it is called a manor, secondly it was in the 15th century as at present described as a castle. These facts in combination seem to lend small countenance to its having been either a Roman camp or an ordinary fort.

On arriving at Lochmaben the excursion party was met at the Town Hall by Mr. Edward B. Rae, Town Clerk, who exhibited a number of interesting charters, and explained the remarkable tenure by which the "kindly tenants" of the "Four Towns of Lochmaben" hold their lands. The tenure is similar to an English copyhold, and the property can be transferred in the event of a sale by the simple enrolment of the new comer in the rental-book of the Earl of Mansfield, the Superior of the Barony.

Visits were paid both to the site of the old castle of Lochmaben and to the later fortress at the south end of the Castle Loch. Hardly any trace remains of the former structure, but considerable portions of the buildings of the latter edifice still exist. These stand on a peninsula projecting into the loch, and were protected by four ditches or moats. The last of

these ran in front of the castle and was at this point enclosed with h walls. Access to the main entrance of the fortress would be obtained boats passing along the moat through an arched opening in the enclos forework—a very remarkable and almost unique feature. Messrs. M'Gibb and Ross point out that the arches in the wing walls would be secu with grated iron grates, and the enclosure thus formed would not only be safe landing-place but would also serve as a protection to the bo collected within it.

The main buildings would form a parallelogram 126 feet long by 108 f wide.

A note on the history of the two castles by Mr. George Neilson, F.S. Scot, in the following terms was read—

"When the Anglo-Norman family of Brus came to Scotland in the train David I., the wide province of Strathannan was granted to the first Robert Brus of the long succession of lords bearing that name. In the grant w included a right to the recipient to have his *castellum*, and it has been matt of dispute whether Annan or Lochmaben had the better claim to the hono of being the original chief residence at the first settlement. In the thirteen century the demesne possessions of the Bruces included three manors Annan, Lochmaben, and Moffat. One of the points in the importa question of the early Anglo-Norman settlements is the fact that at each Annan and Moffat there is a large *Mote* or *Motte*, an earthen mound wi traces of an external base court, being without doubt the site of a wooden h or defensible house. That at Annan occupies a powerful position on escarpment of the river Annan, which (as is not uncommon with the Scotti motes) gave much natural strength. At Lochmaben there is no sign of a such mote, and the site of the earliest strong-house of the Bruces at Loc maben is within the area of the little town. The strength of the place—so t as it can be spoken of as a stronghold, for this castle never was very strong- lay in its situation between two of the 'mony Lochs' of Lochmaben. The flanked both the west and east sides, leaving open only the approaches fro the north (through the town) and on the south up a sort of isthmus betwe the two lochs.

"Ultimately the castle of Lochmaben became the chief residence

the Bruce family. No doubt its central position tended to make this convenient. When the war of independence broke out its importance, not only as in itself a place of some, although apparently very second-rate strength, but still more in respect of its natural position, accounts for the frequency with which it recurs in the annals of that period during which it was repeatedly taken and re-taken from the day when 'Alexander our King wes dede' and the little Maiden Queen had followed him prematurely to the grave.

"Under Edward I. important alterations were effected, and a 'peel' made. The accounts are extant shewing that the peel was a large ditched circuit of palisades, adding size and strength to the weak town and castle. On the whereabouts of this 'peel' there remains dubiety, as it is not on record when the old or northern castle was abandoned, and when the southern or present castle of Lochmaben at the south end of the Castle Loch was built. In this connection the Society might with advantage examine by the aid of local friends the approach to the old castle site from the north. The locality now known as the *Barras* is evidently referred to in the 15th century charter, wherein mention is made of the *Berresdikis* situated at the north end of the town of Lochmaben and near the mill. Perhaps local friends will be able to point out to the Society the lines of the old fosses which guarded the access to the town and castle, and which palisaded would fitly take the name of Berresdikes. Barras was a well-known name for just such an outwork. The hypothesis which finds most favour with me is that the Barras was the Peel. The Society will remember that at Linlithgow they similarly saw a large tract lying round about the castle and known as the "peel." This conclusion at Lochmaben would suggest that at the beginning of the 14th century the old castle was still the Bruce stronghold, and that it was to the building then standing on this now levelled hillock that the fugitive Bruce came in 1306, after his hasty ride from London, that thence he set out for his 'siccar' day's work at the Greyfriars Church of Dumfries, and that thither he returned soon to ride thence northward to meet Sir James of Douglas on Ericstane, to be crowned at Scone, and to undertake that career of privation and toil and battle which was to secure for him the throne of an independent country at the expense of broken health and a too early grave.

Glasgow Archæological Society.

REPORT BY THE COUNCIL

For Session 1901-1902.

During the past Session six meetings were held and the following papers were read :—

1901.

Nov. 21.—"The Law of Teinds, Oblations, and Dues in the Mediaeval Church," by the Right Rev. Bishop Dowden, D.D.

Dec. 19.—(1) "A Note on McUre's History of Glasgow," by William Young, R.S.W.

(2) "A Note on Drawings of three Carved Slabs, Lochlomond," by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot., with Exhibits.

(3) "A Preliminary Report on the Discovery of a Crannog near Langbank Ferry," by John Bruce, F.S.A.Scot.

1902.

Jan. 16.—"Merkdailly—an old Glasgow Place Name," by W. G. Black, F.S.A.Scot.

(2) "Inscribed Mottoes, etc., on Arms and Armoury," by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot.

Feb. 20.—"The Greyfriars and their first Houses in Scotland," by John Edwards, F.S.A.Scot.

Mar. 20.—(1) "Note on a Ancient Coin recently found at Erskine," by George Macdonald, M.A.

(2) "The Sepulchral Pottery of the Stone Age in Scotland and its Affinities," with lantern illustrations, by Thomas H. Bryce, M.D.

April 17.—(1) "Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages," by Professor Medley, M.A.

(2) "The Origin and Development of the Highland Dirk," with Exhibits, by Charles E. Whitelaw, F.S.A.Scot.

In addition to the objects of interest incidentally exhibited in connection with the above papers, Mr. Charles E. Whitelaw, at the January meeting exhibited and described:—(*a*) A pre-historic Canoe Paddle found near Denny, the property of Mr. Alexander Frew, and (*b*) an ancient Astrolabe; and at the meeting in March, Mr. Graham Callander, F.S.A.Scot., exhibited a collection of Stone Implements from Aberdeenshire; Mr. James Paton, F.L.S., exhibited certain Iron Arrowheads which had recently come under his charge.

The Annual Excursion of the Society was made this year to Dumfries, Sweetheart Abbey, and Lincluden, on Tuesday, 2nd September. During the day the Excursion Party had the benefit of the guidance of Mr. Charles E. Whitelaw and Mr. Barbour, and, at Sweetheart Abbey, of the Rev. Dr. Wilson of New Abbey.

Under the guidance of Mr. George Macdonald, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., a large party of members of the Society on 20th September visited the interesting excavations on the line of the Antonine Wall at Castlecary, which are being carried on under the supervision of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The Council record with deep regret the death of the Most Reverend Archbishop Eyre, D.D. The Archbishop became a member of the Society in 1888, and after serving on the Council for a number of years, during which he contributed many valuable papers to the Society's *Transactions*, he became President in 1898. The members will always cherish the recollection of the dignified and courteous gentleman whose interest in all the work of the Society was unfailing. Long after he was unable through ill health to attend evening meetings, the Archbishop was assiduous in his attendance at Council meetings where his advice was always sound and welcome.

The Council acknowledges with thanks receipt of the following volumes :—

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. :—
18th Annual Report (1896-97).
Part 2 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 1899.

The Council on Education :—
(1) List of Buildings having Mural Decorations.
(2) Catalogue of Bookbindings, in National Art Gallery, South Kensington.
(3) Catalogue of Ceramics.
(4) Heraldry in Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland :—
Journal ; as issued.

The Norwegian Antiquarian Society :—
Transactions ; as issued.

Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow :—
Proceedings. Vol. XXXIII. 1902.

The Powysland Club :—
Collections, Historical and Archaeological, relating to Montgomeryshire ; as issued.

Société Archéologique Croate de Knin, Zagreb, Hungary :—
Publications in parts.

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society :—
(1) The Verses formerly inscribed on Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral. By Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D. 1901.
(2) Proceedings. No. XLII. 1902.
(3) Christ Church, Canterbury. By Wm. George Searle, M.A. 1902.

The Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society :—
Transactions ; as issued.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland :—
Proceedings. 3rd Series. Vol. XI.

The Society of Antiquaries of London :—
Proceedings. Second Series. Vol. XVIII. No. II. 1901.

The Society of Architects :—
Journal. Vol. II. No. 23. 1902.

The Brussels Archaeological Society :—
Annales. 1902.

The British and American Archaeological Society of Rome :—
Journal. Session 1900-1901.

The Liège Archaeological Institute :—
Bulletin. Vol. XXX. Parts 1 and 2.

David MacRitchie. The Author :—
Hints of Evolution in Tradition. 1901.

The Ninth Jubilee Committee of the University of Glasgow :—
Record of Ninth Jubilee of the University of Glasgow. 1901.

Agent-General for Tasmania :—
Handbook of Tasmania, etc.

The publishers (Messrs. Jas. MacLehose & Sons) :—
Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotl
By John Gregorson Campbell. 1902.

To the great regret of the Council, Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple, in Octo 1901, expressed his desire to retire from the office of Honorary Secret owing to his non-residence in Glasgow. At the Council's desire, he agr to hold office for another year, but his definite resignation has now b placed in the Council's hands. The Council have engrossed the follow resolution upon their Minutes :—

"In view of the retiral from office of Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple of Wo head, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., after acting for five and twenty years as of the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, the Council, while constrained accept a resignation which through Mr. Dalrymple's recent personal business arrangements had become inevitable, desires to record the reluctan with which the Society consents to the severing of so long and intimat relationship during which Mr. Dalrymple's tact and energy have been conspicuously contributory to the upbuilding and advancement of Society; to express lasting gratitude for the earnest and distinguished serv thus rendered by him officially (and in this connection more especially Editor of the Society's *Transactions*), and by his studies, not only to Society, but to the public interests of Archaeology throughout the

quarter of a century; and to assure him that this tribute to his efficiency and success as secretary and archaeologist is accompanied by a hearty personal regard."

The Council recommend the re-appointment of the Vice-Presidents, Messrs. J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., George Neilson, F.S.A.Scot., and the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D.

The following gentlemen retire by rotation from the Council, and are not eligible for re-election until they have been a year out of office:—Messrs. Charles Edward Whitelaw, F.S.A.Scot., James White, F.S.A.Scot., and William Young, R.S.W. The Council respectfully suggests the election of Messrs. J. D. G. Dalrymple, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., J. T. T. Brown, and Thomas H. Bryce, M.D., and the re-election of Mr. William George Black as Honorary Secretary, and of Mr. George J. Walker, C.A., as Honorary Treasurer.

Messrs. John F. Orr and James Henry Parker, C.A., last year acted as Honorary Auditors, and to them the Society is under obligation for the duties they performed.

The Council recommend the election of Mr. F. W. Allan and Mr. Alex. M'Gibbon as Auditors for the current year.

For and on behalf of the Council,

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, *Hon. Secretary.*

EXCERPT FROM MINUTE of the Forty-Sixth Annua
of the Society, held on 20th November, 1902.

GEORGE NEILSON, ESQ., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. Willian
Black, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. Secretary, and the Financial Statement
George J. Walker, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by David Murray
the Report was adopted, and the Statement was approved, su
audit by the Honorary Auditors.

EXCERPT FROM MINUTE of the Forty-Sixth Annual M
of the Society, held on 2cth November, 1902.

GEORGE NEILSON, ESQ., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. William G
Black, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. Secretary, and the Financial Statement by
George J. Walker, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by David Murray, L
the Report was adopted, and the Statement was approved, subje
audit by the Honorary Auditors.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT

AND

LIST OF OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS.

GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY—ABSTRACT OF TH

Dr.

To Funds at close of last Account:—

1. Life Membership Subscription Fund—			
£216 9s. 4d. 2¾ % Consols cost			£210
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,			84
			£294
2. Sir Michael Connal's Legacy—			
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,			6
3. Ordinary Funds:—			
(1) Subscriptions in Arrear—			
1 for Session 1897-1898,		£0 12 6	
2 for Session 1898-1899,		1 5 0	
7 for Session 1899-1900,		4 7 6	
21 for Session 1900-1901,		13 2 6	
		£19 7 6	
(2) In Bank on Deposit Receipt,		117 7 4	
(3) Cash in hands of Honorary Treasurer,		5 18 1	
			142
			£443

,, **Revenue:—**

1. Subscriptions—			
264 for Session 1901-1902,		£165 0 0	
Deduct amount paid in advance last year,		2 10 0	
		£162 10 0	
Add 6 Subscriptions for 1902-1903,	£3 15 0		
Amount written off Recovered,	3 2 6		
		6 17 6	
		£169 7 6	
2. Dividends and Interest—			
Consols,	£5 12 0		
Interest on Deposit Receipts,	3 14 10		
		9 6 10	
			178

,, **Publication of Transactions:—**

Received from sale of Ordinary Transactions,		£2 8 0	
Received from sale of Report on Antonine Wall,		2 5 0	
			4
			£626

HON. TREASURER'S INTROMISSIONS FOR SESSION 1901-1902.

			Cr.
BY EXPENSES OF MANAGEMENT:—			
Printing and Stationery,			£27 12 10
Salary to Officer,			3 3 0
Advertising,			11 18 11
Rent of Rooms,			6 0 0
Charge for Addressing Circulars,			1 11 6
Postages and Incidents—			
Per Circulars	£6 1 0		
Per Honorary Secretaries,	2 2 0		
Per Honorary Treasurer,	2 6 6		
			10 9 6
Excursion,			3 13 6
Miscellaneous—			
Income Tax,	£0 3 6		
Expenses of Lantern,	1 12 0		
Subscription to Scottish Record Society for 1902,	1 1 0		
			2 16 6
			£67 5 9
,, PUBLICATION OF TRANSACTIONS:—			
Cost of Printing, Commission, Postages, Insurance, etc., of Ordinary Transactions,	£179 15 7		
Cost of Binding, Commission, Insurance, etc., of Report on Antonine Wall,	3 7 0		
			183 2 7
,, SUBSCRIPTION WRITTEN OFF AS IRRECOVERABLE,			0 12 6
,, FUNDS AT CLOSE OF THIS ACCOUNT:—			
1. Life Membership Subscription Fund—			
£216 9s. 4d. 2¾ % Consols cost,	£210 0 0		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	84 0 0		
	£294 0 0		
2. Sir Michael Connal's Legacy—			
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	6 15 0		
3. Ordinary Funds—			
(1) Subscriptions in Arrear—			
1 for Session 1897-1898,	£0 12 6		
2 for Session 1898-1899,	1 5 0		
7 for Session 1899-1900,	4 7 6		
10 for Session 1900-1901,	6 5 0		
15 for Session 1901-1902,	9 7 6		
	£21 17 6		
(2) In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	50 0 0		
(3) Cash in hands of Honorary Treasurer,	3 1 11		
		74 19 5	
			375 14 5
			£626 15 3

GEORGE J. WALKER, C.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*

GLASGOW, *28th November*, 1902.—We have examined the foregoing Accounts, comparing same with Vouchers and find all correct.

F. W. ALLAN, *Auditor.*
ALEX. M'GIBBON, *Auditor.*

OFFICE-BEARERS

OF THE

Glasgow Archaeological Society.

INSTITUTED 1856.

SESSION—1902-1903.

President.

THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL STORY, D.D., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN OSWALD MITCHELL, LL.D.
GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A.Scot.
THE REV. PROFESSOR COOPER, D.D.

Council.

PRINCIPAL LINDSAY, D.D.
JOHN HONEYMAN, R.S.A.
PROFESSOR FERGUSON, LL.D.
DAVID MURRAY, LL.D.
} Former Presidents; Members of Council *ex officio.*

ROBERT BRYDALL, F.S.A.Scot.
JAMES PATON, F.L.S.
THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP HARRISON, D.D.
PROFESSOR DUDLEY J. MEDLEY.
JAMES D. ROBERTON.
R. C. GRAHAM, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot.
F. T. BARRETT.
JOHN EDWARDS, F.S.A.Scot.
JOHN BRUCE, F.S.A.Scot.
J. D. G. DALRYMPLE, F.S.A. Lon. & Scot.
J. T. T. BROWN.
THOS. H. BRYCE, M.D., F.R.S.E.

Honorary Secretary.

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, F.S.A.Scot., 88 West Regent Street.

Honorary Treasurer.

GEORGE J. WALKER, C.A., 150 St. Vincent Street.

Honorary Librarian.

F. T. BARRETT.

Honorary Auditors.

F. W. ALLAN. | ALEX. M'GIBBON.

Members who desire to read papers, or who have objects of archæological interest to exhibit, are requested to communicate with the Honorary Secretary. Ladies are invited to attend all meetings.

Forms of application for admission to the Society may be had from the Honorary Secretary.

Payment of the Annual Subscription is requested to be made to the Honorary Treasurer. No publication will be sent to Members who have not paid the Subscription for the year corresponding to such publication.

The Annual Excursion will take place in Autumn.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION 1901-1902.

Honorary Members.

	Date of Admission.
Bain, Joseph, F.S.A.Scot., St. David's, South Wales.	1900
Birch, Walter de Gray, F.R.S.L., F.S.A., British Museum, London.	1881
Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., Nash Mills, Hemel-Hempstead.	1892
Gomme, George Laurence, F.S.A., 24 Dorset Square, London, N.W.	1881
Mitchell, Sir Arthur, K.C.B., M.D., LL.D., 43 Drummond Place, Edinburgh.	1881

Ordinary Members as at 31st December, 1902.

(*) Indicates Members of Council. (†) Indicates Life Members.
(‡) Indicates that the Member was admitted prior to the resuscitation of the Society in 1877.

Adam, Thomas, Hazel Bank, Uddingston.	1879
Addie, John, Viewpark, Uddingston.	1889
Aiken, John B., 201 West George Street.	1891
Aitken, John, 33 Lilybank Gardens.	1891
Alexander, D. M., 97 West Regent Street.	1892
Alexander, John, 268 Buchanan Street.	1898
Allan, F. W., 125 Buchanan Street.	1884
Allan, James, 110 Candleriggs.	1887
Alston, W. M., C.E., 24 Sardinia Terrace, Hillhead.	1887
Amours, F. J., B.A., 75 Montgomerie Street.	1898
Anderson, James R., 84 Albert Drive, Crosshill.	1901
Anderson, Robert, 76 Bath Street.	1892

	Date of Admission.
Anderson, William, F.S.A.Scot., Arns-Brae, New Kilpatrick.	1894
Anderson, William Boyd, 1 Grosvenor Crescent, Kelvinside.	1882
Anderson, W. F. G., 10 Park Terrace.	1886
Annan, John, 40 Derby Street, Sandyford.	1892
Arthur, Sir Matthew, Bart., Fullarton House, Ayrshire.	1883
†Arthur, Thomas Glen, Carrick House, Ayr.	1883
Baillie, William Anderson, Glentore, Uddingston.	1889
Bain, Andrew, 17 Athole Gardens, Kelvinside.	1900
Baird, J. G. A., M.P., Adamton, Ayrshire.	1891
Balfour, D.D., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, County Buildings.	1882
*Barrett, F. T., Mitchell Library, *Hon. Librarian.*	1882
Beckett, Charles E., M.A., LL.B., 163 St. Vincent Street.	1896
Begg, F. Faithfull, 24 Lansdowne Road, London, W.	1898
Bell, George, 212 St. Vincent Street.	1898
†Bell, Sir James, Bart., Mountgreenan, by Irvine.	1892
†Bell, James T., Northcote, Dowanhill.	1892
†Bell, John J., Northcote, Dowanhill.	1897
Berry, Sheriff, LL.D., 5 University Gardens. (Died, 1903.)	1888
Beyaert, The Rev. Arthur, Uddingston.	1894
Bilsland, William, F.S.A.Scot., 28 Park Circus.	1895
Binnie, Thomas, Jun., 207 Hope Street.	1902
*Black, William George, F.S.A.Scot., 88 West Regent Street, *Hon. Secretary.*	1877
Blackie, J. Alexander, Dunmorag, Dowanhill Gardens.	1901
Blackie, J. Robertson, Northbank, Dowanhill Gardens.	1890
Blackie, Walter W., St. Bride's, Dunblane.	1901
Blyth, Robert, 1 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1891
Blythswood, The Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., Blythswood, Renfrew.	1885
Boyd, David T., 19 Wellington Street.	1890
Brand, James, 10 Marchmont Terrace, Kelvinside.	1889

	Date of Admission.
Brown, John Arthur, 4 Prince Albert Road, Dowanhill.	1897
*Brown, J. T. T., 97 West Regent Street.	1891
*Bruce, John, F.S.A.Scot., 67 West Nile Street.	1888
*Bryce, Thomas H., M.A., M.D., F.R.S.E., 2 Granby Terrace.	1901
*Brydall, Robert, F.S.A.Scot., 8 Newton Terrace.	1890
†Bryden, R. Lockhart, B.L., 11 Lynedoch Crescent.	1893
Buchanan, A. W. Gray, of Parkhill, Polmont.	1895
†Bulloch, Matthew, 48 Prince's Gate, London, S.W.	1883
Burnet, John James, I.A., F.S.A.Scot., 239 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Burrell, William, 8 Great Western Terrace.	1902
Callander, John Graham, F.S.A.Scot., 20 Rupert Street.	1898
Caldwell, James, F.S.A.Scot., Writer, Paisley.	‡
Campbell, D. A., 2 Broomhill Drive, Partick.	1892
Campbell, J. Archibald, 44 West George Street.	1885
†Campbell, The Right Hon. James A., M.P., LL.D., Stracathro, by Brechin.	‡
Campbell, John MacNaught, F.Z.S., 6 Franklin Terrace.	1881
Campbell, R. C. Graham, Shirvan, Lochgilphead, N.B.	1890
†Cayzer, Sir Charles W., M.P., Ralston, Renfrewshire.	1884
Chalmers, James, 93 Hope Street.	1902
Chalmers, P. Macgregor, F.S.A.Scot., 95 Bath Street.	1889
Christie, T. Craig, of Bedlay, by Chryston.	1885
Church, W. R. M., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1890
Clark, David R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 8 Park Drive, West.	1897
Clark, James Cooper Blackhills House, Llanbryde, Elgin, N.B.	1899
Clark, William, Gartfern, High Crosshill, Rutherglen.	1885
Colville, James, M.A., D.Sc., 14 Newton Place.	1901
†Colquhoun, Sir James, of Luss, Bart., Dunclutha, Ore, Hastings.	1885
Cook, William, 77 St. Vincent Street.	1893

	Date of Admission.
*Cooper, The Rev. Professor, D.D., The College, *Vice-President.*	1898
Coubrough, John, Blanefield, Stirlingshire.	1877
Cowie, Charles R., Woodend, Partick.	1891
Cree, Thomas Scott, 15 Montgomerie Quadrant, Kelvinside.	1888
†Crerar-Gilbert, D. M., Yr., of Yorkhill, 21 Woodside Terrace.	1888
Crouch, William, C.E., 53 Bothwell Street.	1887
Cumming, John, 79 Oxford Drive, North Kelvinside.	1898
†Curle, R. Barclay, 12 Athole Gardens, Kelvinside.	1891
Dalrymple, The Hon. Hew H., F.S.A.Scot., Lochinch, Castle Kennedy.	1897
*Dalrymple, J. D. G., of Woodhead, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., Meiklewood, by Gargunnock.	1877
Dalzell, J. B., Allan Park, Larkhall.	1897
Dick David, 4 Maitland Avenue, Langside.	1888
Dick, J. Proudfoot, F.S.A.Scot., c/o Messrs. M'Clure, Naismith, Brodie & Co., 77 St. Vincent Street.	1880
Dixon, Jas. S., 127 St. Vincent Street.	1891
†Donald, John R., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1883
†Donald, T. F., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1882
Donnelly, W. A., Middleton House, Milton, by Bowling.	1894
Douglas, William, 22 West Nile Street.	1891
Duncan, J. A., 138 West George Street.	1888
Dunn, Robt. Hunter, 4 Belmont Crescent, Hillhead.	1885
†Dyer, Henry, M.A., C.E., 8 Highbury Terrace.	1886
Easton, John M., Tordarroch, Helensburgh.	1901
Easton, Walter, 107 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Edmiston, John, 7 West Nile Street.	1886
Edmonstone, Sir Archibald, Bart., Duntreath Castle, Strathblane.	1898
*†Edwards, John, F.S.A.Scot., 4 Great Western Terrace, Kelvinside.	1891

	Date of Admission.
Eskdale, John L., 57 St. Vincent Street.	1891
Ewing, William, 45 Renfield Street.	1891
†Faulds, Andrew Wilson, F.S.A.Scot., 111 Union Street.	1882
Fergus, A. Freeland, M.D., 22 Blythswood Square.	1902
Fergus, Oswald, F.S.A.Scot., 12 Clairmont Gardens.	1898
*†Ferguson, Professor J., LL.D., F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., 13 Newton Place, *Ex-President.*	1878
Fergusson, William, 69 St. Vincent Street.	1898
Fleming, Alexander, of Kilmaho, 168 West George Street.	1883
Fleming, James, Treasurer, Corporation Gas Department, City Chambers.	1893
Fleming, J. S., F.S.A.Scot., 2 Whittinghame Drive.	1902
Fleming, John, 1 Lynedoch Terrace.	1883
Fotheringham, Thomas Bremner, 52 Barrland Street, Maxwell Road.	1891
†Fowler, John, 2 Grantly Gardens, Shawlands.	1884
Fraser, Alexander R., 81 St. Vincent Street.	1901
Fraser, John Imbrie, 13 Sandyford Place.	1900
Fraser, J. W., Huntly Lodge, Lenzie.	1886
†Fraser, M. P., Advocate, 2 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.	1883
Fraser, Melville, 31 St. Vincent Place.	1884
†Galbraith, John A., 28 Belhaven Terrace.	1901
Galbraith, Thomas L., Stirling. (Died, 1903.)	1889
Garroway, James R., New Club.	1882
Gibson, George, 17 Victoria Crescent.	1900
Gibson, William, 2 Crown Terrace, Dowanhill.	1885
†Gillies, William, 204 West George Street.	1882
Gordon, The Rev. J. F. S., D.D., Beith.	1891
Gourlay, Robert, LL.D., 5 Marlborough Terrace, Kelvinside.	1888
Gow, Leonard, 45 Renfield Street.	1889

	Date of Admission.
Graham, James, 198 West George Street.	1885
Graham, John, C.A., 212 West George Street.	1882
†Graham, Patrick, C.A., 212 West George Street (died 1903).	1890
*†Graham, R. C., of Skipness, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., Skipness House, Argyllshire.	1888
†Grahame, James, C.A., Scottish Liberal Club, Edinburgh.	1882
Gray, George, 72 Hutcheson Street.	1883
Greig, Andrew, 36 Belmont Gardens, Hillhead.	1882
Grieve, W. Weir, 107 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Grimstone, W. F., 128 Woodlands Road.	1898
Guy, Robert, 120 West Regent Street.	1878
Hamilton, Chas. Edw., 1 North Park, Hillhead.	1895
Hamilton, William, 7 Woodside Terrace.	1901
*Harrison, The Right Rev. Bishop, D.D., 25 Burnbank Gardens.	1897
Harrison, J. R., 45 Renfield Street.	1900
Hedderwick, A. W. H., M.A., 79 St. George's Place.	1883
Henderson, Thomas Beath, M.D., 155 Bath Street.	1894
Herron, Hugh, 104 West Regent Street.	1883
Hewison, The Rev. J. King, D.D., The Manse, Rothesay.	1891
Heys, Zechariah George, South Arthurlie, Barrhead.	1893
†Hill, William Henry, LL.D., 194 Ingram Street.	‡
Hogg, Charles P., C.E., 53 Bothwell Street.	1884
†Hoggan, George B., 194 Ingram Street.	1885
*Honeyman, John, R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 23 West Cumberland Street, *Ex-President.*	‡
Honeyman, P. S., 12 South Park Terrace, Hillhead.	1883
Hood, Archibald J., 23 Bentinck Street.	1900
Howatt, William, I.M., 146 Buchanan Street.	1898
†Hunt, John, Fingarry, Milton of Campsie.	1885
Hunter, Wm. Sutherland, Kildonan, Maxwell Drive, Pollokshields.	1893

	Date of Admission.
Hurry, Alfred A., 103 Bath Street.	1884
Hutchison, Thomas H., 4 Windsor Quadrant.	1884
Jameson, Robert, Ardunan, Strathblane.	1885
Johnston, David, 160 West George Street.	1882
Kelvin, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.V.O., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., Netherhall, Largs.	1893
Kennedy, James, of Doonholm, Ayr.	1887
†Keppie, John, 140 Bath Street.	1891
†Ker, Charles, C.A., 115 St. Vincent Street.	1887
Ker, David Smith, 26 Bothwell Street.	1891
†Ker, T. Ripley, of Dougalston, Milngavie.	1879
Key, William, 109 Hope Street.	1897
Kidston, William, 50 West Regent Street.	1885
King, Sir James, of Campsie, Bart., LL.D., Carstairs House, Carstairs.	1883
King, Robert, of Levernholme, 115 Wellington Street.	1898
Kirkpatrick, The Rev. J. M., B.D., 11 Fairlie Park Drive.	1898
Kirkpatrick, The Rev. Roger S., B.D., The Manse, Govan.	1899
Kirkwood, James, Carling Lodge, Ibroxholm.	1899
Knight, Charles A., 21 St. Vincent Place.	1886
Laird, James, 439 Great Western Road.	1899
Laird, John, 6 North Court, Royal Exchange.	1889
Lander, T. Eaton, Colzium House, Kilsyth.	1901
†Lang, James, F.S.A.Scot., 9 Crown Gardens, Dowanhill.	1883
Lang, William, Cross Park, Partick.	1893
Lauder, John, 9 Lilybank Gardens.	1902
*Lindsay, The Rev. Principal T. M., D.D., 37 Westbourne Gardens, *Ex-President*.	1901
Lugton, Thomas, 5 Wood Street, Alexandra Park.	1877

	Date of Admission.
MacBrayne, David, 17 Exchange Square.	1885
M'Cowan, David, 7 Lynedoch Crescent.	1891
M'Donald, Alex. Beith, M.Inst.C.E., City Chambers.	1898
Macdonald, Charles, 100 West Regent Street,	1900
Macdonald, George, M.A., 41 Lilybank Gardens.	1897
Macfarlane, James, 2 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1899
Macgeorge, B. B., 24 George Square.	1882
M'Gibbon, Alexander, 109 Hope Street.	1897
M'Gibbon, W. F., 221 West George Street.	1897
M'Gregor, James, 8 Kersland Street, Hillhead.	1891
M'Grigor, Alexander, 172 St. Vincent Street.	1883
Macharg, E. Simpson, C.A., 69 Buchanan Street.	1885
M'Intyre, John, 33 Oswald Street.	1897
Mackillop, Frederick G., M.A., LL.B., 128 St. Vincent Street.	1901
†**Mackinlay, James M.,** F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., The Lee, Merchiston, Edinburgh.	1886
Mackinlay, William M., 16 Kelvinside Gardens.	1895
Mackirdy, W. A. Scott, Birkwood, Lesmahago.	1898
Maclae, A. Crum, of Cathkin, 192 St. Vincent Street.	1886
Maclay, James, M.A., LL.B., 3 Woodlands Terrace.	1888
Maclay, William, Thornwood, Langside.	1891
M'Lean, Allan, 41 West George Street.	1883
†MacLehose, James J., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 61 St. Vincent Street.	1882
MacLehose, Robert, M.A., 61 St. Vincent Street.	1882
MacLellan, Robert, Conservative Club.	1891
Macleod, The Rev. W. H., Buchanan Manse, Drymen.	1898
Macnair, Thomas, 27 St. Vincent Place.	1895
Macquaker, Thomas, Ardshalloch, Hamilton Drive, Pollokshields, W.	1890
Maguire, The Most Rev. Archbishop, Crosshill House, Queen's Drive, Crosshill.	1902

	Date of Admission.
Main, John Bell, Cadzow Street, Hamilton.	1891
Mann, John, C.A., 142 St. Vincent Street.	1891
Mann, Ludovic V. M., C.A., F.S.A.Scot., 142 St. Vincent Street.	1902
†Marwick, Sir James D., LL.D., City Chambers.	1878
*Medley, Professor Dudley J., The College.	1899
†Menzies, James, Mount Feargan, Bothwell.	1884
Menzies, Walter, of Culcreuch, Fintry.	1902
Miller, D. S., 144 St. Vincent Street.	1881
†Mitchell, A. Moncrieff, LL.B., 160 West George Street.	1885
†Mitchell, George A., 5 West Regent Street.	1884
Mitchell, James, 222 Darnley Street.	1895
†Mitchell, John, 2 Lynedoch Street.	1888
*†Mitchell, John Oswald, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., 7 Huntly Gardens, *Ex-President.*	1882
Mitchell, Stephen, of Boquhan, Kippen.	1899
Moore, Robert T., C.E., 13 Clairmont Gardens.	1891
Muir, The Rev. Pearson M'Adam, D.D., 1 Athole Gardens.	1897
†Munro, R., M.D., F.S.A.Scot., 48 Manor Place, Edinburgh.	1883
*Murdoch, J. B., F.S.A.Scot., Capelrig, Mearns.	‡
*Murray, David, LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 169 West George Street, *Ex-President.*	1881
Murray, John Bruce, 17 University Gardens, Hillhead.	1886
Nairne, J. Stuart, F.R.C.S.E., 141 Hill Street, Garnethill.	1890
*†Neilson, George, F.S.A.Scot., Pitlochie, 11 Annfield Terrace, Partick, *Vice-President.*	1890
Neilson, James, 116 Bishop Street, Port-Dundas.	1898
Ness, James, 157 St. Vincent Street.	1900
Newbery, F. H., School of Art, 264 Sauchiehall Street.	1894
Normand, P. Hill, of Whitehill, Aberdour.	1899
Orr, John F., 184 West Regent Street.	1883

	Date of Admission.
Park, Alexander, Ingleside, Lenzie.	1891
Parker, James Henry, C.A., 89 West Regent Street.	1901
Paterson, John, Sen., 199 Nithsdale Road, Pollokshields.	1898
Paterson, Oscar, 118 West Regent Street.	1889
***Paton, James, F.L.S.**, Camphill House, Crossmyloof.	1884
Pearson, Alexander, Sheriff-Clerk Depute, County Buildings.	1885
Peacock, John, M.A., 11 Miller Street, Shawlands.	1902
Pettigrew, Matthew, 1 Wilton Crescent.	1898
Pickering, R. Y., of Conheath, Dumfries.	1891
Pirrie, Robert, F.S.A. Scot., 9 Buckingham Terrace.	1896
Prentice, Thomas, 18 Eglinton Drive, Kelvinside.	1890
Price, Rees, 163 Bath Street.	1902
Rains, Stephen H., 24 Midlothian Drive, Shawlands.	1901
Raleigh, Professor Walter, 2 Southpark Terrace.	1900
Reid, James, 15 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1899
Reid, James A., 172 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Reid, Thomas, M.D., 11 Elmbank Street.	1887
Renwick, Robert, Depute Town Clerk, City Chambers.	1882
Richardson, Andrew, Soho Engine Works, Paisley.	1900
Robb, George H., M.A., 141 St. Vincent Street.	1901
*Roberton, James D., 1 Park Terrace, East.	1883
Roberton, William, 4 Terregles Avenue, Pollokshields.	1901
Rodger, Edward, 1 Clairmont Gardens.	1900
Ross, The Rev. D. M., D.D., 12 Bowmont Gardens.	1901
†Ross, John M., 2 Devonshire Gardens.	1888
Roxburgh, George R., 137 Ingram Street.	1883
Ruddock, John W., 32 Windsor Terrace, St. George's Road.	1884
Rundell, Richard Cooper, Royal Exchange Buildings.	1888
Rutherfurd, Andrew, M.A., 150 Ingram Street.	1898
Salmon, W. Forrest, F.R.I.B.A., 53 Bothwell Street.	1885
Scott, John, 247 Sauchiehall Street.	1893

	Date of Admission.
†Shand-Harvey, James W., of Castle-Semple, Lochwinnoch.	1891
Shaughnessy, Joseph, Bellevue, Rutherglen.	1890
Shaw-Stewart, M. H., M.P., Duchal, Renfrewshire.	1892
Skirving, Alexander, 121 West Regent Street.	1898
Smith, Andrew, F.S.A.Scot., Broompark, Lanark.	1897
†Smith, J. Guthrie, 205 St. Vincent Street.	1879
Smith, James M., Ibroxholm House, Ibrox.	1900
Smith, W. B, F.S.A.Scot., 34 Buchanan Street.	1902
Sorley, Robert, 93 St. Vincent Street.	1887
Speirs, A. A., of Elderslie, Houston House, Houston.	1898
Spencer, Charles Louis, 121 West George Street.	1894
Spencer, John James, 121 West George Street.	1894
Spens, John A., 25 Park Circus.	1882
Steel, The Rev. John, D.D., Ellangowan, Dennistoun.	1884
Stevenson, J. V., Chief-Constable. Central Police Chambers.	1902
Stewart, R. K., F.S.A.Scot., Murdostoun Castle, Newmains.	1897
Stuart, James, C.E., 12 Broomhill Avenue, Partick.	1885
†Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John, of Pollok, Bart., M.P., F.S.A.Scot., Pollok, Pollokshaws.	1890
Stodart, Archibald, Edindonich, Cardross.	1898
*Story, The Very Rev. Principal R. Herbert, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., The College, *President.*	1887
Stout, Thomas, 14 Belmont Crescent.	1894
Strachan, R. U., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, 9 Crown Circus, Dowanhill.	1896
Sturrock, Peter, of Baltersan, London Road, Kilmarnock.	1890
Swan, Robert M. W., Westfield, 58 Maxwell Drive, Pollokshields.	1893
Taylor, Charles, 13 Broomhill Avenue, Partick.	1900
Turnbull, John, 50 West Regent Street.	1890
Turner, William, Baranfrow, Helensburgh.	1883

	Date of Admission.
Ure, George Albert, Hope Park, Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire.	1891
Walker, Geo. J., C.A., 150 St. Vincent Street, *Hon. Treasurer.*	1895
***Wallace, T. M.,** Douglas Gardens, Uddingston.	1884
Wallace, William, LL.D., 36 Lilybank Gardens.	1900
Warren, Thomas T., 6 Westminster Gardens, Hillhead.	1902
†Watson, Duncan, 17 Newton Street.	1887
†Watson, T. L., 166 Bath Street.	1881
Watt, James Thomson, 150 Holland Street.	1899
Weddell, James, Park Villa, Uddingston.	1882
White, James, Bishop Mills, Old Dumbarton Road.	1898
Whitelaw, Alexander, of Gartshore, Kirkintilloch.	1891
†Whitelaw, Charles E., F.S.A.Scot., 168 Bath Street.	1889
Whitelaw, H. Vincent, 168 Bath Street.	1901
Whitelaw, Thomas, 112 Wellington Street.	1886
Williamson, Stephen, 15 Lansdowne Crescent.	1902
Wilson, John, of Airdrie, M.P., Airdrie House.	1887
Wilson, Robert, Procurator-Fiscal, County Buildings, Hamilton.	1885
Wingate, Walter E., 4 Bowmont Terrace, Kelvinside.	1887
Wood, H. K., 17 Rosslyn Terrace.	1897
Wood, William J., 266 George Street.	1894
†Wordie, John, F.S.A.Scot., 42 Montgomerie Drive, Kelvinside.	1884
Wylie, John, 26 Huntly Gardens, Kelvinside.	1897
Young, Daniel H. Lusk, 16 Woodlands Terrace.	1901
Young, George Burn, 45 West George Street.	1883
Young, William, R.S.W., 65 West Regent Street.	1896

Past Presidents of the Society since 1877.

1877-80. The Very Rev. John Caird, D.D., LL.D., Principal of the University of Glasgow.

1880-83. John Young, M.D., Professor of Geology, University of Glasgow.

1883-86. John Veitch, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric, University of Glasgow.

1886-88. The Rev. Thomas M. Lindsay, D.D., Principal, United Free Church College, Glasgow.

1888-91. John Honeyman, R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

1891-94. John Ferguson, LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., Professor of Chemistry, University of Glasgow.

1894-95. Colin Dunlop Donald, F.S.A.Scot.

1895-98. David Murray, LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot.

1898-00. The Most Rev. Archbishop Eyre, D.D., LL.D.

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND JAMES MACLEHOSE

GLASGOW

FLOREAT GLASGOVA IN EDUCATIONE E VIRTUTE

Glasgow Archæological Society.

REPORT

BY THE COUNCIL

PRESENTED 16TH NOVEMBER, 1899.

FOR SESSION 1898-99.

WITH

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS; AND

LIST OF MEMBERS AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1899,

ETC.

ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY, 207 BATH STREET.

GLASGOW:

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY

JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS, ST. VINCENT STREET,

Publishers to the University.

1899.

Mar. 16.—(1) "The Inscriptions on the Distance Slabs of the Vallu Wall of Antoninus Pius," by James Macdonald, LL.D.

(2) "The Old Highways of the Moffat District," by John O Mitchell, LL.D., *Vice-President.*

April 20.—(1) "The Seals of Glasgow University," by George W. Campb

(2) "Collections of Medical Receipts," by (*a*) the last Abbot of minster; (*b*) a Rector of Minchinhampton; (*c*) the Past Westbury, Wilts; by Professor Young, M.D.

(3) "Glasgow Cathedral: The Early Fabric, with Notes on the Fo ations recently examined under Government sanction," b Macgregor Chalmers, F.R.I.B.A.

The Annual Excursion of the Society was this year made to Tulli Castle, Culross, Pitfirrane Castle, and Dunfermline, on Thursday, September. Papers on the various buildings visited during the cour the day were read by Messrs. Dalrymple Duncan and Charles E. Whitela

An Excursion was also made, on the invitation of the Geological So of Glasgow, on 22nd April, to view the excavations now being made u the supervision of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland at Falkirk Camelon.

In December, 1898, the Executive of the Exhibition applied to Town Council to sanction the removal of Kelvingrove House, and Council then passed a resolution "That the Society deprecates the rem "of Kelvingrove House which deserves preservation not only as an exa "of the architecture of Robert Adam, but as for over a century on "the best known and most picturesque landmarks of Glasgow, and "excellent example within the City bounds of a country mansion of "old Glasgow gentry." A copy of this resolution was sent to each mem of the Town Council, and the Town Council on the recommendation o Parks Committee unanimously resolved that Kelvingrove House should be removed. Your Council, however, regret that so recently as Septe last a renewed attempt was made to obtain the removal of this h and despite the remonstrances of the Council and of many well-kn citizens unconnected with the Society, the Town Council by a maj rescinded its previous resolution. The relics of Glasgow's past are so and the benefit to be derived from the removal of Kelvingrove Hou

so trifling, that the Council cannot but deplore the action of the Town Council.

The Council record with satisfaction that Archæology and Scottish History are to receive special attention at the International Exhibition of 1901.

The Council instructed the Secretaries to draw the attention of the Law Agents of Lady Mary Hamilton to the increasingly ruinous state of the ancient castle at Loch Ranza, Arran. It is satisfactory to know that instructions have now been given to have such repairs executed as will suffice to preserve the building from becoming a greater ruin.

The number of members admitted in 1898-99 was 19.

Part I. of Vol. IV. of the Second Series of the Society's *Transactions* is now passing through the press, and will shortly be issued to the members. It contains the following papers:—

"Museums: their History and their Use," by David Murray, LL.D., F.S.A.Lond. and Scot.

"The Preservation of Scottish Ecclesiastical Monuments," by the Most Rev. Archbishop Eyre, D.D., LL.D.

"Notice of Arms and Armour at Eglinton Castle: Scottish Swords, etc.," by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot.

"The Old Lands of Partick and the Mills thereof," by James White, F.S.A.Scot.

"The Seal of Inchaffray Abbey," by the Most Rev. Archbishop Eyre, D.D., LL.D.

"Note on the Church of St. Kentigerna, Inch Cailleach, Loch Lomond," by the Rev. W. H. Macleod, B.A.

"The Inscriptions on the Distance Slabs of the Vallum or Wall of Antoninus Pius," by James Macdonald, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

"The Seals of Glasgow University," by George W. Campbell.

"Glasgow Cathedral: The Early Fabric, with Notes on the Foundations recently examined under Government sanction," by P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A.Scot.

"Note on an old Swedish Wall Tapestry," by Mrs. Murray.

"Account of the Annual Excursions for 1898 and 1899."

The Report of the Society's Committee on the investigations on the line of the Antonine Wall is now ready, and can be purchased by members at 7s. 6d., and by non-members at 10s. 6d.

The Council records with regret the death of a number of valued members of the Society during the past year—the list including the names of Mr. James Muir, C.A., Mr. J. B. Montgomerie-Fleming, Mr. James Graham, LL.D. Mr. J. B. Wingate, and Mr. Alexander Drew.

The Council acknowledges with thanks receipt of the following volumes:—

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A.:—

(1) Account of the Work of the Service of Antiquities of Egypt and of the Egyptian Institute during 1892-93-94, by J. de Morgan. 1898.

(2) Bows and Arrows in Central Brazil, by Hermann Meyer. 1898.

(3) Was Primitive Man a Modern Savage? by Talcott Williams. 1898.

(4) Preliminary Account of an Expedition to the Pueblo Ruins, near Winslow, Arizona, in 1896, by J. Walker Fewkes. 1898.

(5) The Unity of the Human "Species," by Marquis de Nadaillac. 1898.

(6) Recent Research in Egypt, by W. M. Flinders-Petrie. 1898.

(7) A Study of the Omaha Tribe; the Import of the Totem, by Alice C. Fletcher. 1898.

(8) A New Group of Stone Implements from the Southern Shores of Lake Michigan, by W. A. Phillips. 1898.

(9) Preliminary Account of Archæological Field Work in Arizona in 1897. 1898.

The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal:—

The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. In parts, as issued.

The United States National Museum, Washington, U.S.A.:—

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1896.

The Anthropological Society of Washington, U.S.A.:—

The American Anthropologist. In parts, as published.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland:—

Journal. In parts, as published.

The Norwegian Antiquarian Society:—

(1) Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges, Fortid, N. Nicolaysen. 1898.

(2) Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring. 1898.

The Royal Swedish Antiquarian Academy, Stockholm:—

(1) Antiqvarisk Tidskrift for Sverige. In parts, as issued.

(2) Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiqvitets Akademiens Manadsblad. 1895.

The British and American Archæological Society of Rome:—

Journal. No. 1, Vol. III. 1899.

Hrvatskoga Starinarskog Druztva of Kninu:—

Starohrvatska Prosvjeta Glasilo Hrvatskoga Starinarskog Druztva U. Kninu. God. IV., Br. 2 and 3. 1898.

Museo Nacional, San José, Costa Rica:—

Informe del Primer Semestre de 1898 a 1899. 1898.

Institut Archéologique Liège:—

Bulletin de l'Institut. Vol. XXVII. 1898.

The Powysland Club:—

Collections. Vol. XXX. Vol. XXXI., 1.

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society:—

(1) The Priory of Saint Radegund Cambridge, by Arthur Gray, M.A. 1898.

(2) Index to the Reports and Abstracts of Proceedings, 1840-1897. 1898.

(3) Proceedings No. 4 of Vol. IX. 1899.

(4) The Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collection of MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D. 1899.

(5) List of Members. 1899.

The Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society:—

(1) Transactions. In parts, as issued.

(2) Calendar of the Shrewsbury Borough Records. 1896.

(3) Index of Archæological Papers published in 1897.

The Society of Antiquaries of London :—

Proceedings. 1898.

The Society of Architects :—

(1) Journal. New Series, Vol. VI.

(2) The Year Book and List of Members. 1899.

The Philosophical Society of Glasgow :—

Proceedings. 1898-99.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland :—

Proceedings. 1897-98.

The Agent-General for Queensland :—

Guide to Queensland, by Charles Schaefer Rutlidge, F.R.G.S., F.R.C.S.

The Regality Club, Glasgow :—

Papers. Third Series, Part Third.

Robert Renwick, Depute Town Clerk, Glasgow :—

Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow. Vol. IV., 1568-76. 1898. Vol. V., 1555-68. 1897. Vol. VI., 1568-73. 1898. Vol. VII., 1573-76. 1898. Vol. VIII., 1576 and 1581-84. 1899.

General Chas. W. Darling, A.M., Utica, N.Y. (the Author) :—

Egypt, its Monuments, and work of the Egypt Exploration Fund 1899.

The Oneida Historical Society, Utica, U.S.A. :—

Transactions. 1898.

The Board of Trustees of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee :—

Sixteenth Annual Report, 1897-98.

Rev. J. Irvine Whitty, LL.D. (the Author) :—

Ode on the Discovery at Jerusalem of "Whitty's Wall." 1899.

Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., M.P. (privately printed) :—

Sculptured Stones at Govan. 1899.

Rev. Frederick Smith, Cromlix, Dunblane (the Author) :—

Some Investigations into Palæolithic Remains in Scotland. 1899.

The Council respectfully recommend the reappointment of J. O. Mitchell LL.D.; The Very Reverend Principal Story, D.D., LL.D.; and Mr. George Neilson, F.S.A.Scot. as Vice-Presidents.

With regard to the election of members of Council the Society will remember that on 20th April the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That the following alterations be made in the Society's laws, section 5—The number of elected members of Council other than the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall be reduced to 12, 3 of whom shall retire annually, by rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiry of a year from the date of their retiral. Ex-Presidents (while they remain members of the Society) shall be members of Council."

In conformity with this resolution the following gentlemen fall to be removed from the elective members of Council as being ex-Presidents of the Society, viz., Professor Lindsay, D.D.; John Honeyman, R.S.A.; Professor Young, M.D.; Professor Ferguson, LL.D.; and David Murray, LL.D., F.S.A.Lond. and Scot. This reduces the membership of Council to 10; and Mr. James M. Mackinlay, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., and Emeritus Professor G. G. A. Murray, M.A., have signified their wish to retire this year. Four vacancies therefore occur in the Council of 12 members, and the Council respectfully recommend the election of the Rev. James Cooper, D.D., Professor of Church History in the University; William Young, R.S.W.; Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot.; and James Paton, F.L.S.

They also recommend the re-election of Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., and Mr. William George Black, F.S.A.Scot., as Honorary Secretaries, and of Mr. George J. Walker, C.A., as Honorary Treasurer. The late Mr. James Muir, C.A., and Mr. John J. Spencer last year acted as Honorary Auditors, and to them this Society is under obligation for the duties they performed.

The Council recommend the election as Honorary Auditors this year of Messrs. W. R. M. Church, C.A., and William Kidston.

In name and by authority of the Council,

JA. DALRYMPLE DUNCAN, } *Hon.*
WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, } *Secs.*

EXCERPT FROM MINUTE of the Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the Society, held on 16th November, 1899.

MR. J. T. T. BROWN in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. William George Black, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. Secretary, and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement was submitted by Mr. George J. Walker, C.A.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Professor Young, M.D., the Report was adopted, and the Statement approved, subject to audit by the Honorary Auditors.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT

AND

LIST OF OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS.

GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY—ABSTRACT OF THE

Dr.

To Funds at close of last Account :—				
1. Life Membership Subscription Fund—				
£216 9s. 4d. 2¾ per cent. Consols cost,			£210 0 0	
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,			73 10 0	
			£283 10 0	
2. Sir Michael Connal's Legacy—				
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,			6 15 0	
3. Ordinary Funds—				
(1) Subscriptions in arrear—				
3 for Session 1894-95,		£1 17 6		
5 for Session 1895-96,		3 2 6		
10 for Session 1896-97,		6 5 0		
25 for Session 1897-98,		15 12 6		
		£26 17 6		
(2) In Bank—				
On Deposit Receipt,	£212 10 11			
On Account Current,	7 2 8			
		219 13 7		
(3) Cash in hands of Hon. Treasurer,		3 8 2		
			249 19 3	
				£540 4 3
,, Life Membership Subscription Fund—				
Received one subscription to this Fund,				5 5 0
,, Revenue :—				
1. Subscriptions—				
267 for Session 1898-99,			£166 17 6	
Deduct amount paid in advance last year,			6 5 0	
			£160 12 6	
Add 5 Subscriptions for Session 1899-1900 prepaid,			3 2 6	
			£163 15 0	
2. Dividends and Interest—				
Consols,		£5 15 4		
Interest on Deposit Receipts,		5 19 8		
			11 15 0	
				175 10 0
,, Publication of Transactions—				
Received from sale of Transactions,				8 10 1
				£729 9 4

HON. TREASURER'S INTROMISSIONS FOR SESSION 1898-99.

| | | |

OFFICE-BEARERS

OF THE

Glasgow Archæological Society.

INSTITUTED 1856.

SESSION 1899-1900.

President.

THE MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN OSWALD MITCHELL, LL.D.
THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL STORY, D.D., LL.D.
GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A. Scot.

Council.

PROFESSOR LINDSAY, D.D.
PROFESSOR YOUNG, M.D.
JOHN HONEYMAN, R.S.A.
PROFESSOR FERGUSON, LL.D.
DAVID MURRAY, LL.D.

(Former Presidents; Members of Council *ex officio.*)

F. T. BARRETT.
SIR JOHN STIRLING-MAXWELL, Bart, M.P.
JOHN EDWARDS, F.S.A. Scot.
J. B. MURDOCH, F.S.A. Scot.
JAMES MACDONALD, LL.D.
J. T. T. BROWN.
P. MACGREGOR CHALMERS, F.S.A. Scot.
ROBERT GUY.
THE REV. PROFESSOR COOPER, D.D.
WILLIAM YOUNG, R.S.W.
ROBERT BRYDALL, F.S.A. Scot.
JAMES PATON, F.L.S.

Honorary Secretaries.

J. DALRYMPLE DUNCAN, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 211 Hope Street.
WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, F.S.A. Scot., 88 West Regent Street.

Honorary Treasurer.

GEORGE J. WALKER, C.A., 150 St Vincent Street.

Honorary Librarian.

F. T. BARRETT.

Honorary Auditors.

W. R. M. CHURCH, C.A.
WILLIAM KIDSTON.

Members who desire to read papers, or who have objects of archæological interest to exhibit, are requested to communicate with the Honorary Secretaries. Ladies are invited to attend all meetings.

Forms of application for admission to the Society may be had from the Honorary Secretaries.

Payment of the Annual Subscription is requested to be made to the Honorary Treasurer. No publication will be sent to Members who have not paid the Subscription for the year corresponding to such publication.

The Annual Excursion will take place in Autumn.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION 1899–1900.

Honorary Members.

	Date of Admission.
Birch, Walter de Gray, F.R.S.L., F.S.A., British Museum, London.	1881
Bute, The Most Honourable the Marquess of, K.T., Mount Stuart, Rothesay.	1881
Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., Nash Mills, Hemel-Hempstead.	1892
Ferguson, The Worshipful Chancellor, F.S.A., Carlisle.	1895
Gomme, George Laurence, F.S.A., 24 Dorset Square, London, N.W.	1881
Lothian, The Most Honourable the Marquess of, K.T., Newbattle Abbey, Dalkeith. (*Died* January, 1900.)	1881
Mitchell, Sir Arthur, K.C.B., M.D., LL.D., 43 Drummond Place, Edinburgh.	1881

Ordinary Members as at 31st December, 1899.

(*) Indicates Members of Council. (†) Indicates Life Members.
(‡) Indicates that the Member was admitted prior to the resuscitation of the Society in 1877.

Adam, Thomas, Hazel Bank, Uddingston.	1879
Addie, John, Viewpark, Uddingston.	1889
Aiken, John B., 201 West George Street.	1891
Ainslie, George, 76 Pollok Street.	1899
Aitken, John, 33 Lilybank Gardens.	1891
Alexander, D. M., 97 West Regent Street.	1892
Alexander, John, 268 Buchanan Street.	1898
Allan, F. W. 125 Buchanan Street.	1884
Allan James, 110 Candleriggs.	1887

	Date of Admission.
Alston, W. M., C.E., 24 Sardinia Terrace, Hillhead.	1887
Amours, F. J., B.A., 75 Montgomerie Street.	1898
Anderson, Robert, 76 Bath Street.	1892
Anderson, William, F.S.A.Scot., Arns-Brae, New Kilpatrick.	1894
Anderson, William Boyd, 1 Grosvenor Crescent, Kelvinside.	1882
Anderson, W. F. G., 22 Huntly Gardens.	1886
Annan, John, 40 Derby Street, Sandyford.	1892
Arthur, Matthew, 78 Queen Street.	1883
†Arthur, Thomas Glen, 78 Queen Street.	1883
Baillie, William Anderson, Glentore, Uddingston.	1889
Baird, J. G. A., M.P., Adamton, Ayrshire.	1891
Balfour, D. D., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, County Buildings.	1882
Barr, Henry, 45 West George Street.	1894
*Barrett, F. T., Mitchell Library, *Hon. Librarian.*	1882
Beckett, Charles E., M.A., LL.B., 163 St. Vincent Street.	1896
Begg, F. Faithfull, M.P., 13 Earl's Court Square, London.	1898
Bell, George, Architect, 212 St. Vincent Street.	1898
†Bell, Sir James, Bart., 7 Marlborough Terrace.	1892
†Bell, James T., Northcote, Dowanhill Gardens.	1892
†Bell, John J., Northcote, Dowanhill.	1897
Berry, Sheriff, LL.D., 5 University Gardens.	1888
Beyaert, The Rev. Arthur, Uddingston.	1894
Bilsland, William, F.S.A.Scot., 28 Park Circus.	1895
*Black, William George, F.S.A.Scot., 88 West Regent Street, *Hon. Sec.*	1877
Blackie, J. Robertson, Northbank, Dowanhill Gardens.	1890
Blyth, Robert, 1 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1891
Blythswood, The Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., Blythswood, Renfrew.	1885
Boyd, David T., 19 Wellington Street.	1890
Boyle, A. H., Ruchill House, Maryhill.	1891

	Date of Admission.
Brand, James, 10 Marchmont Terrace, Kelvinside.	1889
Bremner, R. L., 208 West George Street.	1895
Brown, John Arthur, 4 Prince Albert Road, Dowanhill.	1897
*Brown, J. T. T., 97 West Regent Street.	1891
Brown, Robert, 17 Hope Street.	1889
Bruce, John, F.S.A.Scot., 67 West Nile Street.	1888
*Brydall, Robert, F.S.A.Scot., 8 Newton Terrace.	1890
†Bryden, R. Lockhart, B.L., 15 Dalhousie Street.	1893
Buchanan, A. W. Gray, of Parkhill, Polmont.	1895
†Bulloch, Matthew, 48 Prince's Gate, London, S.W.	1883
Burnet, John, I.A., St. Kilda, Dowanhill Gardens.	‡
Burnet, John James, I.A., F.S.A.Scot., 167 St. Vincent Street.	1882
†Burns, John William, of Kilmahew, Cardross.	1889
Callander, John Graham, F.S.A.Scot, 20 Rupert Street.	1898
Caldwell, James, F.S.A.Scot., Writer, Paisley.	‡
Cameron, John, of Meiklehill, Kirkintilloch.	1892
Campbell, D. A., 40 Lawrence Street, Partick.	1892
Campbell, J. Archibald, 44 West George Street.	1885
Campbell, James, of Tullichewan, 137 Ingram Street.	‡
†Campbell, James A., M.P., LL.D., Stracathro, by Brechin.	‡
Campbell, John MacNaught, F.Z.S., 261 Dumbarton Road.	1881
Campbell, R. C. Graham, Shirvan, Lochgilphead, N.B.	1890
†Cayzer, Sir Charles W., M.P., Ralston, Renfrewshire.	1884
Chalmers, P. Macgregor, F.S.A.Scot., 95 Bath Street.	1889
Christie, T. Craig, of Bedlay, by Chryston.	1885
Church, W. R. M., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1890
Clark, David R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 8 Park Drive, West.	1897
Clark, James Cooper, 15 Kelvinside Terrace.	1899
Clark, William, Gartfern, High Crosshill, Rutherglen.	1885
†Colquhoun, Sir James, of Luss, Bart., Dunclutha, Ore, Hastings.	1885

	Date of Admission.
Cook, William, 77 St. Vincent Street.	1893
*Cooper, The Rev. Professor, D.D., The College.	1898
Coubrough, John, Blanefield, Stirlingshire.	1877
Coulson, J. Laurie, Failford, Mauchline.	1890
Cowie, Charles R., Woodend, Partick.	1891
Cree, Thomas Scott, 15 Montgomerie Quadrant, Kelvinside.	1888
†Crerar-Gilbert, D. M., Yr., of Yorkhill, 21 Woodside Terrace.	1888
Crouch, William, C.E., 53 Bothwell Street.	1887
Cumming, John, 355 Garscube Road.	1898
†Curle, R. Barclay, 12 Athole Gardens, Kelvinside.	1891
Dalrymple, The Hon. Hew H., F.S.A.Scot., Lochinch, Castle Kennedy.	1897
Dalrymple, James, of Woodhead, Kirkintilloch.	‡
Dalzell, J. B., Allan Park, Larkhall.	1897
Dick, David, 7 Seyton Avenue, Langside.	1888
Dick, J. Proudfoot, F.S.A.Scot., c/o Messrs. M'Clure, Naismith, Brodie & Co., 77 St. Vincent Street.	1880
Dick-Cleland, A. B., of Ravenswood, 28 Coates Gardens, Edinburgh.	1890
Dixon, Jas. S., 127 St. Vincent Street.	1891
†Donald, John R., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1883
†Donald, T. F., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1882
Donnelly, W. A., Middleton House, Milton, by Bowling.	1894
Douglas, Campbell, F.R.I.B.A., 266 St. Vincent Street.	‡
Douglas, William, 22 West Nile Street.	1891
Duncan, J. A., 161 West George Street.	1888
*Duncan, J. Dalrymple, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., F.R.S.E., 211 Hope Street, *Hon. Secretary*.	1877
Dunn, Robt. Hunter, 4 Belmont Crescent, Hillhead.	1885
†Dyer, Henry, C.E., M.A., 8 Highburgh Terrace.	1886

	Date of Admission.
Easton, Walter, 125 Buchanan Street.	1882
Edmiston, John, 7 West Nile Street.	1886
Edmonstone, Sir Archibald, Bart., Duntreath Castle, Strathblane.	1898
*†Edwards, John, F.S.A.Scot., 4 Great Western Terrace, Kelvinside.	1891
Eskdale, John L., 80 Argyle Street.	1891
Ewing, William, 45 Renfield Street.	1891
*Eyre, The Most Rev. Archbishop, LL.D., D.D., F.S.A.Scot., 6 Bowmont Gardens, Kelvinside, *President.*	1888
†Faulds, Andrew Wilson, F.S.A.Scot., 111 Union Street.	1882
Fergus, Oswald, F.S.A.Scot., 12 Clairmont Gardens.	1898
Ferguson, A. A., 48 M'Alpine Street.	‡
Fergusson, D. Scott, Hayston House, Kirkintilloch.	1891
*†Ferguson, Professor J., LL.D., F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., 13 Newton Place.	1878
Fergusson, William, 69 St. Vincent Street.	1898
Fleming, Alexander, of Kilmaho, 168 West George Street.	1883
Fleming, James, Treasurer, Corporation Gas Department, City Chambers.	1893
Fleming, John, 1 Lynedoch Terrace.	1883
Fotheringham, Thomas Bremner, 52 Barrland Street, Maxwell Road.	1891
†Fowler, John, 5 Derby Street, West.	1884
Fraser, J. W. 168 West George Street.	1886
†Fraser, M. P., Advocate, 2 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.	1883
Fraser, Melville, 31 St. Vincent Place.	1884
Freeman, W. Weber, 145 West Nile Street.	1888
Galbraith, Thomas L., Town-Clerk, Stirling.	1889
Garroway, James R., New Club.	1882

	Date of Admission.
Gemmill, J. Leiper, 162 St. Vincent Street.	1890
Gibson, William, 2 Crown Terrace, Dowanhill.	1885
†Gillies, William, 204 West George Street.	1882
Gordon, The Rev. J. F. S., D.D., Beith.	1891
Gourlay, Robert, Bank of Scotland, St. Vincent Place.	1888
Gow, Leonard, 45 Renfield Street.	1889
Graham, James, 198 West George Street.	1885
Graham, John, C.A., 212 West George Street.	1882
†Graham, Patrick, C.A., 212 West George Street.	1890
†Graham, R. C., of Skipness, Skipness House, Argyllshire.	1888
†Grahame, James, C.A., Scottish Liberal Club, Edinburgh.	1882
Gray, George, 72 Hutcheson Street.	1883
Greig, Andrew, 36 Belmont Gardens, Hillhead.	1882
Grierson, Henry, Craigend Park, Liberton, Edinburgh.	1883
Grieve, W. Weir, 107 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Grimstone, W. F., 128 Woodlands Road.	1898
*Guy, Robert, 120 West Regent Street.	1878
Hamilton, Chas. Edw., 1 North Park, Hillhead.	1895
Harrison, The Right Rev. Bishop, D.D., 25 Burnbank Gardens.	1897
Hedderwick, A. W. H., M.A., 79 St. George's Place.	1883
Henderson, Thomas Beath, M.D., 155 Bath Street.	1894
Herron, Hugh, 104 West Regent Street.	1883
Hewison, The Rev. J. King, M.A., The Manse, Rothesay.	1891
Heys, Zechariah George, South Arthurlie, Barrhead.	1893
†Hill, William Henry, LL.D., 194 Ingram Street.	‡
Hogg, Charles P., C.E., 53 Bothwell Street.	1884
†Hoggan, George B., 194 Ingram Street.	1885
*Honeyman, John, R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 140 Bath Street.	‡
Honeyman, P. S., 88 West Regent Street.	1883
Howatt, William, I.M., 146 Buchanan Street.	1898
†Hunt, John, Fingarry, Milton of Campsie.	1885

	Date of Admission.
Hunter, Wm. Sutherland, Kildonan, Maxwell Drive, Pollokshields.	1893
Hurry, Alfred A., 130 Bath Street.	1884
Hutchison, Thomas H., 4 Windsor Quadrant.	1884
Jameson, Robert, 192 St. Vincent Street.	1885
Jarvie, William, 58 Renfield Street.	1898
Johnston, David, 160 West George Street.	1882
Jolly, William, F.G.S., F.R.S.E., Blantyre Lodge, Low Blantyre.	1888
Keith, Duncan, 13 West Regent Street.	1883
Kelvin, The Right Hon. Lord, F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., Netherhall, Largs.	1893
Kennedy, James, of Doonholm, Ayr.	1887
†Keppie, John, 140 Bath Street.	1891
†Ker, Charles, C.A., 115 St. Vincent Street.	1887
Ker, David Smith, 26 Bothwell Street.	1891
†Ker, T. Ripley, of Dougalston, Milngavie.	1879
Key, William, 109 Hope Street.	1897
Kidston, William, 50 West Regent Street.	1885
Kincaid, Thomas, 9 Lansdowne Crescent.	1889
King, Sir James, of Campsie, Bart., LL.D., 115 Wellington Street.	1883
King, Robert, of Levernholme, 115 Wellington Street.	1898
Kirkpatrick, Andrew J., 179 West George Street.	1893
Kirkpatrick, The Rev. J. M., B.D., 41 Elgin Terrace, Dowanhill.	1898
Kirkpatrick, The Rev. Roger S., B.D., The Manse, Govan.	1899
Kirkwood, James, Carling Lodge, Ibroxholm.	1899
Knight, Charles A., 21 St. Vincent Place.	1886
Laidlaw, Rev. Andrew, 3 Derby Crescent.	1896
Laird, James, 439 Great Western Road.	1899
Laird, John, 4 North Court, Royal Exchange.	1889

	Date of Admission.
†Lang, James, F.S.A.Scot., 9 Crown Gardens, Dowanhill.	1883
Lang, William, Cross Park, Partick.	1893
*Lindsay, The Rev. Professor T. M., D.D., 37 Westbourne Gardens.	1877
MacBrayne, David, 17 Exchange Square.	1885
M'Cowan, David, 7 Lynedoch Crescent.	1891
M'Donald, Alex. Beith, M.Inst.C.E., City Engineer, City Chambers.	1898
Macdonald, George, M.A., 41 Lilybank Gardens.	1897
*Macdonald, James, LL.D.. F.S.A.Scot., 49 Fountainhall Road, Edinburgh. (*Died* February, 1900.)	1884
Macfarlane, James, 2 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1899
Macgeorge, B. B., 24 George Square.	1882
M'Gibbon, Alexander, 109 Hope Street.	1897
M'Gibbon, W. F., 221 West George Street.	1897
M'Gregor, James, 8 Kersland Street, Hillhead.	1891
M'Grigor, Alexander, 172 St. Vincent Street.	1883
Macharg, E. Simpson, C.A., 69 Buchanan Street.	1885
M'Intyre, John, 33 Oswald Street.	1897
Mackenzie, Alexander, Writer, Paisley.	1891
†Mackinlay, David, 6 Great Western Terrace.	‡
†Mackinlay, James M., F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., 4 Westbourne Gardens.	1886
Mackinlay, Wm. M., 16 Kelvinside Gardens.	1895
Mackirdy, W. A. Scott, of Kirkwood, Lesmahagow.	1898
Maclae, A. Crum, of Cathkin, 192 St. Vincent Street.	1886
Maclay, James, M.A., LL.B., 169 West George Street.	1888
Maclay, William, 7 Eildon Villas, Mount Florida.	1891
M'Lean, Allan, 41 West George Street.	1883
†MacLehose, James J., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 61 St. Vincent Street.	1882
MacLehose, Robert, M.A., 61 St. Vincent Street.	1882

	Date of Admission.
MacLellan, Robert, Conservative Club.	1891
Macleod, The Rev. W. H., Buchanan Manse, Drymen.	1898
Macnair, Thomas, 27 St. Vincent Place.	1895
Maconechy, Robert, Golf View, Prestwick.	1882
Macquaker, Thomas, Ardshalloch, Hamilton Drive, Pollokshields, W.	1890
Main, John Bell, Portland Park, Hamilton.	1891
Mann, John, C.A., 137 West George Street.	1891
†Marwick, Sir James D., LL.D., City Chambers.	1878
Medley, Professor Dudley J., The College.	1899
†Menzies, James, Mount Feargan, Bothwell.	1884
Miller, A. Lindsay, Architect, 122 Wellington Street.	1898
Miller, D. S., 8 Royal Crescent.	1881
Mitchell, A. Moncrieff, LL.B., 160 West George Street.	1885
†Mitchell, George A., 5 West Regent Street.	1884
Mitchell, James, 222 Darnley Street.	1895
†Mitchell, John, 2 Lynedoch Street.	1888
*†Mitchell, John Oswald, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., 69 East Howard Street, *Vice-President.*	1882
Mitchell, Stephen, Craigmount, Kelvinside.	1899
Moore, Robert T., C.E., 13 Clairmont Gardens.	1891
Muir, The Rev. Pearson Macadam, D.D., 1 Athole Gardens.	1897
Muir, Sir John, Bart., 6 Park Gardens.	1889
†Munro, R., M.D., F.S.A.Scot., 48 Manor Place, Edinburgh.	1883
*Murdoch, J. B., F.S.A.Scot., Capelrig, Mearns.	‡
*Murray, David, LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 169 W. George Street.	1881
Murray, John Bruce, 17 University Gardens, Hillhead.	1886
Nairne, J. Stuart, F.R.C.S.E., 141 Hill Street, Garnethill.	1890
*†Neilson, George, F.S.A.Scot., 34 Granby Terrace, *Vice-President.*	1890

	Date of Admission.
Neilson, James, 116 Bishop Street, Port-Dundas.	1898
Newbery, F. H., School of Art, 264 Sauchiehall Street.	1894
Nicol, Donald N., M.P., Ardmarnock, by Tigh-na-bruaich.	1888
Normand, P. Hill, of Whitehill, Aberdour.	1899
Orr, James Basden, 8 Royal Exchange Buildings.	1891
Orr, John F., 184 West Regent Street.	1883
Park, Alexander, Croy House, Croy.	1891
Paterson, John, Sen., 199 Nithsdale Road, Pollokshields.	1898
Paterson, Oscar, 118 West Regent Street.	1889
*Paton, James, F.L.S., Camphill House, Crossmyloof.	1884
Pearson, Alexander, Sheriff-Clerk Depute, County Buildings.	1885
Petrie, James A., Clydeville, Bowling.	1885
Pettigrew, Matthew, Jun., 1 Wilton Crescent.	1898
Pickering, R. Y., of Conheath, Dumfries.	1891
Pirrie, Robert, F.S.A.Scot., 9 Buckingham Terrace.	1896
Prentice, Thomas, 175 West George Street.	1890
Reid, James, 15 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1899
Reid, James A., 172 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Reid, Thomas, M.D., 11 Elmbank Street.	1887
Renwick, Robert, Depute Town Clerk, City Chambers.	1882
Roberton, James D., 1 Park Terrace, East.	1883
Roberts, Andrew, F.S.A.Scot., Commercial Bank House, Callander.	1879
†Ross, John M., 2 Devonshire Gardens.	1888
Roxburgh, George R., 137 Ingram Street.	1883
Ruddock, John W., 3 Middleton Terrace, Ibrox.	1884
Rundell, Richard Cooper, Royal Exchange Buildings.	1888
Rutherford, Andrew, M.A., 150 Ingram Street.	1898

	Date of Admission
Salmon, W. Forrest, F.R.I.B.A., 53 Bothwell Street.	1885
Scott, John, 247 Sauchiehall Street.	1893
†Shand-Harvey, James W., of Castle-Semple, Lochwinnoch.	1891
Shaughnessy, Joseph, Bellvue, Rutherglen.	1890
Shaw-Stewart, M. H., M.P., Carnock, Larbert.	1892
Sinclair, Alexander, Ajmere Lodge, 41 Cathkin Road, Langside.	1884
Skirving, Alexander, Architect, 121 West Regent Street.	1898
Smith, Andrew, F.S.A.Scot., Broompark, Lanark.	1897
†Smith, J. Guthrie, 54 West Nile Street.	1879
Somerville, John, Carronben, Buchanan Drive, Cambuslang.	1888
Sorley, Robert, 93 St. Vincent Street.	1887
Speirs, A. A., of Elderslie, Houston House, Houston.	1898
Spencer, Charles Louis, 121 West George Street.	1894
Spencer, John James, 121 West George Street.	1894
Spens, John A., 169 West George Street.	1882
Steel, The Rev. John, D.D., Ellangowan, Dennistoun.	1884
Steven, John M., 115 Stirling Road.	1897
Stewart, R. K., F.S.A.Scot., Murdostoun Castle, Newmains.	1897
Stuart, James, C.E., 12 Broomhill Avenue, Partick.	1885
*†Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John, of Pollok, Bart., M.P., F.S.A.Scot., Pollok, Pollokshaws.	1890
Stirling, Colonel, of Gargunnock, Gargunnock House, Stirling.	1890
Stodart, Archibald, 9 Spring Gardens, Kelvinside, N.	1898
*Story, The Very Rev. Principal R. Herbert, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., The College, *Vice-President.*	1887
Stout, Thomas, 14 Belmont Crescent.	1894
Strachan, R. U., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, 9 Crown Circus, Dowanhill.	1896
Sturrock, Peter, of Baltersan, London Road, Kilmarnock.	1890
Swan, Robert M. W., 15 Walmer Crescent.	1893
Thomson, M. C., 25 Hope Street.	1885

	Date of Admission.
Turnbull, John, 50 West Regent Street.	1890
Turner, William, Baranfrow, Helensburgh.	1883
Ure, George Albert, Hope Park, Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire.	1891
*Walker, Geo. J., C.A., 150 St. Vincent Street, *Hon. Treasurer.*	1895
Walker, Robert, Secretary, Glasgow Fine Art Institute, 175 Sauchiehall Street.	1893
Wallace, T. M., Douglas Gardens, Uddingston.	1884
†Watson, Duncan, 17 Newton Street.	1887
†Watson, T. L., 166 Bath Street.	1881
Watt, James Thomson, 150 Holland Street.	1899
Weddel, James, Park Villa, Uddingston.	1882
White, James, Bishop Mills, Old Dumbarton Road.	1898
Whitelaw, Alexander, of Gartshore, Kirkintilloch.	1891
†Whitelaw, Charles E., 168 Bath Street.	1889
Whitelaw, Thomas, 112 Wellington Street.	1886
Whyte, John, Master of Works, City Chambers.	1891
Wilson, John, of Airdrie, M.P., Airdrie House.	1887
Wilson, John J., 94 Bath Street.	1898
Wilson, Robert, Procurator-Fiscal, County Buildings, Hamilton.	1885
Wingate, Walter E., 4 Bowmont Terrace, Kelvinside.	1887
Wood, H. K., 17 Rosslyn Terrace.	1897
Wood, William J., 38 Cochrane Street.	1894
†Wordie, John, F.S.A.Scot., 42 Montgomerie Drive, Kelvinside.	1884
Wylie, John, 9 Athole Gardens, Kelvinside.	1897
Young, George Burn, 45 West George Street.	1883
*Young, Professor J., M.D., 19 Bute Gardens, Hillhead.	‡
*Young, William, R.S.W., 65 West Regent Street.	1896

Past Presidents of the Society since 1877.

1877-80 The Very Rev. John Caird, D.D., LL.D., Principal of the University of Glasgow.

1880-83. John Young, M.D., Professor of Geology, University of Glasgow.

1883-86. John Veitch, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric, University of Glasgow.

1886-88. The Rev. Thomas M. Lindsay, D.D., Professor of Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow.

1888-91. John Honeyman, R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

1891-94. John Ferguson, LL.D., F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., Professor of Chemistry, University of Glasgow.

1894-95. Colin Dunlop Donald, F.S.A.Scot.

1895-98. David Murray, LL.D., F.S.A.Lond. and Scot.

APPENDIX.

COMPLIMENTARY DINNER TO WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, ESQ.

On the evening of Monday, 20th November, 1899, a Complimentary Dinner was given by the Glasgow Archæological Society to William George Black, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Honorary Secretary, in the Windsor Hotel, Glasgow. The Very Rev. Principal Story, D.D., LL.D., presided, and Mr. George Neilson discharged the duties of croupier. There were present:—Messrs. David Murray, LL.D., J. D. Roberton, John Wordie, John Aitken, F. W. Allan, F. T. Barrett, W. Douglas, C. L. Spencer, J. J. Spencer, Rev. E. Scott, Bailie Sorley, W. R. M. Church, C.A., J. W. Ruddock, J. Dalrymple Duncan, Robert Guy, William Young, W. Kidston, W. Ewing, W. Anderson, J. Guthrie Smith, Alexander Park, Thomas Stout, James Brand, Rev. Mr. Young, Andrew Smith, James White, J. T. T. Brown, J. Bruce Murray, W. Stove, A. Skirving, W. Wallace, LL.D., and J. B. Douglas.

After an excellent dinner Mr. Dalrymple Duncan intimated letters of apologies from the President of the Society, Archbishop Eyre; Mr. John Honeyman (who first hoped to have been here, but who found at the last moment that he could not be present), J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart., M.P., Professor Cooper, D.D., Sheriff Berry, Campbell Douglas, J. A. Reid, P. S. Honeyman, E. Simpson Macharg, R. Hunter Dunn, John Mitchell, A. M. Mitchell, David Johnstone, A. B. Dick-Cleland,

John Mann, Robert Pirrie, Robert Blyth, Sir John Evans, James J. MacLehose, R. MacLehose, Allan M'Lean, A. B. M'Donald, James Lang, The Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, D. M. Crerar-Gilbert, The Rev. Dr. P. Macadam Muir, John A. Spens, T. Craig Christie, A. Lindsay Miller, A. W. H. Hedderwick, James Caldwell (Paisley), Leonard Gow, Sir James Marwick, John Bruce, Prof. Ferguson, John Edwards, Lord Blythswood, M. Arthur, A. A. Speirs, J. A. Duncan, The Hon. Hew H. Dalrymple, D. N. Nicol, M.P., James Campbell, of Tullichewan, W. Boyd Anderson, John Cameron, George Gray, Oswald Fergus, J. W. Shand Harvey, Colonel Stirling, J. A. Petrie, W. Maclay, R. Brydall, R. C. Graham, J. Mann, James Purves, J. J. Burnet, Chas. Russell, W. E. Wingate, W. M. Alston, W. Aird, Robert MacLellan, George J. Walker, Robert Wilson, R. L. Bremner, William Gibson, The Rev. W. H. Macleod, W. Jarvie, James Macdonald, LL.D., James Kennedy, J. Alexander, David Mackinlay, J. M. Mackinlay, F.S.A., R. Maconechy, W. J. Wood, Thomas Whitelaw, James Provan, William Cook, John Wylie, W. Maclay, James Graham, J. C. Watt, Charles Knight, W. A. Scott Mackirdy, etc.

The CHAIRMAN proposed the toasts of "The Queen," and of "H.R.H. the Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, H.R.H. the Duchess of Rothesay, and other members of the Royal Family."

MR. WILLIAM DOUGLAS, in proposing the "Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces," said: I take it upon me, as an old Indian, to express the satisfaction that I have and that the whole country has felt on the thorough preparedness to-day of the Indian Army and Transport Service. (Applause.) As regards the Reserve Forces, I think the country has looked with great satisfaction at the manner in which the Reserve men have moved to their colours and the large subscriptions that are going on for the relief of those whom they have left behind, and I think it must nerve the heart of everyone going out to fight in this war to think that those dependent upon them may be left to the care of their countrymen. (Applause.)

MAJOR STOUT, in reply, said that the Reserve Forces contained the

elements of very great possibilities—(applause)—and he believed it was a satisfaction to all that the Reserve Forces, in the shape of the Colonial troops, were being tested, and were bearing well the test that was being put upon them.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the health of Mr. and Mrs. Black, said: Mr. Croupier and gentlemen,—I rise with some nervousness after speeches so able and eloquent as those of the two last speakers, to propose the toast of the evening, that is to say, "The health of Mr. and Mrs. Black." (Applause.) I feel certain that really nothing requires to be said, as far as Mr. Black is concerned, to recommend this toast to your acceptance. You all know him thoroughly well as the Secretary and one of the leading members of the Archæological Society. I believe that it was in the year 1880 that he became the Secretary of this Society, and ever since that time he has been of the greatest use in the management of its affairs. People who come to the meetings of a Society such as this, or to any public meeting, and see the business going on smoothly and pleasantly, think very little of the pains, and trouble, and foresight, and intelligent management which have been required on the part of the Secretary to put things into the shape in which they find them. It is very distinctively so in the business of a Society like this. A great deal has to be done to keep things going without a hitch or without difficulty of any kind. That work has devolved upon Mr. Black and upon his coadjutor, equally essential to the welfare of the Society, Mr. Dalrymple Duncan. (Applause.) Without their combined services I do not know where the Glasgow Archæological Society would be, or how we could look forward to its future. But Mr. Black has other claims to our regard than merely being the Secretary of the Archæological Society. He has contributed to the literature of his time various works which are of substantial value apart from this Society. He has contributed papers to the Society, but he has written works of his own which have taken their own place, such as his account of Heligoland and the Frisian Islands of the North Sea, which has been translated into German. I am sure very many of us have read with great pleasure, perhaps not knowing whose productions they were, his

accounts in the *Herald* of his visits to Heligoland. He has laid the medical profession under an obligation to him by his book upon "Folk-Medicine," which has been translated into Spanish. He has laid the profession in which I am more particularly interested very much under his debt by his work on "The Parochial Ecclesiastical Law of Scotland." It has been a work of light and leading to many a Parish minister. He knows the constitutions and conditions of all sorts, parishes *quoad civilia*, parishes *quoad sacra*, and parishes *quoad omnia*—with all the questions which engage the attention of the Parish minister, from the mysteries of the minister's grass to the weird property of the grass of the churchyard, and the question of whether the minister is entitled to feed his "bestial" upon it or not—all sorts of questions regarding the manse, the offices, the fences of the glebe, the church and its accommodation. I have seen him with great pleasure reported in various journals of the day as contending stoutly for the rights and prerogatives of Parish ministers.

He has delivered in Glasgow University a series of lectures on Parochial Ecclesiastical Law to the senior Divinity students of the University under the auspices of the Faculty of Divinity. Then Mr. Black has contributed to literature apart from those more professional points that I have touched upon. A colleague of my own the other day, in delivering his inaugural address, devoted himself to decrying, I may say undervaluing, archæology, very much in the interests of literature, as if the scholar who devoted himself to archæology, though not neglecting literature, was yet following an inferior line of pursuit and research. I could not feel that I had any sympathy with him in that line of argument. The archæologist is perhaps doing more substantial work than the man who is merely occupied with the illustrations or criticisms of literature. He is going to the very basis of history. The man who explored some new "find" in archæology, or the man who was the first to discover Pompeii and reveal its secrets, was doing as good a work as the man who discovered some hitherto undiscovered Ode of Horace or Catullus. The one pursuit is not to be depreciated in comparison with the other. Both are out of the records of the past illustrating the present and enabling us better to understand the evolution of the history of mankind. (Applause.) It is in these pursuits that Mr. Black has found his

solace and recreation for years past. Evidently in the course of these years it has been borne in upon him that even archæology is a lonely study, and a lonely study is a dull pursuit. We do not know how the affinity was created between himself and the lady who now shares his name and, I have no doubt, promotes his studies. Possibly it was a kindred feeling as to the value of archæology. Possibly it was a feeling of a more immediate and personal kind. The Blacks and Blackies must have sprung from the same root, and as this is an age of reunion, nothing could be better than to try and bring them together again. My friend Mr. Black was so good as to propose that I should take a part in the marriage ceremony, but I was unable owing to extreme distance from the city to do so, but I hope soon to meet one worthy to be the helpmeet to so able and accomplished an archæologist. All his friends look forward to his union as a means of adding very much to his personal happiness, and being the commencement of what, I am sure we all hope, will be a long and prosperous domestic life—(applause)—and therefore, with every good wish for Mr. and Mrs. Black, we drink their health. (Applause.) It is a very pleasant addition to my duty and pleasure to hand to Mr. Black this Illuminated Address which the Council of this Society, on behalf of the members, has taken this opportunity of presenting to him. (Applause.)

The Address is in the following terms:

To

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.,

Hon. Secretary,

Glasgow Archæological Society.

Sir,

The Council of the Glasgow Archæological Society, on behalf of the Members, offer you their most hearty congratulations on the occasion of your marriage. The Members of the Society are deeply sensible of the extremely valuable services you have rendered to it while holding, as they hope you may long continue to do, the office of Honorary Secretary, and they gratefully recognise how much the success of the Society and its present prosperous condition are due to the eminent ability, energy, and tact with which you have discharged the onerous duties of the Secretaryship.

The Council take this opportunity of expressing their appreciation of your valuable

contributions to archæological literature, and trust that your work in that department may be prosecuted in the future as actively and successfully as in the past.

It is the earnest hope of the Society that you and Mrs. Black may have a long and happy married life, and that all prosperity and good fortune may attend you.

CHARLES EYRE, *President.*	DAV. MURRAY, *Ex-Pres.*
R. HERBERT STORY, *Vice-Pres.*	JOHN FERGUSON, *Ex-Pres.*
GEO. NEILSON, *Vice-Pres.*	JOHN HONEYMAN, *Ex-Pres.*

MR. BLACK, in reply, said: Principal Story, Mr. Croupier and gentlemen, —I thank you very much for the very cordial way in which you have received the toast proposed by the Chairman. It is about nine years ago, I think, since I was present at a dinner at which, in one sense, I had a great deal more pleasure, because, I can assure you that although it is very delightful to be an honoured guest, it prevents one from entirely enjoying his dinner. We were met to celebrate the marriage of Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, and on that occasion there was to me a feeling of pathos, that something new had sprung into our ken, and I felt like one upon a "lone peak in Darien." (Hear, hear.) Of Mr. Dalrymple Duncan's happiness we all know. I have always felt it a great honour to be associated with Mr. Dalrymple Duncan as one of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Archæological Society. We are not confined in this Society to any narrow meaning of the word "Archæology." We take it as meaning the intelligent history of the things of the past; when we look back upon all the commercial cities of the past, especially the ancient cities in the East, we find that all of them were, in their way, like Glasgow, cities busy in commercial pursuits, in finding out new markets and in pressing forward adventure in different countries. Although Glasgow is a comparatively modern city, founded when London was already hoary and when Edinburgh and Stirling were historic cities, still we are repeating in Glasgow the history of those great cities of the past, the history of cities in Italy, such as Milan, or Lubeck in Germany. Although those were commercial cities first of all, they were cities which promoted art and learning. The question which presents itself to members of this Society is how we as citizens of Glasgow and as a Society are to promote archæology in the West of Scotland. I make no apology for touching upon this theme, because it is one very near and dear to the hearts

both of Mr. Dalrymple Duncan and myself. (Applause.) We could not have been Secretaries for nearly twenty years without knowing something of the life of the Society. The members come and go, but there is always some predominating influence, something which guides a man to be a member, something which retains him as a member, something which makes him desirous of doing some work while he is a member, and the question arises, what can we do for the progress of the study of the past? In the first place, I think that we can do something by promoting independent research, and upon that subject I would say nothing more than refer the members to the admirable and learned report of the Committee on the exploration of the Antonine wall. That will be a monumental work—a monument creditable to the research and energy of this Society, every member of which must be grateful to Mr. Neilson and Mr. Chalmers, and to the other members of the Committee who gave their time in such a liberal way. The second point is the question of an archæological museum. Now, I am perfectly well aware that there are members of this Society who think it desirable that local museums should be done away with as much as possible, and that we should have a central archæological museum where specimens might be properly classified and arranged. I agree that from a scholar's point of view it is certainly most advisable that we should have a central museum, whose collections would simplify the work of the scholar immensely, whether the objects are properly or improperly classified. If properly classified, such a museum enables him to go on his way rejoicing, and if improperly classified it gives him the greater joy of correcting them, because you and I know that the chief secret joy of an archæologist is to discover that his predecessors have made mistakes. (Laughter.) But I should be sorry for my own part to see everything consolidated into one national museum. It is all very well for the scholar, but after all there are other people to be considered. It is advisable that we should have local museums such as that established by Dr. Grierson at Thornhill, and such as one may see at Kirkcudbright and in Stirling, where you have prehistoric objects discovered in the locality preserved in that locality. Otherwise when a discovery is made, there is a little brief interest taken in it and then the objects discovered are whisked off to Edinburgh and nobody locally knows

anything more about them. If, on the other hand, you have a museum on the spot, a local museum or a district or county museum or a division of Scotland museum, then the people who have discovered the objects are able (among others) to come back and see their finds, and are able to interest a large circle in them. Then we have not only the discovery, but a personal incentive to everyone in the district to keep his eyes open for more. For my own part, I venture to say that I regret very much that up to now we have no proper archæological museum in Glasgow. In this Society we had at one time various articles of interest presented to us, and even during the time that Mr. Duncan and I have been connected with the Society we have been offered many interesting objects, but we had no place to put them and we had to refuse them. No doubt had the city been disposed to form an archæological museum we could have helped them, but up till now I regret to say that the city has shown very little sympathy with the study of the past. The history of the attempted removal of the Tron Steeple, which was fortunately averted by the energy of the office-bearers of this Society—(hear, hear)—and of the altogether trivial and unnecessary removal of Kelvingrove House—(hear, hear)—does not encourage us to hope for much from the city. At the same time I feel very strongly, gentlemen, that whatever the attitude of the city as a whole may be towards us, the feeling of the individual members of the Corporation has often been extremely friendly to us, and I feel sure that that feeling will grow; I look forward to the day when the Corporation may welcome us as coadjutors, and may act with us, so that we may be able very humbly to give them assistance in forming a thoroughly representative archæological museum. I think that will be a most satisfactory thing for the West of Scotland and the West Highlands, and the sooner that day comes the better. (Applause.) There is only one other point that I would like to refer to, and that is our archæological library. In this Society members know from the reports—because they can know only from the reports, I regret to say—that we receive a remarkable collection of books from all parts of the world. The most valuable are received from America, where our transactions are greatly in request. Books and journals come from all ends of the earth. Even from Croatia and from Costa Rica we

receive publications with regularity. Those Transactions are filed and put away, but we are unable to make them available to the members. They are of altogether exceptional value—no free library, no library such as Stirling's or the Mitchell Library, or even the University Library, possesses such publications as we receive, and it is distressing that year after year we should be unable to put them at the disposal of the members. There is only one cure for it; it is a very expensive cure, but I am afraid all good cures are expensive—it is that we should have either a small house of our own or that we should have a suite of rooms. If we had that we might be able to receive some archæological specimens until the city saw fit to give us proper premises. Otherwise we must store our books till we make some fitting arrangement with the University Library or the Mitchell Library, and have a certain place set apart. Nothing could be more wholesome for the scholarship of the West of Scotland than that we should have our own rooms and our library in them. I have spoken frankly upon those points, because it is only as Secretary of the Archæological Society with Mr. Duncan that you have done me the honour of drinking my health and my wife's health. Primarily, I am here because I am one of the Secretaries of the Archæological Society, and the Secretaries know—I think I may speak for Mr. Duncan as well as myself—that they are not perfect. We do the best we can for the Society, but it is altogether beyond the capacity of any Secretary to please everybody. It sometimes dawns upon us that we might have done better on some points; but I assure you that we—I say "we," because we practically act as one—have always been actuated by a sincere desire to do the best we can for the Glasgow Archæological Society. (Applause). I thank you very much indeed. I thank you, Principal Story, for the very flattering way in which you have proposed my health and my wife's health, and for presenting me with this address. My wife much appreciates the kindness of the members in inviting me here to dinner to-night. Although she has never as yet been present at an archæological meeting, she has a remote archæological connection in that her father was the instigator and certainly the publisher of that book on Old Glasgow which my old master, Mr. Andrew MacGeorge, composed when I was in his office, and she is deeply interested in the history of Glasgow, with which her family has been so long

connected. I desire to thank you very cordially on her behalf as well as my own for the honour you have done us in drinking our healths. (Applause.)

MR. ROBERT GUY, in proposing the health of the President of the Society, Archbishop Eyre, said that many distinguished men had sat in the chair of the Society who had done much to promote the study of archæology, and who have produced remarkably good work in relation to the history of Glasgow and other Scottish places, and the Society was to be congratulated upon having at present as its President that most learned and distinguished gentleman and scholar, Archbishop Eyre. (Hear, hear.) He would not refer to the ancient See of Glasgow more than to say that it seemed appropriate that a city which might be described as "a See-born City" should in its Archæological Society be now presided over by an Archbishop, and in addition a most worthy and most efficient archæologist. (Hear, hear.) His Grace had not only presided in the chair, but had evinced his interest in and given great assistance to the work of the Society by the production of several most valuable papers on the history of Glasgow. They had a most interesting and valuable contribution of his relative to the ancient See of Glasgow than which nothing could be more interesting to the members, and he had also given the Society another most valuable contribution on the Seals of the City and See of Glasgow. Both of these papers were highly instructive and most useful in their bearing on the study of the past history of Glasgow. It was very much to be regretted that the Archbishop could not be present owing to his infirm health. The toast was drunk with much cordiality.

MR. GUTHRIE SMITH, in proposing the toast of "The Council of the Society," said that in all societies it was necessary to have some working committee, some central body to undertake the arrangement of the work of the Society. The Council of the Society stood somewhat in the same relation to it that the nucleus of a comet did to the tail. The toast was coupled with the name of Dr. David Murray, ex-President.

DR. MURRAY, in replying, said that the Council was very useful as a sort of bond of intercommunication, but the substantial work of the Society was done

by the Secretaries. What is wanted in any society such as this is enthusiasm and being always at it, and Mr. Dalrymple Duncan and Mr. Black have been most valuable, and the Society owes an immense deal to them for always pushing forward and arranging excursions and doing the whole buisness of the Society. The Council is like a board of directors, and the duty of directors is to accept responsibility. I don't think we do much more. The real work is done by the Secretaries, but the tail of the comet can do a great deal and it is most useful, not only to have a tail, but to have a large tail, and one which spreads all over the heavens and gives out a good deal of light. We want to interest the outside public in the proceedings of the Society; every member should be a sort of missionary, a sort of canvasser for the Society, so that we may get exhibits and papers and so forth, getting the world interested in our particular work, and getting the tail to interest themselves and attend the meetings. The latter, I think, have been very interesting for a good many years, and we have had a good attendance. In regard to what Mr. Black said about the museum, I am entirely at one with him. I have not the most distant doubt but that we will have, as we ought to have, a good Archæological Museum in Glasgow, because we can make no progress without it. I do not go so far as he did in deprecating the good City of Glasgow; the people who are to blame for not having it are ourselves. If we went to the Town Council like the importunate widow we would get all the accommodation that we want in the new Art Galleries, and they would give us any material assistance if we only put it properly to them. I have been consulted by the Town Council about various things, and they were always most willing and anxious to act; and any time that they did not act was really because information had not been before them. I think if the Society would go to the Town Council with a definite programme and tell them what they want it would be got. The Town Council has done well by Glasgow, and I think they would do well by us in the interests of archæology. I was never so clear about Kelvingrove House as some others. I was not one of the deputation, and personally I am no great believer in Kelvingrove House. About the library, I am very pleased to hear the suggestion that the University library might take charge of the books of this Society. Certainly they are of no use when merely stored. I am pleased to say that the University Court has

appointed me as a representative on the library, and I shall have very great pleasure in receiving Mr. Black's deputation. I think we have a considerable advantage compared wlth some of the other archæological societies; I think we are a good deal more catholic in our tastes. In London I attend meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, but they keep very much in the old groove and rut. They are very learned in certain things, but they don't expand, and other bodies are very much inclined to do the same thing. The Glasgow Archæological Society is more catholic in its tastes, so that it is more attractive to the general public; and apart altogether from reading papers, which is often a laborious thing, everyone can get hold of something and make of it an exhibit; a good exhibit is just as valuable as a good paper.

MR. J. T. T. BROWN, in proposing the toast of "The Chairman," said that since Principal Story was appointed to the high and honourable office which he now holds, they all knew how assiduous he had been in the performance of all his official duties. There was a report everywhere favourable of him; and among reforms which, greatly by his influence have been brought about, the inauguration of the German Literature Honours-Class, announced only the other day, would be regarded by many as one of the best. He was not going, however, to speak of the Chairman as Principal of the University, but rather in the name of those present to acknowledge specially his many services as a member of this Society, and at the same time to express their pleasure in having him to-night as Chairman. It was surely a distinguishing honour to number the Principal of the University among the office-bearers and to have him as a Vice-President gracing their board that night. (Applause.) One must hope that the University would always be intimately associated with the Archæological Society of Glasgow, and everyone would look forward with pleasure to the time when Principal Story would be elected as President. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN, in replying, said: I accepted the position of Vice-President of this Society with very great pleasure, and if the day should ever come in which I should be asked to accept the still greater honour which Mr. Brown has spoken of, I should feel some difficulty in accepting

it because of the feeling of my incapacity, especially to succeed so eminent and distinguished an archæologist as my venerable friend the Archbishop—for whom I have the greatest regard, and for whose contributions to the studies and work of the Society we cannot be too grateful. One of my visions of the University is to see the foundation of a Chair of Archæology—(applause)—without which, especially in a country such as ours, so rich in material for archæological study, the institution of a Chair of History, which is quite a recent thing, is imperfect. History without archæology to assist it is but an imperfect and one-sided study, and I hope that the day will come when the citizens of Glasgow and others will come forward to supply the financial needs of the University and understand the value of its expansion and of its including branches of study which are not represented at all, and if that day ever comes one of the institutions will be the institution of such a Chair. With regard to a point which Dr. Murray has spoken to, and which was spoken to by Mr. Black also, of the library of the Society being housed in the University and made more accessible to the public and to the members of the Society than it now is, I see no difficulty, unless some little prejudice perhaps of the present custodiers of the University library might form an obstacle, and that, I think, could be overcome. I see no reason why the library of the Archæological Society should not be combined with the library of the University and made accessible to all interested in that great study. (Applause.)

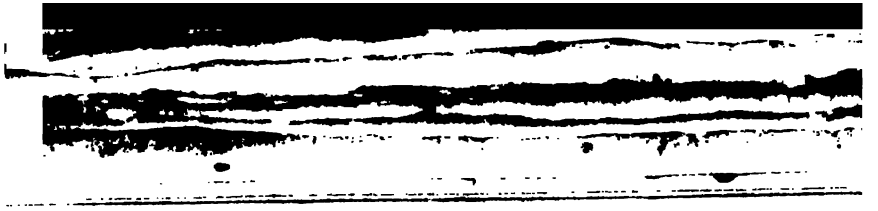
Mr. F. T. Barrett proposed the health of the Croupier, Mr. George Neilson, Vice-President.

Mr. Neilson, in his reply, said it had been a pleasure to him to be placed in the chair of Croupier on the occasion of recognising the great services to archæology in the West which have been rendered by Mr. Black. There were many things which he would have liked to have touched upon, more especially this question of the library, but he had no time to discuss them. One thing he would say, however, was that he had gradually by dint of experience come more and more to believe in the municipal side of our city life, and he did not think that the Archæological Society would act wisely in

lending itself to anything which savoured of distrust of the Corporation of Glasgow. As to the suggestion that they should send the library to the University, he would suggest that there was only one difficulty, viz., that the University library was only one whit less accessible than the archæological library, and therefore if there was to be any footing on which the library was to be sent there, it would require to be on a reconstituted basis; and he would go further and suggest that he believed that in the hands of Mr. Barrett, were the suggestion adequately represented to him, there should be means whereby in connection with the Mitchell Library, if not in connection with the new museum, but possibly in connection with both, the library difficulty might be solved, while provision might be made for adequate premises for general business.

DR. MURRAY proposed the health of Mr. Dalrymple Duncan—(applause)—as the success of the evening was largely to be attributed to his excellent arrangements.

MR. DALRYMPLE DUNCAN, in replying, said it has been a great pleasure to him to have had anything to do with the arrangements for the dinner as a means of testifying to the valuable services rendered to the Society by Mr. Black. No member of the Society knew as well as he did how much the Society owed to Mr. Black, with whom he had been associated in his secretaryship for the long period of eighteen years. Mr. Black had done excellent work for Scottish archæology in general and for this Society in particular.



Glasgow Archæological Society.

REPORT

BY THE COUNCIL

PRESENTED 15TH NOVEMBER, 1900.

FOR SESSION 1899-1900.

WITH

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS; AND
LIST OF MEMBERS AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1900,
ETC.

ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY, 207 BATH STREET.

GLASGOW:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS, ST. VINCENT STREET,
Publishers to the University.
1900.

Glasgow Archæological Society.

REPORT BY THE COUNCIL

For Session 1899-1900.

During the past Session six meetings were held, and the following papers were read:—

1899.

Nov. 16.—(1) "A Corner in Kent," by the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D.

(2) Notes on (*a*) "Papal Bullæ, Nicholas V., and others."

(*b*) "Great Seal of White Wax, University, Nova Erectio."

(*c*) Glass Bead found at Iona.

(*d*) Vessel, apparently Roman, found at Lesmahagow, by Professor Young, M.D.

Dec. 21.—(1) "The Château of St. Fargeau," by J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., F.R.S.E.

(2) Contemporary Transcript of the English Translation of Buchanan's "History of Scotland," by F. T. Barrett.

1900.

Jan. 18.—(1) "Mound Dwellings and Mound Dwellers," by David MacRitchie, F.S.A.Scot.

(2) "Scottish Costume in the Fifteenth Century, by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot.

Feb. 15 —(1) "Letters from Darien," by the Rev. Principal Story, D.D.

(2) "The Temple Barony of Maryculter," by John Edwards, F.S.A.Scot.

Mar. 15.—(1) "The Sculptured Stones of Govan Churchyard," by P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A.Scot.

(2) "Early and Historical Bindings," Genuine and Imitation, by James Paton, F.L.S.

April 19.—(1) "Another for Huchown: Being a preliminary study of a 14th Century MS." By George Neilson, F.S.A.Scot.

(2) "Engraved Highland Brooches, Dirks, and Powder Horns," by Mr. Charles E. Whitelaw.

The Annual Excursion of the Society was made this year to North Berwick, Dirleton and Tantallon Castles, and Whitekirk, on Thursday, 30th August. Papers on the various places visited during the course of the day were read by the Rev. Mr. Kerr of Dirleton, Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, and the Rev. P. Hately Waddell, minister of Whitekirk.

The number of members admitted in 1899-1900 was 13.

Part I. of Vol. IV. of the Second Series of the Society's Transactions has been issued to members. It contains the following papers:—

"The Preservation of Scottish Ecclesiastical Monuments," by the Most Rev. Archbishop Eyre, D.D., LL.D., President of the Society.

"The Old Lands of Partick and the Mill thereof," by James White, F.S.A.Scot.

"Notice of Armour and Arms at Eglinton Castle, Three Scottish Swords, Etc.," by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot.

"The Inscriptions on the Distance-Slabs of the Vallum or Wall of Antoninus Pius," by James Macdonald, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

"The Seals of the University of Glasgow," by George W. Campbell.

"Note on the Church of Saint Kentigerna, Inchcailleach, Loch Lomond," by the Rev. W. H. Macleod, B.A., B.D.

"The Seal of Inchaffrey," by the Most Rev. Archbishop Eyre, D.D., LL.D., President of the Society.

"Painted Wall Cloths in Sweden," by Mrs. Frances Murray.

"Bibliographical Notes on Histories of Inventions and Books of Secrets." (Fourth Supplement.) By John Ferguson, LL.D., F.S.A.

"Notes on Two Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant Preserved in the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow," by Professor John Young, M.D., and W. Innes Addison.

"The Old Church of St. Kentigern, Lanark," by Hugh Davidson.
"Account of the Annual Excursions of the Society for 1898 and 1899."

Part II. is now in the press. It will contain:

"Mound Dwellings and Mound Dwellers," by David MacRitchie, F.S.A.Scot.
"Scottish Costume in the Fifteenth Century," by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot.
"Letters from Darien," by Principal Story, D.D., LL.D.
"The Temple Barony of Maryculter," by John Edwards, F.S.A.Scot.
"The Sculptured Stones of Govan Churchyard," by P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A. Scot.
"The Château of St. Fargeau," by J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot.
"Another for Huchown," by George Neilson, F.S.A. Scot.
"The Early Christian Monuments of the Glasgow District," by J. Romilly Allan, F.S.A.
"Account of the Annual Excursion for 1900."

The Report of the Society's Committee on the investigations on the line of the Antonine Wall, which was issued during the course of last Session, has met with a most favourable reception from scholars at home and abroad.

The Council records with regret the death of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Bute, who for many years took a lively interest in the work of the Society. Many years ago Lord Bute offered to present to the Society a volume of drawings made under his direction on the domestic buildings of Paisley Abbey, and it was a source of regret to his lordship and to the Council that circumstances made it impossible to carry out the project. The Council also records with sorrow the death of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Lothian, another distinguished honorary member.

The Council has also to mention with particular regret the death during the Session of Mr. James Macdonald, LL.D., a most valued member of the Society, who, from the date of his becoming a member of the Society in 1884, had uniformly taken a warm and active interest in promoting its prosperity and usefulness. Dr. Macdonald formerly held the office of Vice-President, and at the time of his death was a member of the Council. From time to time he communicated to the Society a number of valuable and learned papers on various subjects, but specially in the department

of the history of the Roman period in Scotland, a branch of antiquities which Dr. Macdonald had made peculiarly his own. By Dr. Macdonald's death the cause of archæological research has sustained a very great loss, and in him there has passed away a most accomplished antiquary.

The Council elected the Right Reverend Bishop Harrison to fill Dr. Macdonald's place for his unexpired term of office.

The Council acknowledges with thanks receipt of the following volumes :—

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. :—
Annual Report for 1897.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland :—
Journal. In Parts, as published.

Königl: Akademie der Schönen Wissenschaften, Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, Stockholm :—
Der Orient und Europa, 1 Heft. 1899.

Société Archéologique Croatede Knin, Zagreb, Hungary; Starohrvatska Prosvjeta Glasilo Hrvatskoga Starinarskog Druztva U. Kninu. God. IV. Br. 5. 1900.

Museo Nacional, San José, Costa Rica :—
(1) Informe. 1898 á 1899.
(2) Informe. 1899 á 1900.

Institut Archéologique Liège :—
Bulletin de l'Institute. Vol. XXVIII. 1899.

The Powysland Club :—
Collections. Vol. XXXI. 2. 1900.

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society :—
(1) List of Members. 1900.
(2) The Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace. By Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D.

The Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society :—
Transactions. In Parts, as issued.

The Society of Antiquaries of London :—
Proceedings. 1899.

The Society of Architects :—
Journal. Vol. VII.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland :—
Proceedings. 1898-1899.

The Regality Club, Glasgow :—
Papers. Fourth Series. Part First.

The Oneida Historical Society, Utica, U.S.A. :—
Wagner Memories. 1722-1881.

The British and American Society of Rome :—
Journal No. 1. Vol. III. 1899.

The Combe Trustees :—
(1) Constitution of Man. 1893.
(2) Moral Philosophy. 1893.
(3) American Notes. 1894.
(4) Science and Religion. 1893.
(5) Discussions on Education. 1893. All by George Combe.
(6) The Management of Infancy. By Andrew Combe, M.D. 1896.

The Leigh-Browne Trustees :—
Biological Experimentation. By Sir Benjamin Richardson, M.D., F.R.S. 1896.

Siegwart Petersen, Kristiania. The Author :—
Les Temps Prehistoriques en Norvege. 1900.

The Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society :—
Transactions. Vols. I. and II. 1881 to 1895.

James MacLehose & Sons :—
Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. By John Gregorson Campbell, minister of Tiree. 1900.

Augustana Library, Rock Island, Illinois, U.S.A. :—
An Old Indian Village. By Johan August Udden. 1900.

J. O. Mitchell, LL.D. :—
Glasgow, Past and Present. Vols. I. and III. 1851 and 1856.

Robert Renwick, Depute Town Clerk, Glasgow :—
Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow. Vol. X. 1587-1591. 1900.

H. W. Young of Burghead, F.S.A.Scot. The Author :—
Burghead. 1899.

The Most Reverend Archbishop Eyre, D.D., LL.D., President of the Society, has intimated to the Council that he desires to retire from office, and the Council have passed the following resolution:—"The Council resolved to record on its minutes the expression of their deep and sincere regret that Archbishop Eyre had resolved to retire from the position of President before the expiry of his term of office, and the Secretaries were instructed to convey to His Grace the Council's acknowledgments of the ability and courtesy with which he had filled the chair, and the expression of the hope that he would continue to pursue the valuable researches the fruits of which he had in the past contributed in instructive and learned papers to the meetings of the Society."

The Council recommend the election of Mr. Joseph Bain, Rhind Lecturer in Archæology, as an Honorary Member of the Society.

Mr. J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., the senior Vice-President, has declined to be nominated at present in succession to Archbishop Eyre, and the Council respectfully recommend the election of the Very Reverend Principal Story, D.D., LL.D., as President. They also recommend the reappointment of Dr. Mitchell and Mr. George Neilson, F.S.A.Scot., as Vice-Presidents, and the election of the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D., as a Vice-President.

The following gentlemen retire by rotation from the Council and are not eligible for re-election until they have been a year out of office, viz. Messrs. F. T. Barrett, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., M.P., and John Edwards, F.S.A. Scot., and a further vacancy is caused by the nomination of Professor Cooper as a Vice-President. Archbishop Eyre becomes *ex officio* as a former President a member of Council, and for the four vacancies the Council respectfully suggests the election of Professor Medley, Mr. R. C. Graham of Skipness, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., Mr. James D. Roberton, and Mr. James White, F.S.A.Scot.

The re-election of Messrs. J. Dalrymple Duncan and William George Black, as Honorary Secretaries; and of Mr. George J. Walker, C.A., as Honorary Treasurer, is recommended. Messrs. W. R. M. Church, C.A., and William Kidston last year acted as Honorary Auditors, and to them the Society is under obligations for the duties they performed. The Council recommend the election of Messrs. William Howatt, I.M., and John Wordie, F.S.A.Scot., as Auditors for the current year.

In name and by authority of the Council,

JA. DALRYMPLE DUNCAN,
WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, } *Hon. Secretaries.*

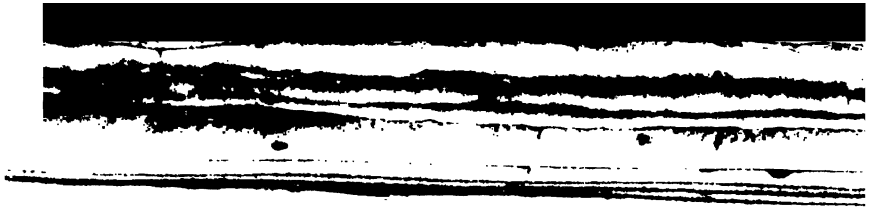
EXCERPT FROM MINUTE of the Forty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Society, held on 15th November, 1900.

Mr. GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A.Scot., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. William George Black, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. Secretary, and the Financial Statement by Mr. George J. Walker, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by the Right Rev. Bishop Harrison, D.D., the Report was adopted, and the Statement was approved, subject to audit by the Honorary Auditors.

On the motion of the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D., seconded by Mr. J. T. T. Brown, the thanks of the Society were accorded to the retiring Members of Council, viz.:—Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., M.P., and Messrs. F. T. Barrett and John Edwards, F.S.A.Scot.



TREASURER'S STATEMENT

AND

LIST OF OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS.

GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY—ABSTRACT OF THE

Dr.

To Funds at Close of last Account:—			
1. Life Membership Subscription Fund—			
£216 9s. 4d. 2¾ Consols, cost,		£210 0 0	
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,		78 15 0	
		£288 15 0	
2. Sir Michael Connal's Legacy—			
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,		6 15 0	
3. Ordinary Funds—			
(1) Subscriptions in Arrear—			
1 for Session 1895-96,	£0 12 6		
2 for Session 1896-97,	1 5 0		
5 for Session 1897-98,	3 2 6		
11 for Session 1898-99,	6 17 6		
	£11 17 6		
(2) In Bank—			
On Current Account,	13 14 3		
(3) Cash in hands of Hon. Treasurer,	6 5 5		
		31 17 2	
			£327 7 2
,, Revenue:—			
1. Subscriptions—			
264 for Session 1899-1900,		£165 0 0	
Deduct amount paid in advance last year,		3 2 6	
		£161 17 6	
Add 11 Subscriptions for Session 1900-01,		6 17 6	
		£168 15 0	
2. Dividends and Interest—			
Consols,	£5 14 4		
Interest on Deposit Receipt,	2 12 4		
		8 6 8	
			177 1 8
,, Publication of Transactions:—			
Received from Sale of Ordinary *Transactions*,		£2 8 0	
Received from Sale of *Report* on Antonine Wall,		63 8 0	
			65 16 0
			£570 4 10

HON. TREASURER'S INTROMISSIONS FOR SESSION 1899-1900.

			Cr.
By Expenses of Management:—			
Printing and Stationery,			£36 18 9
Salary to Officer,			3 3 0
Advertising,			13 7 6
Rent,			6 0 0
Charge for Addressing Circulars,			1 11 6
Postages and Incidents—			
Per Circulars,	£6 13 10		
Per Hon. Secretaries,	2 5 2		
Per Hon. Treasurer,	2 2 6		
			11 1 6
Excursion,			2 12 9
Miscellaneous—			
Bookbinding,	£4 10 0		
Subscriptions to Scottish Record Society,	1 1 0		
Expenses of Lantern,	0 10 0		
Year Book of Societies for Year 1900,	0 7 6		
Income Tax,	0 2 0		
			6 10 6
			£81 5 6
,, Publication of Transactions:—			
Cost of Binding *Report* on Antonine Wall,	£20 13 8		
Cost of Printing, Commission, Postages, Insurance, etc., of Ordinary *Transactions*,	101 0 10		
			121 14 6
,, Subscriptions written off as Irrecoverable,			5 0 0
,, Funds at Close of this Account:—			
1. Life Membership Subscription Fund—			
£216 9s. 4d. 2¾ Consols, cost,	£210 0 0		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	78 15 0		
	£288 15 0		
2. Sir Michael Connal's Legacy—			
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	6 15 0		
3. Ordinary Funds—			
(1) Subscriptions in Arrear—			
2 for Session 1897-98,		£1 5 0	
4 for Session 1898-99,		2 10 0	
12 for Session 1899-1900,		7 10 0	
		£11 5 0	
(2) In Bank—			
On Deposit Receipt,		49 8 7	
(3) Cash in Hands of Hon. Treasurer,		6 1 3	
	66 14 10		
			362 4 10
			£570 4 10

GEORGE J. WALKER, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Glasgow, 23*rd November*, 1900—Examined and found correct.

WILLIAM HOWATT, JOHN WORDIE, } *Auditors.*

OFFICE-BEARERS

OF THE

Glasgow Archaeological Society.

INSTITUTED 1856.

SESSION 1900-1901.

President.

THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL STORY, D.D., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN OSWALD MITCHELL, LL.D.
GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A. Scot.
THE REV. PROFESSOR COOPER, D.D.

Council.

PROFESSOR LINDSAY, D.D.
PROFESSOR YOUNG, M.D.
JOHN HONEYMAN, R.S.A.
PROFESSOR FERGUSON, LL.D.
DAVID MURRAY, LL.D.
THE MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.
} Former Presidents; Members of Council *ex officio.*

J. B. MURDOCH, F.S.A. Scot.
J. T. T. BROWN.
ROBERT GUY.
JAMES WHITE, F.S.A. Scot.
WILLIAM YOUNG, R.S.W.
ROBERT BRYDALL, F.S.A. Scot.

JAMES PATON, F.L.S.
THE RT. REV. BISHOP HARRISON, D.D.
PROFESSOR DUDLEY J. MEDLEY.
JAMES D. ROBERTON.
R. C. GRAHAM, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot.

Honorary Secretaries.

J. DALRYMPLE DUNCAN, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 211 Hope Street.
WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, F.S.A. Scot., 88 West Regent Street.

Honorary Treasurer.

GEORGE J. WALKER, C.A., 150 St. Vincent Street.

Honorary Librarian.

F. T. BARRETT.

Honorary Auditors.

WILLIAM HOWATT, I.M. | JOHN WORDIE, F.S.A. Scot.

Members who desire to read papers, or who have objects of archæological interest to exhibit, are requested to communicate with the Honorary Secretaries. Ladies are invited to attend all meetings.

Forms of application for admission to the Society may be had from the Honorary Secretaries.

Payment of the Annual Subscription is requested to be made to the Honorary Treasurer. No publication will be sent to Members who have not paid the Subscription for the year corresponding to such publication.

The Annual Excursion will take place in Autumn.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION 1900–1901.

Honorary Members.

	Date of Admission.
Bain, Joseph, F.S.A. Scot., St. David's, South Wales.	1900
Birch, Walter de Gray, F.R.S.L., F.S.A., British Museum, London.	1881
Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., Nash Mills, Hemel-Hempstead.	1892
Gomme, George Laurence, F.S.A., 24 Dorset Square, London, N.W.	1881
Mitchell, Sir Arthur, K.C.B., M.D., LL.D., 43 Drummond Place, Edinburgh.	1881

Ordinary Members as at 31st December, 1900.

(*) Indicates Members of Council. (†) Indicates Life Members.
(‡) Indicates that the Member was admitted prior to the resuscitation of the Society in 1877.

Adam, Thomas, Hazel Bank, Uddingston.	1879
Addie, John, Viewpark, Uddingston.	1889
Aiken, John B., 201 West George Street.	1891
Ainslie, George, 76 Pollok Street.	1899
Aitken, John, 33 Lilybank Gardens.	1891
Alexander, D. M., 97 West Regent Street.	1892
Alexander, John, 268 Buchanan Street.	1898
Allan, F. W., 125 Buchanan Street.	1884
Allan, James, 110 Candleriggs.	1887
Alston, W. M., C.E., 24 Sardinia Terrace, Hillhead.	1887
Amours, F. J., B.A., 75 Montgomerie Street.	1898
Anderson, Robert, 76 Bath Street.	1892

	Date of Admission.
Anderson, William, F.S.A. Scot., Arns-Brae, New Kilpatrick.	1894
Anderson, William Boyd, 1 Grosvenor Crescent, Kelvinside.	1882
Anderson, W. F. G., 22 Huntly Gardens.	1886
Annan, John, 40 Derby Street, Sandyford.	1892
Arthur, Matthew, 78 Queen Street.	1883
†Arthur, Thomas Glen, 78 Queen Street.	1883
Baillie, William Anderson Glentore, Uddingston.	1889
Bain, Andrew, 17 Athole Gardens.	1900
Baird, J. G. A., M.P., Adamton, Ayrshire.	1891
Balfour, D.D., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, County Buildings.	1882
Barr, Henry, 45 West George Street.	1894
Barrett, F. T., Mitchell Library, *Hon. Librarian.*	1882
Beckett, Charles E., M.A., LL.B., 163 St. Vincent Street.	1896
Begg, F. Faithfull, 13 Earl's Court Square, London.	1898
Bell, George, Architect, 212 St. Vincent Street.	1898
†Bell, Sir James, Bart., 7 Marlborough Terrace.	1892
†Bell, James T., Northcote, Dowanhill Gardens.	1892
†Bell, John J., Northcote, Dowanhill.	1897
Berry, Sheriff, LL.D., 5 University Gardens.	1888
Beyaert, The Rev. Arthur, Uddingston.	1894
Bilsland, William, F.S.A. Scot., 28 Park Circus.	1895
*Black, William George, F.S.A. Scot., 88 West Regent Street, *Hon. Secretary.*	1877
Blackie, J. Robertson, Northbank, Dowanhill Gardens.	1890
Blyth, Robert, 1 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1891
Blythswood, The Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., Blythswood, Renfrew.	1885
Boyd, David T., 19 Wellington Street.	1890
Brand, James, 10 Marchmont Terrace, Kelvinside.	1889
Bremner, R. L., 208 West George Street.	1895
Brown, John Arthur, 4 Prince Albert Road, Dowanhill.	1897

	Date of Admission.
*Brown, J. T. T., 97 West Regent Street.	1891
Bruce, John, F.S.A.Scot., 67 West Nile Street.	1888
*Brydall, Robert, F.S.A. Scot., 8 Newton Terrace.	1890
†Bryden, R. Lockhart, B.L., 15 Dalhousie Street.	1893
Buchanan, A. W. Gray, of Parkhill, Polmont.	1895
†Bulloch, Matthew, 48 Prince's Gate, London, S.W.	1883
Burnet, John, I.A., St. Kilda, Dowanhill Gardens.	‡
Burnet, John James, I.A., F.S.A.Scot., 167 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Callander, John Graham, F.S.A.Scot., 20 Rupert Street.	1898
Caldwell, James, F.S.A. Scot., Writer, Paisley.	‡
Campbell, D. A., 2 Broomhill Drive, Partick.	1892
Campbell, J. Archibald, 44 West George Street.	1885
Campbell, James, of Tullichewan, 137 Ingram Street.	‡
†Campbell, James A., M.P., LL.D., Stracathro, by Brechin.	‡
Campbell, John MacNaught, F.Z.S., 261 Dumbarton Road.	1881
Campbell, R. C. Graham, Shirvan, Lochgilphead, N.B.	1890
†Cayzer, Sir Charles W., M.P., Ralston, Renfrewshire.	1884
Chalmers, P. Macgregor, F.S.A. Scot., 95 Bath Street.	1889
Christie, T. Craig, of Bedlay, by Chryston.	1885
Church, W. R. M., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1890
Clark, David R., M.A., F.S.A. Scot., 8 Park Drive, West.	1897
Clark, James Cooper, 15 Kelvinside Terrace.	1899
Clark, William, Gartfern, High Crosshill, Rutherglen.	1885
†Colquhoun, Sir James, of Luss, Bart., Dunclutha, Ore, Hastings.	1885
Cook, William, 77 St. Vincent Street.	1893
*Cooper, The Rev. Professor, D.D., The College, *Vice-President.*	1898
Coubrough, John, Blanefield, Stirlingshire.	1877
Couper, Keir, 27 Lansdowne Crescent.	1900
Coulson, J. Laurie, Failford, Mauchline.	1890

	Date of Admission.
Cowie, Charles R., Woodend, Partick.	1891
Cree, Thomas Scott, 15 Montgomerie Quadrant, Kelvinside.	1888
†Crerar-Gilbert, D. M., Yr., of Yorkhill, 21 Woodside Terrace.	1888
Crouch, William, C.E., 53 Bothwell Street.	1887
Cumming, John, 79 Oxford Drive, North Kelvinside.	1898
†Curle, R. Barclay, 12 Athole Gardens, Kelvinside.	1891
Dalrymple, The Hon. Hew H., F.S.A.Scot., Lochinch, Castle Kennedy.	1897
Dalrymple, James, of Woodhead, Kirkintilloch.	‡
Dalzell, J. B., Allan Park, Larkhall.	1897
Dick, David, 7 Seyton Avenue, Langside.	1888
Dick, J. Proudfoot, F S.A.Scot., c/o Messrs. M'Clure, Naismith, Brodie & Co., 77 St. Vincent Street.	1880
Dick-Cleland, A. B., of Ravenswood, 28 Coats Gardens, Edinburgh.	1890
Dixon, Jas. S., 127 St. Vincent Street.	1891
†Donald, John R., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1883
†Donald, T. F., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1882
Donnelly, W. A., Middleton House, Milton, by Bowling.	1894
Douglas, William, 22 West Nile Street.	1891
Duncan, J. A., 138 West George Street.	1888
*Duncan, J. Dalrymple, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., F.R.S.E., 211 Hope Street, *Hon. Secretary*.	1877
Dunn, Robt. Hunter, 4 Belmont Crescent, Hillhead.	1885
†Dyer, Henry, C.E., M.A., 8 Highburgh Terrace.	1886
Easton, Walter, 125 Buchanan Street.	1882
Edmiston, John, 7 West Nile Street.	1886
Edmonstone, Sir Archibald, Bart., Duntreath Castle, Strathblane.	1898
†Edwards, John, F.S.A. Scot., 4 Great Western Terrace, Kelvinside.	1891

	Date of Admission.
Eskdale, John L., 80 Argyle Street.	1891
Ewing, William, 45 Renfield Street.	1891
*Eyre, The Most Rev. Archbishop, LL.D., D.D., F.S.A. Scot., 6 Bowmont Gardens, Kelvinside, *Ex-President.*	1888
†Faulds, Andrew Wilson, F.S.A. Scot., 111 Union Street.	1882
Fergus, Oswald, F.S.A. Scot., 12 Clairmont Gardens.	1898
Ferguson, A. A., 48 M'Alpine Street.	‡
Fergusson, D. Scott, Hayston House, Kirkintilloch.	1891
*†Ferguson, Professor J., LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 13 Newton Place, *Ex-President.*	1878
Fergusson, William, 69 St. Vincent Street.	1898
Fleming, Alexander, of Kilmaho, 168 West George Street.	1883
Fleming, James, Treasurer, Corporation Gas Department, City Chambers.	1893
Fleming, John, 1 Lynedoch Terrace.	1883
Fotheringham, Thomas Bremner, 52 Barrland Street, Maxwell Road.	1891
†Fowler, John, 2 Grantly Gardens, Shawlands.	1884
Fraser, John Imbrie, 13 Sandyford Place.	1900
Fraser, J. W., 168 West George Street.	1886
†Fraser, M. P., Advocate, 2 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.	1883
Fraser, Melville, 31 St. Vincent Place.	1884
Galbraith, Thomas L., Town-Clerk, Stirling.	1889
Garroway, James R., New Club.	1882
Gemmill, J. Leiper, 162 St. Vincent Street.	1890
Gibson, George, 17 Victoria Crescent.	1900
Gibson, William, Ayr.	1885
†Gillies, William, 204 West George Street.	1882
Gordon, The Rev. J. F. S., D.D., Beith.	1891
Gourlay, Robert, Bank of Scotland, St. Vincent Place.	1888
Gow, Leonard, 45 Renfield Street.	1889

	Date of Admission.
Hutchison, Thomas H., 4 Windsor Quadrant.	1884
Jameson, Robert, 192 St. Vincent Street.	1885
Johnston, David, 160 West George Street.	1882
Keith, Duncan, 13 West Regent Street.	1883
Kelvin, The Right Hon. Lord, F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., Netherhall, Largs.	1893
Kennedy, James, of Doonholm, Ayr.	1887
†Keppie, John, 140 Bath Street.	1891
†Ker, Charles, C.A., 115 St. Vincent Street.	1887
Ker, David Smith, 26 Bothwell Street.	1891
†Ker, T. Ripley, of Dougalston, Milngavie.	1879
Key, William, 109 Hope Street.	1897
Kidston, William, 50 West Regent Street.	1885
Kincaid, Thomas, 9 Lansdowne Crescent.	1889
King, Sir James, of Campsie, Bart., LL.D., 115 Wellington St.	1883
King, Robert, of Levernholme, 115 Wellington Street.	1898
Kirkpatrick, The Rev. J. M., B.D., 11 Fairlie Park Drive.	1898
Kirkpatrick, The Rev. Roger S., B.D., The Manse, Govan.	1899
Kirkwood, James, Carling Lodge, Ibroxholm.	1899
Knight, Charles A., 21 St. Vincent Place.	1886
Laidlaw, Rev. Andrew, 3 Derby Crescent.	1896
Laird, James, 439 Great Western Road.	1899
Laird, John, 6 North Court, Royal Exchange.	1889
†Lang, James, F.S.A. Scot., 9 Crown Gardens, Dowanhill.	1883
Lang, William, Cross Park, Partick.	1893
*Lindsay, The Rev. Professor T. M., D.D., 37 Westbourne Gardens, *Ex-President.*	1877
MacBrayne, David, 17 Exchange Square.	1885
M'Cowan, David, 7 Lynedoch Crescent.	1891

	Date of Admission.
M'Donald, Alex. Beith, M.Inst.C.E., City Engineer, City Chambers.	1898
Macdonald, Charles, 100 West Regent Street.	1900
Macdonald, George, M.A., 41 Lilybank Gardens.	1897
Macfarlane, James, 2 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1899
Macgeorge, B. B., 24 George Square.	1882
M'Gibbon, Alexander, 109 Hope Street.	1897
M'Gibbon, W. F., 221 West George Street.	1897
M'Gregor, James, 8 Kersland Street, Hillhead.	1891
M'Grigor, Alexander, 172 St. Vincent Street.	1883
Macharg, E. Simpson, C.A., 69 Buchanan Street.	1885
M'Intyre, John, 33 Oswald Street.	1897
Mackenzie, Alexander, Writer, Paisley.	1891
†Mackinlay, David, 6 Great Western Terrace.	‡
†Mackinlay, James M., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 4 Westbourne Gardens.	1886
Mackinlay, Wm. M., 16 Kelvinside Gardens.	1895
Mackirdy, W. A. Scott, of Birkwood, Lesmahagow.	1898
Maclae, A. Crum, of Cathkin, 192 St. Vincent Street.	1886
Maclay, James, M.A., LL.B., 169 West George Street.	1888
Maclay, William, Thornwood, Langside.	1891
M'Lean, Allan, 41 West George Street.	1883
†MacLehose, James J., M.A., F.S.A. Scot., 61 St. Vincent Street.	1882
MacLehose, Robert, M.A., 61 St. Vincent Street.	1882
MacLellan, Robert, Conservative Club.	1891
Macleod, The Rev. W. H., Buchanan Manse, Drymen.	1898
Macnair, Thomas, 27 St. Vincent Place.	1895
Maconechy, Robert, Golf View, Prestwick.	1882
Macquaker, Thomas, Ardshalloch, Hamilton Drive, Pollokshields, W.	1890
Main, John Bell, Portland Park, Hamilton.	1891
Mann, John, C.A., 137 West George Street.	1891

	Date of Admission.
Martin, William, 116 St. Vincent Street.	1900
†Marwick, Sir James D., LL.D., City Chambers.	1878
*Medley, Professor Dudley J., The College.	1899
†Menzies, James, Mount Feargan, Bothwell.	1884
Miller, A. Lindsay, Architect, 122 Wellington Street.	1898
Miller, D. S., 45 Renfield Street.	1881
Mitchell, A. Moncrieff, LL.B., 160 West George Street.	1885
†Mitchell, George A., 5 West Regent Street.	1884
Mitchell, James, 222 Darnley Street.	1895
†Mitchell, John, 2 Lynedoch Street.	1888
*†Mitchell, John Oswald, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., 69 East Howard Street, *Vice-President.*	1882
Mitchell, Stephen, Craigmount, Kelvinside.	1899
Moore, Robert T., C.E., 13 Clairmont Gardens.	1891
Muir, The Rev. Pearson Macadam, D.D., 1 Athole Gardens.	1897
Muir, Sir John, Bart., 6 Park Gardens.	1889
†Munro, R., M.D., F.S.A. Scot., 48 Manor Place, Edinburgh.	1883
*Murdoch, J. B., F.S.A. Scot., Capelrig, Mearns.	‡
*Murray, David, LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 169 West George Street, *Ex-President.*	1881
Murray, John Bruce, 17 University Gardens, Hillhead.	1886
Nairne, J. Stuart, F.R.C.S.E., 141 Hill Street, Garnethill.	1890
*†Neilson, George, F.S.A. Scot., 34 Granby Terrace, *Vice-President.*	1890
Neilson, James, 116 Bishop Street, Port-Dundas.	1898
Ness, James, 157 St. Vincent Street.	1900
Newbery, F. H., School of Art, 264 Sauchiehall Street.	1894
Nicol, Donald N., M.P., Ardmarnock, by Tigh-na-bruaich.	1888
Normand, P. Hill, of Whitehill, Aberdour.	1899
Orr. John F., 184 West Regent Street.	1883

	Date of Admission.
Park, Alexander, Croy House, Croy.	1891
Paterson, John, Sen., 199 Nithsdale Road, Pollokshields.	1898
Paterson, Oscar, 118 West Regent Street.	1889
*Paton, James, F.L.S., Camphill House, Crossmyloof.	1884
Pearson, Alexander, Sheriff-Clerk Depute, County Buildings.	1885
Pettigrew, Matthew, Jun., 1 Wilton Crescent.	1898
Pickering, R. Y., of Conheath, Dumfries.	1891
Pirrie, Robert, F.S.A. Scot., 9 Buckingham Terrace.	1896
Prentice, Thomas, 175 West George Street.	1890
Raleigh, Professor Walter, The College.	1900
Reid, James, 15 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1899
Reid, James A., 172 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Reid, Thomas, M.D., 11 Elmbank Street.	1887
Renwick, Robert, Depute Town Clerk, City Chambers.	1882
Richardson, Andrew, Soho Engine Works, Paisley.	1900
*Roberton, James D., 1 Park Terrace, East.	1883
Roberts, Andrew, F.S.A. Scot., Commercial Bank House, Callander.	1879
Rodger, Edward, 1 Clairmont Gardens.	1900
†Ross, John M., 2 Devonshire Gardens.	1888
Roxburgh, George R., 137 Ingram Street.	1883
Ruddock, John W., 32 Windsor Terrace, St. George's Road.	1884
Rundell, Richard Cooper, Royal Exchange Buildings.	1888
Rutherford, Andrew, M.A., 150 Ingram Street.	1898
Salmon, W. Forrest, F.R.I.B.A., 53 Bothwell Street.	1885
Scott, John, 247 Sauchiehall Street.	1893
†Shand-Harvey, James W., of Castle-Semple, Lochwinnoch.	1891
Shaughnessy, Joseph, Bellvue, Rutherglen.	1890
Shaw-Stewart, M. H., M.P., Carnock, Larbert.	1892
Sinclair, Alex., Ajmere Lodge, 41 Cathkin Road, Langside.	1884

	Date of Admission.
Skirving, Alexander, Architect, 121 West Regent Street.	1898
Smith, Andrew, F.S.A. Scot., Broompark, Lanark.	1897
†Smith, J. Guthrie, 54 West Nile Street.	1879
Smith, James M., Ibroxholm House, Ibrox.	1900
Somerville, John, Carronben, Buchanan Drive, Cambuslang.	1888
Sorley, Robert, 93 St. Vincent Street.	1887
Speirs, A. A., of Elderslie, Houston House, Houston.	1898
Spencer, Charles Louis, 121 West George Street.	1894
Spencer, John James, 121 West George Street.	1894
Spens, John A., 169 West George Street.	1882
Steel, The Rev. John, D.D., Ellangowan, Dennistoun.	1884
Steven, John M., 115 Stirling Road.	1897
Stewart, R. K., F.S.A. Scot., Murdostoun Castle, Newmains.	1897
Stuart, James, C.E., 12 Broomhill Avenue, Partick.	1885
†Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John, of Pollok, Bart., M.P., F.S.A. Scot., Pollok, Pollokshaws.	1890
Stodart, Archibald, Edindonich, Cardross.	1898
*Story, The Very Rev. Principal R. Herbert, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., The College, *President*.	1887
Stout, Thomas, 14 Belmont Crescent.	1894
Strachan, R. U., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, 9 Crown Circus, Dowanhill.	1896
Sturrock, Peter, of Baltersan, London Road, Kilmarnock.	1890
Swan, Robert M. W., Westfield, 58 Maxwell Drive, Pollokshields.	1893
Taylor, Charles, 13 Broomhill Avenue, Partick.	1900
Thomson, M. C., 25 Hope Street.	1885
Turnbull, John, 50 West Regent Street.	1890
Turner, William, Baranfrow, Helensburgh.	1883
Ure, George Albert, Hope Park, Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire.	1891

	Date of Admission.
*Walker, Geo. J., C.A., 150 St. Vincent Street, *Hon. Treasurer*.	1895
Wallace, T. M., Douglas Gardens, Uddingston.	1884
Wallace, William, LL.D., 36 Lilybank Gardens.	1900
†Watson, Duncan, 17 Newton Street.	1887
†Watson, T. L., 166 Bath Street.	1881
Watt, James Thomson, 150 Holland Street.	1899
Weddel, James, Park Villa, Uddingston.	1882
*White, James, Bishop Mills, Old Dumbarton Road.	1898
Whitelaw, Alexander, of Gartshore, Kirkintilloch.	1891
†Whitelaw, Charles E., 168 Bath Street.	1889
Whitelaw, Thomas, 112 Wellington Street.	1886
Whyte, John, Hollybank, St. Ninians, Stirling.	1891
Wilson, John, of Airdrie, M.P., Airdrie House.	1887
Wilson, John J., 94 Bath Street.	1898
Wilson, Robert, Procurator-Fiscal, County Buildings, Hamilton.	1885
Wingate, Walter E., 4 Bowmont Terrace, Kelvinside.	1887
Wood, H. K., 17 Rosslyn Terrace.	1897
Wood, William J., 38 Cochrane Street.	1894
†Wordie, John, F.S.A.Scot., 42 Montgomerie Drive, Kelvinside.	1884
Wylie, John, 26 Huntly Gardens, Kelvinside.	1897
Young, George Burn, 45 West George Street.	1883
*Young, Professor J., M.D., 19 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, *Ex-President*.	‡
*Young, William, R.S.W., 65 West Regent Street.	1896

Past Presidents of the Society since 1877.

1877-80. The Very Rev. John Caird, D.D., LL.D., Principal of the University of Glasgow.

1880-83. John Young, M.D., Professor of Geology, University of Glasgow.

1883-86. John Veitch, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric, University of Glasgow.

1886-88. The Rev. Thomas M. Lindsay, D.D., Professor of Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow.

1888-91. John Honeyman, R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

1891-94. John Ferguson, LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., Professor of Chemistry, University of Glasgow.

1894-95. Colin Dunlop Donald, F.S.A. Scot.

1895-98. David Murray, LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot.

1898-00. The Most Rev. Archbishop Eyre, D.D., LL.D.

Glasgow Archæological Society.

REPORT

BY THE COUNCIL

PRESENTED 21ST NOVEMBER, 1901.

FOR SESSION 1900-01.

WITH

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS; AND
LIST OF MEMBERS AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1901,
ETC.

ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY, 207 BATH STREET.

GLASGOW:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS, ST. VINCENT STREET,
Publishers to the University.
1901.

Glasgow Archæological Society.

REPORT BY THE COUNCIL

FOR SESSION 1900-1901.

During the past Session six meetings were held, and the following papers were read:—

1900.

Nov. 15.—"Early Christian Monuments in the Glasgow District," by J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot.

Dec. 20.—"The Work and Place of Huchown," by George Neilson, Vice-President.

1901.

Jan. 17.—"The Antonine Line as a Defensive Design; a Comparison in Ancient and Modern Principles of Fortification," by Major Ruck, R.E.

Feb. 21.—(1) "A Notice of Carved Stones at Luss," illustrated by Drawings by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot.

(2) "David Dale's House in Charlotte Street," by William George Black, F.S.A.Scot.

Mar. 21.—"Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen," illustrated by Plans, by the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D., Vice-President.

April 18.—(1) "Kincardineshire Churches," by F. C. Eeles, Esq.

(2) "Trent in 1900," by William George Black, F.S.A.Scot.

The Annual Excursion of the Society was made this year to Lochmaben, Spedlins Tower, the hill fort known as Woody Castle, and Lockerbie, on Tuesday, 3rd September. During the day the Excursion party had the benefit of the guidance of the Rev. R. Neill Rae, Lochmaben, and Mr. Edward B. Rae, Town-Clerk, Lochmaben.

The number of ordinary members admitted during last Session was 17, and, in conformity with the recommendation of the Council, Mr. Joseph Bain was elected an honorary member.

Part II. of Vol. IV. of the second series of the Society's Transactions will shortly be issued. It will contain :—

"Mound-Dwellings and Mound-Dwellers," by David MacRitchie, F.S.A.Scot.

"The Temple Barony of Maryculter," by John Edwards, F.S.A.Scot.

"Letters from Darien," by the Very Rev. Principal Story, D.D., LL.D.

"Notes on Scottish Costume in the Fifteenth Century," by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot.

"'Huchown of the Awle Ryale': The Alliterative Poet," by George Neilson, F.S.A.Scot.

"The Early Christian Monuments of the Glasgow District," by J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.

"The Château of St. Fargeau," by J. D. G. Dalrymple, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot.

Account of the Annual Excursion, 1901.

The Scottish History Section of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, contained a number of valuable archæological exhibits lent by members of this Society and others.

The Council record with regret the death of Dr. David Mackinlay, who for many years took a warm interest in the work of the Society and was long a member of Council.

The Council have had under consideration during the year the desirability of ensuring by public interest in the matter that any buildings to be erected in the neighbourhood of Glasgow Cathedral should not dwarf its proportions; and the question of the suitable control of the erection of monuments in the Cathedral.

With a view to adding to the membership of the Society, many citizens

whose interest in its objects is well known, the Council have authorised the preparation of a Letter of Invitation to those gentlemen.

Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A.Scot., recently reported to the Council the discovery by him of what appeared to be a crannog in the neighbourhood of Langbank Ferry, and, at his desire, the Council appointed a Committee of Investigation, one or more members of which attended each day of the week beginning Monday, 7th October, at the systematic examination of the crannog. The Committee will present an interim Report at an early date.

The Council acknowledges with thanks receipt of the following volumes:—

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A.:—

1. Pithecanthropus Erectus: A Form from the Ancestral Stock of Mankind. By Eugene Dubois. 1900.
2. On our Present Knowledge of the Origin of Man. By Ernst Haeckel. 1900.
3. A Sketch of Babylonian Society. By F. E. Peiser. 1900.
4. The Excavations of Carthage. By Phillipe Berger. 1900.
5. The Transportation and Lifting of Heavy Bodies by the Ancients. By J. E. Watkins. 1900.
6. The Past Progress and Present Position of the Anthropological Sciences. By E. W. Brabrook. 1900.
7. The Origin of African Civilizations. By L. Frobenius. 1900.
8. Dogs and Savages. By Dr. B. Langkavel. 1900.
9. Review of the Evidence relating to Auriferous Gravel Man in California. By William H. Holmes. 1901.
10. A Problem in American Anthropology. By F. W. Putnam 1901.
11. On Sea Charts formerly used in the Marshall Islands, with Notices on the Navigation of these Islanders in general. By Captain Winkler. 1900.
12. The Peopling of the Philippines. By Rudolf Virchow. 1901.
13. List of the Native Tribes of the Philippines and of the Languages Spoken by them. By Prof. F. Blumentritt. 1901.
14. The Sculptures of Santa Lucia Cozumahualpa, Guatemala, in the Ethnological Museum of Berlin. By Herman Strebel. 1901.

Bureau of American Ethnology (Smithsonian Institution):—
1. Seventeenth Annual Report (1895-96). Parts I. and II. 1898.
2. Eighteenth Do. (1896-97). Part I. 1899.

The United States National Museum, Washington, U.S.A.:—
Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1897. Part II.
Do. do. do. 1898.
Do. do. do. 1899.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland:—
Journal. In parts, as published.

The Royal Swedish Antiquarian Academy, Stockholm:—
Manadsblad. 1896-1900.

The Norwegian Antiquarian Society:—
1. Foreningin til Norske Fortidsmindesmaerkers Bevaring Aarsberetning for 1898, 1899, 1900.
2. Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges Fortid, by N. Nicolaysen. 1899.

Institut Archéoligique Liège:—
Bulletin de l'Institut. Vol. XXIX. 1900 and 1901.

Société Archéologique Croate de Knin, Zagreb, Hungary:—
Publications in parts. 1900-1901.

The Powysland Club:—
Collections. Vol. XXXI., iii. 1900.

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society:—
1. The Charters of the Burgh of Cambridge. By F. W. Maitland, LL.D., D.C.L., and Mary Bateson. 1901.
2. The Place Names of Cambridgeshire. By the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, Litt.D., D.C.L. 1901.
3. Proceedings. No. 41. 1901.
4. List of Members. 1901.

The Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society:—
Transactions. In parts, as issued.

The Society of Antiquaries of London:—
Proceedings. 1900.

The British and American Archaeological Society of Rome:—
Journal. No. 2, Vol. III. 1900.

The Philosophical Society of Glasgow :—
Proceedings. Vol. XXXII. 1901.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland :—
Proceedings. Vol. XXXIV. 1900.

The Society of Architects, London :—
The Architects' Magazine. Vol. I.

British Association for the Advancement of Science :—

1. Handbook on the Natural History of Glasgow and the West of Scotland. 1901.
2. Handbook on the Industries of Glasgow and the West of Scotland. 1901.
3. Handbook on Archaeology Education and Miscellaneous Subjects. 1901.
4. British Association Excursions (Glasgow Meeting). 1901.

Ralph Richardson, F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot. The Author :—
Coutts & Co., Bankers, Edinburgh and London. 1900.

During last Session Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A.Scot., intimated his desire to retire from the Council. In view of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Macgregor Chalmers to the Society in the past, the Council accepted his resignation with much regret. Mr. Charles Edward Whitelaw, architect, was chosen by the Council to fill the vacancy thus created.

The Council recommend the re-appointment of the Vice-Presidents, Messrs. J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., George Neilson, F.S.A.Scot., and the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D.

The following gentlemen retire by rotation from the Council and are not eligible for re-election until they have been a year out of office. Messrs. J. B. Murdoch, F.S.A.Scot., J. T. T. Brown, and Robert Guy. The Council respectfully suggests the election of Messrs. F. T. Barrett, John Edwards, F.S.A. Scot., and John Bruce, F.S.A. Scot.

Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple, who has since 1877 been one of the Honorary Secretaries, has expressed his wish to retire from the office of Secretary. He has, however, in compliance with the request of the Council, agreed to continue in office in the meantime, and the Council accordingly recommend his re-election and that of Mr. Black as Honorary Secretaries,

and the re-appointment of Mr. George J. Walker, C.A., as Honorary Treasurer.

Messrs. William Howatt, I.M., and John Wordie, F.S.A.Scot., last year acted as Honorary Auditors, and to them the Society is under obligation for the duties they performed. The Council recommend the election of Mr. John F. Orr and Mr. James Henry Parker, C.A., as Auditors for the current year.

For and on behalf of the Council,

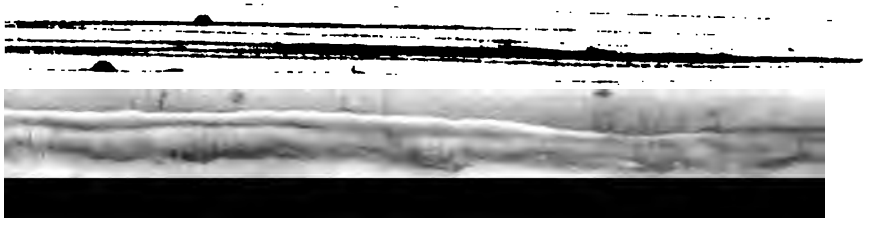
J. D. G. DALRYMPLE, } *Hon.*
WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, } *Secretaries.*

EXCERPT FROM MINUTE of the Forty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Society, held on 21st November, 1901.

The VERY REV. PRINCIPAL STORY, D.D., President, in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. William George Black, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. Secretary, and the Financial Statement by Mr. George J. Walker, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D., the Report was adopted, and the Statement was approved, subject to audit by the Honorary Auditors.



TREASURER'S STATEMENT

AND

LIST OF OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS.

GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY—ABSTRACT OF THE

Dr.

To Funds at close of last Account:—			
1. Life Membership Subscription Fund—			
£216 9s. 4d. 2¾ % Consols cost			£210 0 0
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,			78 15 0
			£288 15 0
2. Sir Michael Connal's Legacy—			
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,			6 15 0
3. Ordinary Funds:—			
(1) Subscriptions in Arrears—			
2 for Session 1897-1898,		£1 5 0	
4 for Session 1898-1899,		2 10 0	
12 for Session 1899-1900,		7 10 0	
		£11 5 0	
(2) In Bank on Deposit Receipt,		49 8 7	
(3) Cash in hands of Honorary Treasurer,		6 1 3	
			66 14 10
			£362 4 10
,, Life Membership Subscription Fund:—			
Received one Subscription to this Fund,			5 5 0
,, Revenue:—			
1. Subscriptions—			
261 for Session 1900-1901,		£163 2 6	
Deduct amount paid in advance last year,		6 17 6	
		£156 5 0	
Add 4 Subscriptions for Session 1901-1902,		2 10 0	
		£158 15 0	
2. Dividends and Interest—			
Consols,	£5 12 10		
Interest on Deposit Receipts,	2 18 9		
		8 11 7	
			167 6 7
,, Publication of Transactions:—			
Received from sale of Ordinary Transactions,		£7 1 0	
Received from sale of Report on Antonine Wall,		3 8 0	
			10 9 0
			£545 5 5

HON. TREASURER'S INTROMISSIONS FOR SESSION 1900-1901.

																		Cr.
By Expenses of Management:—																		
Printing and Stationery,																	£26	16 3
Salary to Officer,																	3	3 0
Advertising,																	11	9 5
Rent of Rooms,																	6	0 0
Charge for Addressing Circulars,																	1	4 6
Postages and Incidents—																		
Per Circulars,													£4	14	2			
Per Honorary Secretaries,													3	1	4			
Per Honorary Treasurer,													2	2	0			
																	9	17 6
Excursion,																	1	8 3
Miscellaneous—																		
Expenses of November Meeting (Lanterns, etc.),													£6	13	3			
Income Tax,													0	6	0			
Subscription to Scottish Record Society for 1901,													1	1	0			
Photographer's Account,													5	3	6			
Carriage from London of Curios presented to the Society,													0	11	1			
																	13	14 10
																	£73	13 9
,, Publication of Transactions:—																		
Cost of Printing, Commission, Postages, Insurance, etc., of Ordinary Transactions,													£24	10	6			
Cost of Commission, Postages, Insurance, etc., of Report on Antonine Wall,													1	3	3			
																	25	13 9
,, Subscriptions written off as Irrecoverable,																	2	10 0
,, Funds at Close of this Account:—																		
1. Life Membership Subscription Fund—																		
£216 9s. 4d. 2¾ % Consols cost													£210	0	0			
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,													84	0	0			
													£294	0	0			
2. Sir Michael Connal's Legacy—																		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,													6	15	0			
3. Ordinary Funds—																		
(1) Subscriptions in Arrears,—																		
1 for Session 1897-1898,											£0	12	6					
2 for Session 1898-1899,											1	5	0					
7 for Session 1899-1900,											4	7	6					
21 for Session 1900-1901,											13	2	6					
											£19	7	6					
(2) In Bank on Deposit Receipt,											117	7	4					
(3) Cash in hands of Honorary Treasurer,											5	18	1					
														142	12	11		
																	443	7 11
																	£545	5 5

GEORGE J. WALKER, C.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*

GLASGOW, *2nd December*, 1901.—We have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Glasgow Archæological Society for the year ending 31st October last (of which the foregoing is an abstract), and we find the whole to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched. The Account closes with a balance in the hands of the Treasurer, amounting to £5 18s. 1d. We have also inspected the Securities belonging to the Society, and we find everything to be in order.

JOHN F. ORR, *Auditor.*
JAS. H. PARKER, C.A., *Auditor.*

OFFICE-BEARERS

OF THE

Glasgow Archaeological Society.

INSTITUTED 1856.

SESSION 1901-1902.

President.

THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL STORY, D.D., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN OSWALD MITCHELL, LL.D.
GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A.Scot.
THE REV. PROFESSOR COOPER, D.D.

Council.

PROFESSOR LINDSAY, D.D.
PROFESSOR YOUNG, M.D.
JOHN HONEYMAN, R.S.A.
PROFESSOR FERGUSON, LL.D.
DAVID MURRAY, LL.D.
THE MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.
} Former Presidents; Members of Council *ex officio.*

CHAS. ED. WHITELAW, F.S.A.Scot.
JAMES WHITE, F.S.A.Scot.
WILLIAM YOUNG, R.S.W.
ROBERT BRYDALL, F.S.A.Scot.
JAMES PATON, F.L.S.
THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP HARRISON, D.D.
PROFESSOR DUDLEY J. MEDLEY.
JAMES D. ROBERTON.
R. C. GRAHAM, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot.
F. T. BARRETT.
JOHN EDWARDS, F.S.A.Scot.
JOHN BRUCE, F.S.A.Scot.

Honorary Secretaries.

J. D. G. DALRYMPLE, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot.
WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, F.S.A.Scot., 88 West Regent Street.

Honorary Treasurer.

GEORGE J. WALKER, C.A., 150 St. Vincent Street.

Honorary Librarian.

F. T. BARRETT.

Honorary Auditors.

JOHN F. ORR. | JAMES HENRY PARKER.

Members who desire to read papers, or who have objects of archæological interest to exhibit, are requested to communicate with the Honorary Secretaries. Ladies are invited to attend all meetings.

Forms of application for admission to the Society may be had from the Honorary Secretaries.

Payment of the Annual Subscription is requested to be made to the Honorary Treasurer. No publication will be sent to Members who have not paid the Subscription for the year corresponding to such publication.

The Annual Excursion will take place in Autumn,

LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION 1900-1901.

Honorary Members.

	Date of Admission.
Bain, Joseph, F.S.A.Scot., St. David's, South Wales.	1900
Birch, Walter de Gray, F.R.S.L., F.S.A., British Museum, London.	1881
Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., Nash Mills, Hemel-Hempstead.	1892
Gomme, George Laurence, F.S.A., 24 Dorset Square, London, N.W.	1881
Mitchell, Sir Arthur, K.C.B., M.D., LL.D., 43 Drummond Place, Edinburgh.	1881

Ordinary Members as at 31st December, 1900.

(*) Indicates Members of Council. (†) Indicates Life Members.
(‡) Indicates that the Member was admitted prior to the resuscitation of the Society in 1877.

Adam, Thomas, Hazel Bank, Uddingston.	1879
Addie, John, Viewpark, Uddingston.	1889
Aiken, John B., 201 West George Street.	1891
Ainslie, George, 76 Pollok Street.	1899
Aitken, John, 33 Lilybank Gardens.	1891
Alexander, D. M., 97 West Regent Street.	1892
Alexander, John, 268 Buchanan Street.	1898
Allan, F. W., 125 Buchanan Street.	1884
Allan, James, 110 Candleriggs.	1887
Alston, W. M., C.E., 24 Sardinia Terrace, Hillhead.	1887
Amours, F. J., B.A., 75 Montgomerie Street.	1898
Anderson, James R., 84 Albert Drive, Crosshill.	1901

	Date of Admission.
Anderson, Robert, 76 Bath Street.	1892
Anderson, William, F.S.A.Scot., Arns-Brae, New Kilpatrick.	1894
Anderson, William Boyd, 1 Grosvenor Crescent, Kelvinside.	1882
Anderson, W. F. G., 10 Park Terrace.	1886
*Annan, John, 40 Derby Street, Sandyford.	1892
Arthur, Matthew, 78 Queen Street.	1883
†Arthur, Thomas Glen, Carrick House, Ayr.	1883
Baillie, William Anderson, Glentore, Uddingston.	1889
Bain, Andrew, 17 Athole Gardens.	1900
Baird, J. G. A., M.P., Adamton, Ayrshire.	1891
Balfour, D.D., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, County Buildings.	1882
*Barrett, F. T., Mitchell Library, *Hon. Librarian.*	1882
Beckett, Charles E., M.A., LL.B., 163 St. Vincent Street.	1896
Begg, F. Faithfull, Albany House, Byfleet, Surrey.	1898
Bell, George, Architect, 212 St. Vincent Street.	1898
†Bell, Sir James, Bart., 7 Marlborough Terrace.	1892
†Bell, James T., Northcote, Dowanhill Gardens.	1892
†Bell, John J., Northcote, Dowanhill.	1897
Berry, Sheriff, LL.D., 5 University Gardens.	1888
Beyaert, The Rev. Arthur, Uddingston.	1894
Bilsland, William, F.S.A.Scot., 28 Park Circus.	1895
*Black, William George, F.S.A.Scot., 88 West Regent Street, *Hon. Secretary.*	1877
Blackie, J. Alexander, Dunmorag, Dowanhill Gardens.	1901
Blackie, J. Robertson, Northbank, Dowanhill Gardens.	1890
Blackie, Walter W., St. Bride's, Dunblane.	1901
Blyth, Robert, 1 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1891
Blythswood, The Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., Blythswood, Renfrew.	1885
Boyd, David T., 19 Wellington Street.	1890
Brand, James, 10 Marchmont Terrace, Kelvinside.	1889

	Date of Admission.
Bremner, R. L., 208 West George Street.	1895
Brown, John Arthur, 4 Prince Albert Road, Dowanhill.	1897
Brown, J. T. T., 97 West Regent Street.	1891
*Bruce, John, F.S.A.Scot., 67 West Nile Street.	1888
Bryce, Thomas H., M.A., M.D., F.R.S.E., 2 Granby Terrace.	1901
*Brydall, Robert, F.S.A.Scot., 8 Newton Terrace.	1890
†Bryden, R. Lockhart, B.L., 11 Lynedoch Crescent.	1893
Buchanan, A. W. Gray, of Parkhill, Polmont.	1895
†Bulloch, Matthew, 48 Prince's Gate, London, S.W.	1883
Burnet, John James, I.A., F.S.A.Scot., 167 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Callander, John Graham, F.S.A.Scot., 20 Rupert Street.	1898
Caldwell, James, F.S.A.Scot., Writer, Paisley.	‡
Campbell, D. A., 2 Broomhill Drive, Partick.	1892
Campbell, J. Archibald, 44 West George Street.	1885
†Campbell, The Right Hon. James A., M.P., LL.D., Stracathro, by Brechin.	‡
Campbell, John MacNaught, F.Z.S., 5 Franklin Terrace.	1881
Campbell, R. C. Graham, Shirvan, Lochgilphead, N.B.	1890
†Cayzer, Sir Charles W., M.P., Ralston, Renfrewshire.	1884
Chalmers, P. Macgregor, F.S.A.Scot., 95 Bath Street.	1889
Christie, T. Craig, of Bedlay, by Chryston.	1885
Church, W. R. M., C.A., 104 West George Street.	1890
Clark, David R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 8 Park Drive, West.	1897
Clark, James Cooper, 15 Kelvinside Terrace.	1899
Clark, William, Gartfern, High Crosshill, Rutherglen.	1885
Colville, James, M.A., D.Sc., 14 Newton Place.	1901
†Colquhoun, Sir James, of Luss, Bart., Dunclutha, Ore, Hastings.	1885
Cook, William, 77 St. Vincent Street.	1893
*Cooper, The Rev. Professor, D.D., The College, *Vice-President.*	1898
Coubrough, John, Blanefield, Stirlingshire.	1877
Coulson, J. Laurie, Failford, Mauchline.	1890

	Date of Admission.
Ewing, William, 45 Renfield Street.	1891
*Eyre, The Most Rev. Archbishop, LL.D., D.D., F.S.A. Scot., 6 Bowmont Gardens, Kelvinside, *Ex-President.*	1888
†Faulds, Andrew Wilson, F.S.A. Scot., 111 Union Street.	1882
Fergus, Oswald, F.S.A. Scot., 12 Clairmont Gardens.	1898
Fergusson, D. Scott, Hayston House, Kirkintilloch.	1891
*†Ferguson, Professor J., LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 13 Newton Place, *Ex-President.*	1878
Fergusson, William, 69 St. Vincent Street.	1898
Fleming, Alexander, of Kilmaho, 168 West George Street.	1883
Fleming, James, Treasurer, Corporation Gas Department, City Chambers.	1893
Fleming, John, 1 Lynedoch Terrace.	1883
Fotheringham, Thomas Bremner, 52 Barrland Street, Maxwell Road.	1891
†Fowler, John, 2 Grantly Gardens, Shawlands.	1884
Fraser, Alexander R., 81 St. Vincent Street.	1901
Fraser, John Imbrie, 13 Sandyford Place.	1900
Fraser, J. W., 175 Hope Street.	1886
†Fraser, M.P., Advocate, 2 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.	1883
Fraser, Melville, 31 St. Vincent Place.	1884
Galbraith, John A., 28 Belhaven Terrace.	1901
Galbraith, Thomas L., Stirling.	1889
Garroway, James R., New Club.	1882
Gibson, George, 17 Victoria Crescent.	1900
Gibson, William, 2 Crown Terrace, Dowanhill.	1885
†Gillies, William, 204 West George Street.	1882
Gordon, The Rev. J. F. S., D.D., Beith.	1891
Gourlay, Robert, LL.D., 5 Marlborough Terrace, Kelvinside.	1888
Gow, Leonard, 45 Renfield Street.	1889

	Date of Admission.
Hurry, Alfred A., 103 Bath Street.	1884
Hutchison, Thomas H., 4 Windsor Quadrant.	1884
Jameson, Robert, Ardunan, Strathblane.	1885
Johnston, David, 160 West George Street.	1882
Kelvin, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.V.O., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., Netherhall, Largs.	1893
Kennedy, James, of Doonholm, Ayr.	1887
†Keppie, John, 140 Bath Street.	1891
†Ker, Charles, C.A., 115 St. Vincent Street.	1887
Ker, David Smith, 26 Bothwell Street.	1891
†Ker, T. Ripley, of Dougalston, Milngavie.	1879
Key, William, 109 Hope Street.	1897
Kidston, William, 50 West Regent Street.	1885
Kincaid, Thomas, 9 Lansdowne Crescent.	1889
King, Sir James, of Campsie, Bart., LL.D., 115 Wellington Street.	1883
King, Robert, of Levernholme, 115 Wellington Street.	1898
Kirkpatrick, The Rev. J. M., B.D., 11 Fairlie Park Drive.	1898
Kirkpatrick, The Rev. Roger S., B.D., The Manse, Govan.	1899
Kirkwood, James, Carling Lodge, Ibroxholm.	1899
Knight, Charles A., 21 St. Vincent Place.	1886
Laird, James, 439 Great Western Road.	1899
Laird, John, 6 North Court, Royal Exchange.	1889
†Lang, James, F.S.A.Scot., 9 Crown Gardens, Dowanhill.	1883
Lang, William, Cross Park, Partick.	1893
Lander, T. Eaton, Colzium House, Kilsyth.	1901
*Lindsay, The Rev. Professor T. M., D.D., 37 Westbourne Gardens, *Ex-President.*	1877
Lugton, Thomas, 5 Wood Street, Alexandra Park.	1901

	Date of Admission.
MacBrayne, David, 17 Exchange Square.	1885
M'Cowan, David, 7 Lynedoch Crescent.	1891
M'Donald, Alex. Beith, M.Inst.C.E., City Engineer, City Chambers.	1898
Macdonald, Charles, 100 West Regent Street.	1900
Macdonald, George, M.A., 41 Lilybank Gardens.	1897
Macfarlane, James, 2 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1899
Macgeorge, B. B., 24 George Square.	1882
M'Gibbon, Alexander, 109 Hope Street.	1897
M'Gibbon, W. F., 221 West George Street.	1897
M'Gregor, James, 8 Kersland Street, Hillhead.	1891
M'Grigor, Alexander, 172 St. Vincent Street.	1883
Macharg, E. Simpson, C.A., 69 Buchanan Street.	1885
M'Intyre, John, 33 Oswald Street.	1897
Mackillop, Frederick G., M.A., LL.B., 128 St. Vincent Street.	1901
†Mackinlay, James M., F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., The Lee, Merchiston, Edinburgh.	1886
Mackinlay, William M., 16 Kelvinside Gardens.	1895
Mackirdy, W. A. Scott, of Birkwood, Lesmahago.	1898
Maclae, A. Crum, of Cathkin, 192 St. Vincent Street.	1886
Maclay, James, M.A., LL.B., 169 West George Street.	1888
Maclay, William, Thornwood, Langside.	1891
M'Lean, Allan, 41 West George Street.	1883
†MacLehose, James J., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 61 St. Vincent Street.	1882
MacLehose, Robert, M.A., 61 St. Vincent Street.	1882
MacLellan, Robert, Conservative Club.	1891
Macleod, The Rev. W. H., Buchanan Manse, Drymen.	1898
Macnair, Thomas, 27 St. Vincent Place.	1895
Maconechy, Robert, Golf View, Prestwick.	1882
Macquaker, Thomas, Ardshalloch, Hamilton Drive, Pollokshields, W.	1890
Main, John Bell, Cadzow Street, Hamilton.	1891

	Date of Admission.
Mann, John, C.A., 137 West George Street.	1891
Martin, William, 116 St. Vincent Street.	1900
†Marwick, Sir James D., LL.D., City Chambers.	1878
*Medley, Professor Dudley J., The College.	1899
†Menzies, James, Mount Feargan, Bothwell.	1884
Miller, D. S., 45 Renfield Street.	1881
†Mitchell, A. Moncrieff, LL.B., 160 West George Street.	1885
†Mitchell, George A., 5 West Regent Street.	1884
Mitchell, James, 222 Darnley Street.	1895
†Mitchell, John, 2 Lynedoch Street.	1888
*†Mitchell, John Oswald, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., 69 East Howard Street, *Vice-President.*	1882
Mitchell, Stephen, of Boquhan, Kippen.	1899
Moore, Robert T., C.E., 13 Clairmont Gardens.	1891
Muir, The Rev. Pearson M'Adam, D.D., 1 Athole Gardens.	1897
Muir, Sir John, Bart., 6 Park Gardens.	1889
†Munro, R., M.D., F.S.A. Scot., 48 Manor Place, Edinburgh.	1883
*Murdoch, J. B., F.S.A. Scot., Capelrig, Mearns.	‡
*Murray, David, LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 169 West George Street, *Ex-President.*	1881
Murray, John Bruce, 17 University Gardens, Hillhead.	1886
Nairne, J. Stuart, F.R.C.S.E., 141 Hill Street, Garnethill.	1890
*†Neilson, George, F.S.A. Scot., 34 Granby Terrace, *Vice-President.*	1890
Neilson, James, 116 Bishop Street, Port-Dundas.	1898
Ness, James, 157 St. Vincent Street.	1900
Newbery, F. H., School of Art, 264 Sauchiehall Street.	1894
Nicol, Donald N., M.P., Ardmarnock, by Tigh-na-bruaich.	1888
Normand, P. Hill, of Whitehill, Aberdour.	1899
Orr, John F., 184 West Regent Street.	1883

	Date of Admission
Park, Alexander, Ingleside, Lenzie.	1891
Parker, John Henry, C.A., 89 West Regent Street.	1901
Paterson, John, Sen., 199 Nithsdale Road, Pollokshields.	1898
Paterson, Oscar, 118 West Regent Street.	1889
*Paton, James, F.L.S., Camphill House, Crossmyloof.	1884
Pearson, Alexander, Sheriff-Clerk Depute, County Buildings.	1885
Pettigrew, Matthew, 1 Wilton Crescent.	1898
Pickering, R. Y., of Conheath, Dumfries.	1891
Pirrie, Robert, F.S.A. Scot., 9 Buckingham Terrace.	1896
Prentice, Thomas, 18 Eglinton Drive, Kelvinside.	1890
Rains, Stephen H., 24 Midlothian Drive, Shawlands.	1901
Raleigh, Professor Walter, The College.	1900
Reid, James, 15 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside.	1899
Reid, James A., 172 St. Vincent Street.	1882
Reid, Thomas, M.D., 11 Elmbank Street.	1887
Renwick, Robert, Depute Town Clerk, City Chambers.	1882
Richardson, Andrew, Soho Engine Works, Paisley.	1900
Robb, George, H., M.A., 141 St. Vincent Street.	1901
*Roberton, James D., 1 Park Terrace, East.	1883
Roberts, Andrew, F.S.A. Scot., Commercial Bank House, Callander.	1879
Robertson, William, 4 Terregles Avenue, Pollokshields.	1901
Rodger, Edward, 1 Clairmont Gardens.	1900
Ross, The Rev. D. M., D.D., 12 Bowmont Gardens.	1901
†Ross, John M., 2 Devonshire Gardens.	1888
Roxburgh, George R., 137 Ingram Street.	1883
Ruddock, John W., 32 Windsor Terrace, St. George's Road.	1884
Rundell, Richard Cooper, Royal Exchange Buildings.	1888
Rutherfurd, Andrew, M.A., 150 Ingram Street.	1898
Salmon, W. Forrest, F.R.I.B.A., 53 Bothwell Street.	1885

	Date of Admission.
Scott, John, 247 Sauchiehall Street.	1893
†Shand-Harvey, James W., of Castle-Semple, Lochwinnoch.	1891
Shaughnessy, Joseph, Bellevue, Rutherglen.	1890
Shaw-Stewart, M. H., M.P., Duchal, Renfrewshire.	1892
Sinclair, Alex., Ajmere Lodge, 41 Cathkin Road, Langside.	1884
Skirving, Alexander, 121 West Regent Street.	1898
Smith, Andrew, F.S.A.Scot., Broompark, Lanark.	1897
†Smith, J. Guthrie, 205 St. Vincent Street.	1879
Smith, James M., Ibroxholm House, Ibrox.	1900
Somerville, John, Carronben, Buchanan Drive, Cambuslang.	1888
Sorley, Robert, 93 St. Vincent Street.	1887
Speirs, A. A., of Elderslie, Houston House, Houston.	1898
Spencer, Charles Louis, 121 West George Street.	1894
Spencer, John James, 121 West George Street.	1894
Spens, John A., 169 West George Street.	1882
Steel, The Rev. John, D.D., Ellangowan, Dennistoun.	1884
Stewart, R. K., F.S.A. Scot., Murdostoun Castle, Newmains.	1897
Stuart, James, C.E., 12 Broomhill Avenue, Partick.	1885
†Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John, of Pollok, Bart., M.P., F.S.A.Scot., Pollok, Pollokshaws.	1890
Stodart, Archibald, Edindonich, Cardross.	1898
*Story, The Very Rev. Principal R. Herbert, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., The College, *President.*	1887
Stout, Thomas, 14 Belmont Crescent.	1894
Strachan, R. U., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, 9 Crown Circus, Dowanhill.	1896
Sturrock, Peter, of Baltersan, London Road, Kilmarnock.	1890
Swan, Robert M. W., Westfield, 58 Maxwell Drive, Pollokshields.	1893
Taylor, Charles, 13 Broomhill Avenue, Partick.	1900
Turnbull, John, 50 West Regent Street.	1890
Turner, William, Baranfrow, Helensburgh.	1883

	Date of Admission.
Ure, George Albert, Hope Park, Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire.	1891
*Walker, Geo. J., C.A., 150 St. Vincent Street, *Hon. Treasurer.*	1895
Wallace, T. M., Douglas Gardens, Uddingston.	1884
Wallace, William, LL.D., 36 Lilybank Gardens.	1900
†Watson, Duncan, 17 Newton Street.	1887
†Watson, T. L., 166 Bath Street.	1881
Watt, James Thomson, 150 Holland Street.	1899
Weddel, James, Park Villa, Uddingston.	1882
*White, James, Bishop Mills, Old Dumbarton Road.	1898
Whitelaw, Alexander, of Gartshore, Kirkintilloch.	1891
*†Whitelaw, Charles E., F.S.A.Scot., 168 Bath Street.	1889
Whitelaw, H. Vincent, 168 Bath Street.	1901
Whitelaw, Thomas, 112 Wellington Street.	1886
Wilson, John, of Airdrie, M.P., Airdrie House.	1887
Wilson, Robert, Procurator-Fiscal, County Buildings, Hamilton.	1885
Wingate, Walter, E., 4 Bowmont Terrace, Kelvinside.	1887
Wood, H. K., 17 Rosslyn Terrace.	1897
Wood, William J., 38 Cochrane Street.	1894
†Wordie, John, F.S.A.Scot., 42 Montgomerie Drive, Kelvinside.	1884
Wylie, John, 26 Huntly Gardens, Kelvinside.	1897
Young, Daniel H. Lusk, 16 Woodlands Terrace.	1901
Young, George Burn, 45 West George Street.	1883
*Young, Professor J., M.D., 19 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, *Ex-President.*	‡
*Young, William, R.S.W., 65 West Regent Street.	1896

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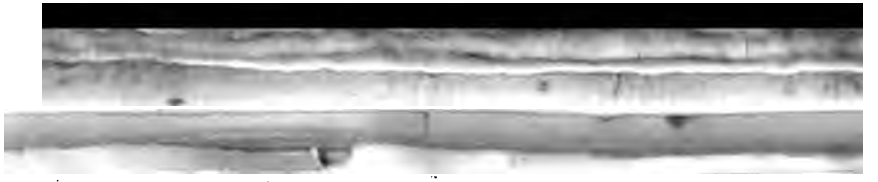

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